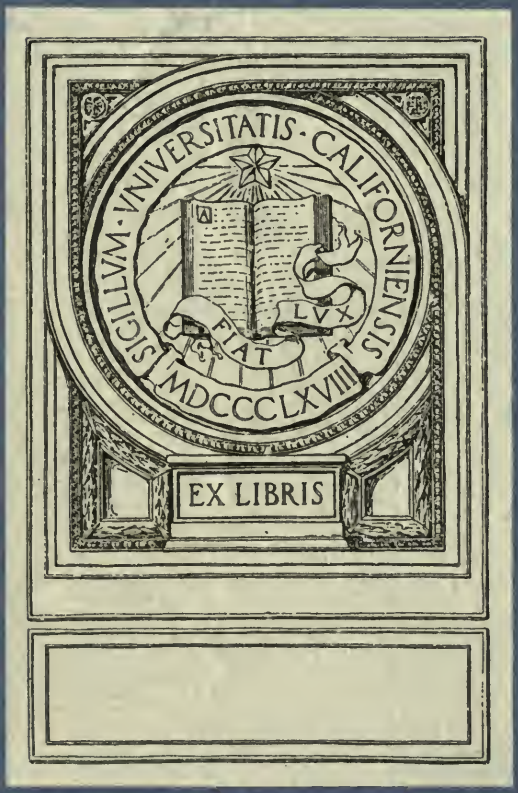
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INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

JAMES M. LYNCH, PRESIDENT HUGO MILLER, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
J. W. HAYS, SECRETARY-TREASURER CONSTITUTING EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

History *of* The Typographical Union

ITS BEGINNINGS, PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT
ITS BENEFICIAL AND EDUCATIONAL FEATURES
TOGETHER WITH A CHAPTER ON THE EARLY
ORGANIZATIONS OF PRINTERS

Compiled by Authority of the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union

By

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Contents

	PAGE
PREFACE	9–13
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	14
EARLY ORGANIZATIONS OF PRINTERS:	
Beginnings, 1786 to 1830	17–62
Period from 1830 to 1850	63–113
CONVENTIONS, 1850–1912:	
Conventions 1850, 1851, 1852	117–139
Conventions National Typographical Union, 1853–1869	143–241
Conventions International Typographical Union, 1870–1888	243–424
Conventions International Typographical Union, 1889–1900	425–658
Conventions International Typographical Union, 1901–1912	659–1068
DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHE TYPOGRAPHIA	1069–1094
TECHNICAL TRADE EDUCATION	1095–1110
PUBLIC COPYRIGHT ACTS	1111–1128
HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE UNION PRINTERS HOME	1129–1144
INDEX	1145–1165

297545

Illustrations

FACING PAGE

AIMISON, WILLIAM, Nashville, president International Typographical Union, June 8, 1886 – June 14, 1888 408
ARMSTRONG, JOHN, Toronto, president International Typographical Union, June 8, 1878 – June 5, 1879 312
ATKINSON, WILLIAM P., Erie, Pa., president International Typographical Union, June 11, 1880 – June 10, 1881 328
BELL, WALTER W., Philadelphia, president International Typographical Union, June 11, 1875 – July 7, 1876 288
BODWELL, WILLIAM H., New York, President International Typographical Union, June 1, 1874 – June 11, 1875 280
BRAMWOOD, J. W., Denver, secretary-treasurer International Typographical Union, November 16, 1896 – February 1, 1909 536
BRANT, LYMAN A., Detroit, corresponding secretary International Typographical Union, June 11, 1880 – June 10, 1881 336
BROWN, M. C., Philadelphia, president third national convention journeymen printers, May 3–5, 1852; president National Typographical Union, May 5, 1856 – May 4, 1857 168
CARVER, A. M., Cincinnati, president National Typographical Union, May 2, 1864 – June 6, 1865 216
CLARK, GEORGE, St. Louis, president International Typographical Union, June 10, 1881 – June 8, 1883 360
CRAIG, ROBERT E., St. Louis, president National Typographical Union, June 6, 1865 – June 4, 1866 224
CRAWFORD, MARK L., Chicago, president International Typographical Union, June 8, 1883 – June 3, 1884 376
DEACON, CHARLES, Colorado Springs, superintendent Union Printers Home. 1128
DONNELLY, SAMUEL B., New York, president International Typographical Union, November 1, 1898 – October 31, 1900 576
FARQUHAR, JOHN M., Chicago, president National Typographical Union, May 7, 1860 – May 4, 1863 200
FORCE, PETER, president New York Typographical Society, 1815, mayor of Washington, D. C., 1836 88
GEORGE, ISAAC D., Nashville, president International Typographical Union, June 8, 1869 – June 6, 1870 248
GIBBONS, J. L., Louisville, president second national convention journeymen printers, September 12–16, 1851 136
GRAHAM, LEWIS, New Orleans, president National Typographical Union, May 2, 1854 – May 7, 1855 160
HALDEMAN, SAMUEL, Washington, D. C., president International Typographical Union, June 5, 1879 – June 11, 1880 320
HAMMOND, WILLIAM J., New Orleans, president International Typographical Union, June 6, 1870 – June 2, 1873 264
HAYS, J. W., Minneapolis, secretary-treasurer International Typographical Union, February 1, 1909–19— 936
LEWIS, MISS AUGUSTA, New York, corresponding secretary International Typographical Union, June 6, 1870 – June 5, 1871 244
LYNCH, JAMES M., Syracuse, president International Typographical Union, November 1, 1900–19— 658
MCCLEVEY, W. S., Chicago, secretary-treasurer International Typographical Union, June 10, 1887 – January 28, 1893 424
MCKECHNIE, ROBERT, New York, president National Typographical Union, June 1, 1868 – June 8, 1869 240
MCLEAN, W. R., Washington, D. C., president International Typographical Union, June 2, 1873 – June 1, 1874 272

Illustrations

FACING PAGE

McVicar, John, Detroit, president International Typographical Union, July 7, 1876 – June 8, 1877 296
Miller, Hugo, Indianapolis, Typographia vice-president International Typographical Union, 1894–19—; secretary-treasurer German-American Typographia, 1886–19— 1068
Morrison, Frank, Chicago, secretary American Federation of Labor, 1897–19— 552
Nafew, John S., Albany, president National Typographical Union, May 5, 1852 – May 5, 1853 144
Oberly, John H., Cairo, Ill., president National Typographical Union, June 4, 1866 – June 1, 1868 232
Peregoy, John W., Baltimore, president first national convention journeymen printers, December 2–5, 1850 120
Philadelphia Typographical Society (allegory) 56
Plank, Edward T., San Francisco, president International Typographical Union, June 14, 1888 – June 13, 1891 440
Prescott, William B., Toronto, president International Typographical Union, June 13, 1891 – October 31, 1898 456
Smith, Robert C., Philadelphia, president National Typographical Union, May 3, 1858 – May 7, 1860 184
Stith, Gerard, New Orleans, president National Typographical Union, May 5, 1853 – May 2, 1854 152
Streeter, Darwin R., St. Louis, president International Typographical Union, June 8, 1877 – June 7, 1878 304
Sullivan, J. J., Washington, D. C., copyright representative International Typographical Union 1110
Tracy, George A., San Francisco, Cal., first vice-president International Typographical Union, March 24, 1909 – October 31, 1912; compiler "History of the Typographical Union" 8
Union Printers Home, Colorado Springs, Colo 1144
Vallette, Eugene, Philadelphia, president National Typographical Union, May 4, 1863 – May 2, 1864 208
Wines, A. G., St. Louis, secretary-treasurer International Typographical Union, January 28, 1893 – November 15, 1896 472
Witter, M. R. H., St. Louis, president International Typographical Union, June 3, 1884 – June 8, 1886 392

UNIV. OF
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In the same spirit of fraternity that has marked the progress and development of the Typographical Union and guided its destiny through a long and honorable career, and with the hope that its future achievements may even excel what has been accomplished in the past, as recorded in these pages, this volume is reverently dedicated to the membership of the organization.

Geo. A. Tracy.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Preface

IN offering this history to the public it is advisable to say a word concerning the aims and objects of the work. Many questions must necessarily be considered before launching such a project. First of all, perhaps, is the query: Does anybody want such a book? If so, how best can it be compiled and presented to satisfy the desires and wishes of those who may subscribe for it, and to what extent is it possible to go in attempting to satisfy whatever demand there may be? To the first question it may be said, in view of the many requests received by the union for information regarding events in its history, and the unquestioned duty of the organization to preserve for future generations, in permanent and indestructible form, the story of its birth, struggles, progress and development, that it would seem an imperative duty on the part of the organization to produce the history.

Assuming that the publication of the history is justified, the next question, How shall it be done? is presented. In answer to this question it may be said that, while several distinguished authors have from time to time produced monographs and special articles covering parts of the history of the Typographical Union, and many rhetorical efforts have been offered on special subjects of interest, no one has yet attempted to produce a history of the Typographical Union complete in all its parts. For that reason, and because, perhaps, no other agency than the organization itself is prepared or in a position to undertake the work, it may be argued that no other agency can tell the story of the printers' organization better than the printer himself. And so we have produced, between the covers of this book, a history, compiled by a printer, in a manner consciously lacking in literary style, but yet

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

sufficient, it is believed, to satisfy whatever demand there may be for such a work.

In adopting a style for the history it was determined to use such portions of the public document issued by the United States Department of Commerce and Labor, entitled "A Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers," as are deemed sufficient to cover the period preceding the formation of the National Typographical Union. This document was prepared by Ethelbert Stewart, special agent of the United States Bureau of Labor, and is believed to be the most comprehensive and authentic work of its character yet produced. In making use of this document, no part of the appendix has been included. That part of the text, however, which has been used is carefully sustained by many interesting quotations from the records of the early societies. Following this chapter is summarized the proceedings of the early conventions of journeymen printers and the conventions of the National Typographical Union and the International Typographical Union, covering the complete history of the organization, as preserved in the records of those conventions. Important events that occurred between the convention sessions are included in sequence with the meetings of the delegates from year to year. Authenticity for all statements of fact contained in the history may be found in the archives of the International Typographical Union, unless original evidence is produced by footnote citations, which occur only in the chapter describing early organizations of printers. It is believed that this assertion guaranteeing authenticity will satisfy all readers, and thus is obviated the ofttimes vexing necessity of diverting one's attention from interesting text to tedious verifications of fact.

In many instances throughout the book will be found evidences of contradictory action by the various conven-

tions. Some reversals are so complete and direct that any one not acquainted with the vagaries of the printer, especially the compositor of early days, may regard the incidents as amusing, if not absurd. Neither was the case—the printer was merely wandering around till he found what he wanted, and in his travels visited the starting place occasionally before reaching the end of his journey. A peculiarity of the printer in legislating is that he is continually fixing things over by offering amendments to this or that section of the law of his organization. Conventions are held yearly and the chief business transacted is the consideration of amendments to the laws. Just why this is so has never been satisfactorily accounted for, but no doubt the character of the printer's work, fixing up bad copy and fixing over and over this or that job to create a neat and tasty typographical appearance, has trained his mind to a degree where it seems impossible to produce anything that can not be fixed over and made better or more attractive.

Under the chapter heading "Conventions," the narrator has endeavored to bring together, in comprehensive form and chronological sequence, the essential formative acts of legislation by the three important historical conventions of union printers, held in 1850, 1851 and 1852, out of which the National Typographical Union was projected. Following this interesting epoch, and beginning with the first convention of the National organization (1852), this chapter contains a summary of the important transactions, interesting happenings and legislative enactments of each succeeding convention to date. The data from which this history is learned are contained in the minutes of the proceedings of the various conventions, as recorded by the duly elected officers and approved by the delegates. All such data are preserved in the archives of the International Typographical Union.

In 1836 a convention of the National Typographical Society met in Washington, D. C., and held a session lasting five days. Delegates were present from six societies. A year later this society met in New York, eight organizations being represented. A fraternal delegate was present from Nova Scotia. This was the last meeting held by the society, although the convention adjourned to meet in Pittsburgh the following year. As the date for the meeting approached a notice was sent out postponing the gathering for a year, but the organization never held another convention, at least no record can be found of any future meeting.

At the seventh annual session of the National Typographical Union, held in Chicago, May, 1858, Sam Slawson, of Chicago, was requested to prepare an abbreviated history of the organization. From information contained in the monograph prepared by Mr. Slawson, it appears that in the year 1843 an attempt was made in the city of New York to form a general union of the craft, under the title of "The Order of Faust." According to the Boston Guide, "The Order of Faust" could have been successfully carried out had there been the least effort made to extend it, as there were men in Washington, Albany, Cincinnati, Boston and Philadelphia ready to form co-operative branches. Its proceedings were secret and confined entirely to journeymen. Enrolled under this title were many of the most competent printers of New York city.

We hear of no further attempts for some years to form a general organization, though many good men in the craft saw the necessity for it, and talked and corresponded in regard to it. In May, 1849, there appeared in the Boston Guide, above alluded to, an editorial on the formation of an "American Printers' Union," to be composed of accredited delegates from all parts of the United States. "This union," says the editorial, "should be possessed of

the power of granting charters to co-operative or subordinate unions; to endeavor to promote their formation throughout the country; to act as a council of advice, and to exercise a general control. The subordinate unions should have the power of settling the prices in their several districts and should exercise under the supreme union a general control each in its district." This plan of organization, so well conceived, is substantially the same as that now in existence. It was apparent at that time that the abuses which had crept into the trade, one by one, oppressing the journeymen in their relations with the employers, and the many disadvantages arising out of disconcerted and disconnected action on the part of various unions and societies, called loudly for some means of redress. To devise measures for the correction of these abuses, and to harmonize interests which were identical in their nature throughout the country, by united and earnest action in one common cause, a circular was issued about the 1st of November, 1850, by the New York, Philadelphia and Boston unions, calling on sister unions and societies to send delegates to a "National Convention of Journeymen Printers," to be held in New York city on the 2d day of December following.

The special chapters presented in conclusion have been prepared in order that those features of the union's progress and development which have been most successful, and of which the organization is justly proud, may receive the attention they deserve.

The aim has been to prepare a narrative historically accurate, and at the same time present it in such form as to sustain the interest of the reader, and especially the membership of the union.

THE AUTHOR.

Acknowledgment

The International Typographical Union wishes publicly to acknowledge its appreciation of the privilege accorded it in making use of such part of the documentary history of the early organizations of printers, by Ethelbert Stewart, as is contained in these pages. To former President William B. Prescott, Second Vice-President Hugo Miller and J. J. Sullivan, copyright representative at Washington, members of the organization, who have contributed to the success of the publication, public acknowledgment of appreciation is also made. To those persons who assisted in gathering the collection of photographs of former officials of the union, which are used to illuminate the pages of the history, the executive council wishes to return thanks.

Early Organizations of Printers

Early Organizations of Printers
Beginnings, 1786 to 1830

(INCLUSIVE)

WHATEVER of associated effort there was among printers prior to 1795 was temporary, having a single purpose, and when this was accomplished the compact was dissolved. It was the custom in all trades to call a "general meeting" of the trade whenever a matter of importance to all presented itself. Such calls were signed by one or two men of recognized influence in the trade. These meetings, usually held in private homes, were organized by the election of officers, a statement was made of the purpose in calling the trade together, and after discussion resolutions were adopted embodying the views of those present upon the question presented. When the meeting had decided what the attitude of the trade was to be, all those present, if willing to do so, signed an agreement to stand by each other during the difficulty. Committees were appointed, and frequent meetings were held during the trouble, especially if it proved to be a strike and of some duration, thus creating the impression that a permanent association of journeymen had been formed. It is certain that some of the strikes in colonial times were undertaken with no more of an organization than this, and while there is nothing inherently improbable about the existence of permanent unions in colonial times, since they had been in existence in England and other countries in Europe for many generations before, yet we should be cautious about concluding from such a statement as "The journeymen bakers of New York went on strike in 1741," that therefore there was an organization, other than a temporary understanding, among them.

The first, probably, of such understandings among

journeymen printers was in New York city in 1776, when a demand for an increase of wages was made by them and refused by their employers, with the result that a strike was called, which, proving successful, the association ceased. Again, in Philadelphia in 1786, an attempt by the employers to reduce wages to $5.83 1-3 a week was made the occasion for calling the trade together. The statement issued by the printers at this meeting has fortunately been preserved, and was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, June 7, 1786.

At a meeting of journeymen printers of Philadelphia held at the house of Henry Myers on Wednesday evening, the 31st ultimo, the following resolutions were unanimously entered into and ordered transcribed for publication. In consequence of an attempt having been made by some of our employers to reduce our wages to 35 shillings per week:

Resolved, That we, the subscribers, will not engage to work for any printing establishment in this city or county under the sum of $6 per week.

Resolved, That we will support such of our brethren as shall be thrown out of employment on account of their refusing to work for less than $6 per week.

This document is signed by twenty-six printers, probably comprising a majority of the competent men in the city at that time. There are indications that this struggle lasted for some time, but none whatever that the organization of printers had any purpose beyond the immediate one of resisting that reduction of wages, or any existence after this single purpose was accomplished. The document is important, however, as showing that the sentiment of supporting each other in time of a strike, out of which the union strike-benefit fund grew, existed among printers long before unions as such were formed.

In 1795 an organization was formed in New York city known as "The Typographical Society," comprising in its membership most of those working at the trade at that

time. It was the first known society devoting its energies to trade conditions and wage scales that existed for any appreciable length of time. So far as known it was the first society not called into existence by an immediate exigency of the trade, and ceasing to exist when that exigency was removed. The Typographical Society of 1795 lived two and one-half years, or until far into 1797, and succeded in securing an increase of wages to $1 per day for New York printers.

In 1799 the Franklin Typographical Society of Journeyman Printers of New York was organized. Mr. David Bruce, the famous typefounder, was its first president. This society formulated the first complete wage scale ever adopted by the printers of New York city, and went on strike for its enforcement. No copy of this scale has been preserved. It demanded 25 cents per 1,000 ems, and not less than $7 per week in book and job offices, and $8 per week on newspapers. None of its records and no copy of its constitution could be found, but from contemporary newspaper files it is learned that the "Franklin Typographical Society assembled at the house of Mr. P. Becanon, 87 Fair street, to celebrate the twenty-sixth anniversary of American Independence July 4, 1801."

The Daily Advertiser, of New York, in its issue of February 4, 1803, printed the following notice:

> A regular meeting of the Franklin Typographical Society will be held at their rooms, 63 Stone street, on Saturday evening, February 5, 1803. Members are requested to be punctual in their attendance.
>
> By order of the president: JOHN COLLINS, *Secretary.*

It would appear from this that the society had grown too large to meet in the private homes of its members and strong enough to have a hall, or at least rooms of its own.

In its issue of September 19, 1803, the New York Evening Post had the following acknowledgment.

The president of Franklin Typographical Society, of New York, acknowledges the receipt of $83.50 from the Philadelphia Typographical Society for the relief of such of our members as may be distressed in consequence of the prevailing epidemic.

The minutes of the Philadelphia society show that at its monthly meeting in June, 1803, "it was voted to contribute $83.60 to assist the printers in New York city who may be suffering from ravages of the yellow fever."

The Franklin Typographical Society of New York ceased to exist in 1804, but the bill of prices formulated by it remained the standard of wages until September 20, 1809, when the New York Typographical Society, organized early in that year, formulated a new scale.

As further tribute of a documentary character to the work of this society of 1799-1804, may be cited the first paragraph of a letter written August 25, 1809, by the secretary of the New York Typographical Society:

New York, August 25, 1809.

Gentlemen: The board of directors of the New York Typographical Society, by a resolution passed the 19th instant, have directed me to inform you that the customary price per token for working super-royal paper is 37½ cents, and 48 tokens (which is supposed to be the number you work per week) at that price would be $18. The present society, however, have yet no established prices, either for presswork or for composition, but the price which is here mentioned is that which was instituted by a former association in this city, and which we believe is now generally conformed to.

So much space has been given to this organization because to it belongs the credit of formulating the first detailed scale of wages presented to employers in the printing business in the United States, and because, curiously enough, while the earlier society of 1795 is sometimes mentioned by writers, this much more important one of 1799-1804 is not referred to by any of them.

Early Organizations of Printers

The Philadelphia Typographical Society was organized in 1802, and enjoys the distinction of being the oldest existing organization of the craft. Up to 1831 it existed as both a benevolent and a trade society, as was the rule among the early societies. In 1831 it became a purely benevolent association, and as such exists today.

February 22, 1802, this society formulated a list of prices (which is believed to be identical with that of the New York Typographical Society in 1800), and, prefacing it with a neat address to the employers, submitted it for acceptance.[1] A reproduction of the only copy of this price-list known to be now in existence is here presented:

PHILADELPHIA, February 22, 1802.

SIR: The "Philadelphia Typographical Society" takes the liberty to furnish you with their *List of Prices.* We hope that we shall be indulged with at least a candid examination of our demands.... we presume you are not unacquainted with many of them. We would wish to be placed on a footing, at least, with mechanics....our wages have, in no instance, kept pace with them. We have the merit of not being the most dissatisfied, and in no one instance of demanding anything unjust. We have, in the following statement, confined ourselves to what a majority of the employers in this city give. Our object is, to have one uniform price established. In doing this, we shall act as men toward men .... no person will leave his employ until he has given a reasonable notice .... in return, we expect that your conduct toward us will be equally candid. Indeed, we cherish a hope, that the time is not far distant, when the *employer* and the *employed* will vie with each other, the one, in allowing a competent salary, the other in *deserving* it. Under these impressions, we submit the following prices to your decision:

COMPOSITION

Per week, not less than	$8 00
Every 1000 m's, from Brevier to English, inclusive	25
Common Rule or Figure work	50

[1] The bibliography appended to Sidney and Beatrice Webb's "History of Trade Unionism" in England gives "the scale of prices of the Edinburgh compositors for 1805" as the oldest printers' scale. It may therefore develop that this Philadelphia price list is the oldest in the language.

PRESS WORK

Per week, not less than	$8 00
All paper below medium, per token	30
Ditto above medium	37½
Broadsides, per token	75
Cards, per pack	12½
A single pack of cards	30
All small jobs	30

GEORGE WHITE, *President.*
JOHN CHILDS, *Vice-President.*
WILLIAM LITTLE, *Secretary.*

The constitution of this society, which was not finally adopted until November 6, 1802, is believed to be the oldest constitution of a labor organization extant in the United States.

While the constitution gives prominence to the sick and funeral benefit features of the organization, as did the early craft guilds and still earlier burial societies, nevertheless, unlike them, it does not entirely conceal its industrial purposes. The journeymen printers had secured the acceptance by the master printers of their price-list of February 22, and under "a desire to consolidate the present good understanding and harmony which now happily subsists among the brethren of our profession," the constitution of November 6 was adopted. In addition to a sick benefit of $3 a week and a funeral benefit of $10, "in every case when a member may be thrown out of employ, by reason of his refusing to take less than the established prices," the board of directors "shall advance, if required, on his own security, in their discretion, such sum per week as will be sufficient to defray his ordinary expenses," and, furthermore, if such person was unable to return the money so loaned, then an assessment should be levied upon the membership to repay the same. To this incipient strike-benefit fund was added an obligation upon the part of at least the officers of the society to use their influence to secure employment for members in preference to non-members, and, above all, membership in the

society was conditioned on having "served an apprenticeship satisfactory to the board of directors." It is impossible to read the minutes of the meetings of these early societies, however, without being convinced that the serious purpose of their existence was not made prominent in their published documents. They had an exoteric and an esoteric side. To the public they pointed out their benevolent features. The real work was done in executive session. However, a great many of their members joined them because of these benevolent features, and thought their mission confined to this, so that there were always two factions, one demanding more and more of trade regulation by the society, the other opposing any interference in trade matters, and constantly urging a further extension of the mutual benefits, from an "alimoner's" point of view.

At its monthly meeting of December, 1802, the society appointed a committee to draft a memorial to congress praying for an additional duty on all imported European books. April, 1803, it raised the price of composition on daily newspapers to 30 cents per 1,000 ems, placed a charge of 20 cents on each alteration from copy after proofs were corrected, and passed a "lost-time" rule, as follows:

> Whenever an employer agrees to pay for lost time it shall be at the rate of 15 cents per hour.

In June, 1803, the society raised the initiation fee to $2; voted $83.60 to the printers in New York who were suffering from yellow fever; then passed the following not at all eleemosynary measure:

> WHEREAS, Several employers have taken laborers at presswork, and thereby the business has been materially injured; therefore,
>
> *Resolved*, That no member of this society shall be permitted to work at presswork with any person who is not regularly

bred, bound apprentice till 21 years of age, except under penalty of expulsion.

In 1806 it began expelling members on first offense for working below the scale of prices, and in February, 1807, extended the obligation to all members, theretofore resting upon officers only, to aid members in securing employment in preference to non-members by the passage of the following:

Resolved, That if any member of this society who shall procure employment for any person or persons who are not members of this institution in preference, and knowing at the time of the procuring of such employment that there are members of this society then out of actual employment, such member or members so offending shall on conviction be subject to a fine of $5, and for second offense be liable to suspension or expulsion, at the discretion of the directors: *Provided, nevertheless,* that this resolution shall not be construed to the prejudice of members interesting themselves in behalf of strangers in distress or emigrants from Europe.

The year 1807 marks the development by the Typographical Society of Philadelphia of much that has been thought to have originated with modern unionism, such as the demand for the exclusive employment of union men, the monthly "working card," and the adoption of a system very suggestive of the "house of call," or union employment bureau. At the meeting held April 4, 1807, the initiation fee was raised to $4 and the funeral benefit increased to $25. After these concessions to the "alimoners" this resolution was passed and a committee appointed in accordance with its terms:

WHEREAS many illegal practices and abuses hostile to the established regulations of this society, as well as injurious to the interests of each and every industrial member thereof; and whereas, also, the said abuses and illegal practices on the part of the employers are tamely submitted to, and in some instances connived at by the employed, to remedy which and to make such further inquiries as they may deem necessary,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the art, and whether any and what abuses are practiced, and what regulations it may be expedient on the part of the society to adopt, to check and do away with all such abuses and irregular practices hostile to the interests and well-being of its members, and that the committee report the results of their investigations.

Apparently there is a studied vagueness about this resolution so unusual that one is at a loss to understand it until it is learned from the report of the committee that the resolution is aimed not at members of this society, but at the master printers, who were cutting prices and employing "two-thirders," or persons who, not having finished their apprenticeship, were willing to work for anything they could get. The report of the committee follows:

In reviewing the present state of the art, it is with considerable regret that we dissent from a very prevalent opinion, which we can not think was even true when it was first formed.

To say that "printing was in a highly flourishing condition" may be well enough applied to themselves by the gang of pettifogging master printers, but the great body of the journeymen and the few respectable master printers know it to be false. The prices received by the master printers six years ago were better for common work than what they receive at present. At that time all common work gave them 64½ cents, whereas at present they only receive 45 cents, and in some cases even less.

The committee are of the opinion, that in order to maintain that harmony which as yet happily exists between the society and the master printers, it would be expedient to hold a conference with them on the subject, and make such regulations in the prices as the nature of the times may require, and enable employers in all cases to give the preference, and, if possible, never to employ any other than members of this society, or at least men who have served a regular apprenticeship.

September, 1807, the society adopted the following regulation:

Resolved, That cards be printed by the society, to be renewed

by the secretary every month, for the benefit of those out of employment, stating that they are not in arrears; and such persons who can not produce the same, on inquiring of a member for a berth, he is prohibited from informing the said person under penalty of $1 for every such offense.

As yet no journeymen's society had been strong enough to maintain, indeed none had had the temerity to advance any apprenticeship regulations. There was a customary apprenticeship rule that had come down from the masters' guilds to the effect that a term of six years, between the ages of 15 and 21, was necessary to constitute a journeyman. But the old guild conditions were gone, and the new conditions were only forming; neither the conditions nor the workmen's societies were ripe for a definite stand on the regulation of apprenticeship. The Philadelphia society, at its meeting of December, 1808, took such stand as it could on the problem by enacting that no member should teach an apprentice who was not bound before his eighteenth year; the penalty for violation being not only expulsion from the society but notices of such expulsion to be sent to the other societies of printers. This is the first intimation of the exchange of names of objectionable printers, which afterward developed into the "unfair lists," "rat lists," etc.

The regulation as passed reads:

That from and after the 1st day of January, 1809, no person, a member of this society, shall teach or assist in teaching any person in the art of printing who may have arrived at the age of 18 years; and be it further

Resolved, That if any member or members of the Philadelphia Typographical Society shall, in violation of the rule in that case made and provided, undertake to instruct, or in any manner assist to instruct, in any branch of the art of printing, any irregular person included in the foregoing resolution, such member or members shall, on conviction, be expelled from the society, and notice of such expulsion shall be communicated to the different typographical associations throughout the United

States as the president of the board of directors may think proper.

The latter part of this resolution not only marks the beginning of the "unfair list," but raises the question as to what other typographical associations existed in the United States at that time.

So far as can be definitely ascertained, from original records at this late date, there were no other such societies in existence in December, 1808. In "Thomas's History of Printing" it is stated that "The Boston Typographical Society was organized in 1803," without giving any clue to the authority for the statement. In 1809 the Philadelphia society received a communication from the Boston Typographical Society, stating that it had just completed and presented a scale of prices to the employers. The letter gives an impression that the society had been but recently organized, though it does not say so. This society seems to have been short lived, as another of the same name was organized November 25, 1815, as appears from a letter in the minutes of the New York society. The records of the Boston Typographical Society, after its demise, were placed in the library of the Franklin Typographical Society, of Boston, which was organized in 1822 as a purely beneficial society, admitting to membership both employers and employes, and prevented by its constitution from taking any part in trade matters. This society still exists, but the records of the journeymen's organization have been lost. The latest mention of the Boston Typographical Society is in 1826, when it sent a communication to the Columbia Typographical Society, at Washington, D. C., as shown by the minutes of the latter society. The Faustus Association of Printers was organized in Boston in 1805, but this was an employers' association, to regulate prices of work done for the public. It can not, therefore,

be confidently asserted that there were any societies, outside of Philadelphia, in existence when the Philadelphia society passed its resolution in December, 1808; but it is not improbable that there were such in Boston and Baltimore. The Baltimore Typographical Society is referred to in 1815 as one of the older societies. The date of its organization has not been ascertained, and none of its records could be located. Unfortunately, also, the present typographical union of Baltimore, organized in 1831, lost its records in the great fire of February, 1904.

The condition of the trade in New York city seems to have deteriorated rapidly after the collapse of the union in 1804. In June, 1809, a coterie of printers met in the private house of David Reins, 49 Barclay street, to discuss the question of organization. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and report Saturday evening, July 1. At this meeting the constitution was presented, adopted, and an organization perfected by the election of S. W. Andrews, president, and David Reins, secretary. One of the most active men in the organization of the society, known as the New York Typographical Society, was Samuel Woodworth, author of "The Old Oaken Bucket." From the start the society took what was at that time a radical stand along trade lines, though embodying in its plan the beneficial features common to all trade societies of the time.

The first efforts of the society were directed toward the education of the journeymen in the purposes of the organization, and inducing them to join. At a meeting held July 29 two members (pressmen working at the office of the American Citizen) reported that when they notified their employer that they could not longer work for less than the customary standard of wages fixed by the scale of 1800, they were both discharged and their places given to "two strangers." A committee was

appointed to wait on the "strangers," and later, when this committee reported, a letter was ordered to be sent them which so explicitly states the purpose of the society that it is transcribed in full:

NEW YORK, August 25, 1809.

GENTLEMEN: The board of directors of the New York Typographical Society, by a resolution passed the 19th instant, have directed me to inform you that the customary price per token for working super-royal paper is 37½ cents, and 48 tokens (which is supposed to be the number you work per week) at that price would amount to $18.

The present society, however, have yet no established prices, either for presswork or for composition; but the price which is here mentioned is that which was instituted by a former association in this city, and which we believe is now generally conformed to. [This was the society of 1799-1804.]

The board of directors, however, actuated only by motives of interest for the profession, have also directed me to inform you that, having expressed your determination to use all honorable means to increase the wages, both of compositors and pressmen, if necessary, and to support and maintain the honor and dignity of the trade, the best manner in which you could evince your sincerity would be by joining the society, whose objects and conduct you seem to have mistaken. To establish equitable prices for our labor is the principal object for which we have recently associated, and which we hope in a short time to accomplish. The first step toward this is an increase in our numbers, and we conceive it to be the duty and the interest of every journeyman printer in the city to come forward and unite with his fellow-craftsmen in promoting an object which has for its end the benefit of the whole.

Should you, gentlemen, conceive the above observations satisfactory and have a desire to promote the objects we have in view, I would observe that the board of directors meet every Saturday evening at the house of Mr. Clark (Harmony Hall), to whom an application can be made at any of their meetings.

D. H. REINS,
Secretary New York Typographical Society.

The organizers of this society began at once, as a part of their vigorous policy, to open communication

with all similar organizations in the country, to which they mailed a circular letter dated September 9, 1809, and which proposed nothing less than an exchange, from time to time, of what is today known as "unfair lists;" that is, that whenever a printer does what to the union is considered an unfair thing in trade matters, other unions shall be notified of the fact.

That this principle was then new, or practically so, is inferred no less from the arguments used in the circular to maintain it, than from the letter of the Philadelphia Typographical Society in reply. Both these letters are reproduced in full:

NEW YORK, September 9, 1809.

GENTLEMEN: In all classes of society experience has proven that there have been men who, laying aside those principles of honor and good faith which ought to govern their conduct toward their brethren, and for a mere gratification of private interest, have set aside the obligations they were under by violating the ordinances which they had pledged themselves to maintain.

It is for the interest of the profession that such persons (if any there are) should be discountenanced; and to the end that the knowledge of their sins should follow them, the directors of the New York Typographical Society have directed me to open a correspondence with you, by requesting, if compatible with your constitution, that in cases where members of your society or others of the profession may have acted dishonorably toward it, and should leave ——— for this city, you would be so good as to transmit information to them, the favor of which, on a like occasion, would be reciprocated.

The directors of the New York Typographical Society sincerely hope that an instance of this nature may never have to be recorded, yet it appears to them that the adoption of a rule like the above might be attended with mutual benefit. There is nothing which acts more powerfully on the human mind than shame. It makes the coward bold, the miser generous; and it is to be hoped that it will ever deter a journeyman printer from conducting unworthily toward his brethren when innate principle is wanting.

Accept the assurance of my esteem for you gentlemen, and my sincere wishes for the prosperity of the ——— society.

D. H. Reins,
Secretary New York Typographical Society.

To this elaborate argument for and cautious statement of one of the protective features of unionism, so universally understood today that it is never stated in terms, the following equally remarkable reply was received from the Philadelphia society. The "second letter of the 23d" referred to was one announcing the completion of the wage scale of September 20 by the New York society.

Philadelphia, October 28, 1809.

Sir: Your letter of the 18th ultimo and 23d instant came duly to hand, and I have to apologize for the delay in forwarding an answer.

That of the 18th embraced a principle which was not readily acceded to—and the consideration of it was twice referred to the opinion of a select committee—a report was made this evening and finally adopted by the following words: "The committee thinks proper to report that they have considered the letter referred to them, and are of the opinion that the principle set forth therein is a good one, and will have a tendency to promote the interests of the two societies, therefore,

"*Resolved,* That whenever any member of this society shall act derogatory to the principles of this constitution, and shall leave this city for New York, information shall immediately be forwarded to the New York Typographical Society."

As I am decidedly opposed to the principle, it can not be expected that I should dilate upon it. I beg leave, however, to assure you that the will of the majority is my guide, and that I shall consider it my duty to act in strict conformity to the resolution.

Your second letter of the 23d instant has given inexpressible pleasure to the members of the board and of the society in general. The energetic measure you have taken had been so long wanting in the respectable city of New York that the friends of equal rights reflect with disgust upon the humiliating condition in which our brethren suffered themselves to remain there; and the following hope now held forth that they have broken

their manacles, with a determination that they shall never be riveted again, will be fostered and cherished, nay, assisted, as far as constitutionally may lay in their power. But the old adage will here apply, and should be attentively considered: "He that will not help himself shall have help from nobody." Persevere in your laudable struggle, and remember that no great end was ever yet attained without danger and difficulty.

Be pleased to accept my best wishes and regards for your society, and believe that I am, with the sincerest respect, your humble servant,

JOHN CHILDS,
President Typographical Society of Philadelphia.

September 20, 1809, the society adopted a scale of prices, no copy of which has been found, but which it is known did little more than restore the scale of 1800 on common work while providing for the classes of work not covered by any former standard of wages.

A circular letter was printed and sent to the master printers, of which a copy follows:

To the Master Printers of the City of New York.

GENTLEMEN: Between employers and employed there are mutual interests depending, mutual duties to perform. To the end that these may result in harmony, certain rules and regulations should be adopted. Therefore, we, the journeymen printers of the city of New York, having duly and deliberately taken into consideration the present irregular state of the prices in many of the printing offices, and conceiving that they are inadequate to a comfortable subsistence, have united themselves into an association for the purpose of regulating and establishing the same. The annexed list, framed with a due deference to justice and equitability, is presented with a view that it may meet your approbation.

Upon receipt of the above the master printers formed an organization, and as a first move asked for a postponement of the date when the new regulations should go into effect. This the journeymen declined. To gain time, the masters' association then agreed to the demands, but at once began to advertise in other cities and towns

for printers, offering good wages and permanent positions. As an offset, the Typographical Society's board of directors instructed the secretary to—

> Inform the different typographical societies in the United States that this board have reason to believe that it is the object of the master printers of this city, by advertising for a great number of workingmen, to fill the city with hands and thereby be enabled to reduce the prices of work in this city to their former standard.

The members of the society were instructed to send information of the situation by letter to all outside journeymen of their acquaintance.

Evidently the master printers were having some success with their plan, and, to bring the matter to immediate issue, the Typographical Society called a strike, beginning October 30, 1809, for the enforcement of their scale. Most of the master printers soon agreed to the scale, but quite a number fought the issue bitterly, and what was for that time a strike of considerable duration resulted. Strike benefits were paid weekly, and it is not until December 18 that the last entry on the minutes is found recording money appropriated to the "brethren who had been thrown out of their employ in consequence of their refusing to work for less than the established prices."

During this strike the society discovered that one of its members had secretly arranged to work for less than the scale in an office ostensibly paying the society's rate of wages. Immediately the other members of the society refused to work in the office with him, and requested that he not only be expelled from the society, but that his name be sent to the other societies. For some time the society was busy expelling members who had secretly worked below the scale during the strike. However, the struggle had cleared the atmosphere perceptibly.

As showing the situation before the strike, it may be stated that the report of a committee appointed by the society to "investigate the state of trade" and "list those working for less than the established price" showed compositors working at 20 cents per 1,000 ems, pressmen working at 25 cents per token (240 sheets), and numberless boys at from $4 to $4.50 per week. At one office they report:

There is a man working at press who occupies the situation of two journeymen, who is said to have served no apprenticeship at the business.

Out of their experience came an amendment to their by-laws, passed December 23, within a week after the close of the strike:

No person shall be admitted a member of this society unless he shall have duly and regularly served the term of three years as an apprentice to one branch, namely, either as a compositor or as a pressman.

On December 30, 1809, they issued a circular letter, going into the whole matter of "half-way journeymen," afterward called "two-thirders," and the laxity of the apprenticeship regulations. It was addressed to the employers, and as it is the earliest survey of the situation in the trade from the workman's point of view it is, notwithstanding its length, given in full below:

To the Master Printers of the City of New York.

GENTLEMEN: Viewing with deep concern the improper practices in many of the printing offices in this city, the journeymen composing the New York Typographical Society have appointed the undersigned committee to address you on the subject, and represent the many evil effects they have on the art of printing in general and its demoralizing effects on its professors.

The practice of employing what is termed "half-way journeymen" in preference to those who have served their time, while it holds out encouragement to boys to elope from their masters, as soon as they acquire a sufficient knowledge of the

art to be enabled to earn their bread, is a great grievance to journeymen, and almost certain ruin to the boys themselves. Becoming masters of their own conduct at a period of life when they are incapable of governing their passions and propensities, they plunge headlong into every species of dissipation, and are often debilitated by debauchery and disease before they arrive at the state of manhood. And it also tends to an unnecessary multiplication of apprentices, inasmuch as the place of every boy who elopes from his master is usually supplied by another, while at the same time the runaway supplies, after a manner, the place of a regular journeyman, and one who, probably, has a family dependent on his labor for support.

We would also beg leave to call your attention to a practice as illiberal and unjust as the former, and attended, perhaps, with evils of a more aggravating nature. We mean that of taking grown men (foreigners) as apprentices to some twelve or fifteen months, when they are to be turned into the situations of men who are masters of their business; which men are to be turned out of their places by miserable botches, because they will work for what they can get. By these means numbers of excellent workmen, who ought to be ornaments to the profession, are driven by necessity to some other means of support. When a parent puts out a child to learn an art, it is with the pleasing idea that a knowledge of that art will enable him, when he becomes a man, to provide for himself a comfortable subsistence. Did he know that after laboring from his youth to manhood to acquire our art he would be compelled to abandon it and resort to some business, with which he was totally unacquainted, to enable him to live, he would certainly prefer that he should in the first instance seek a livelihood on the sea, or by some other precarious calling, than trust to the equally precarious success of a trade overstocked by its professors. Of the number that have completed their apprenticeship to the printing business within the last five years, but few have been enabled to hold a situation for any length of time. And it is an incontrovertible fact, that nearly one-half who learn the trade are obliged to relinquish it and follow some other calling for support.

Under the direful influence of the unwarrantable practices, the professors of the noblest art with which the world is blessed, have become "birds of passage," seeking a livelihood from

Georgia to Maine. It is owing to such practices that to acknowledge yourself a printer is to awaken suspicion and cause distrust. It is owing to such practices that the professors of the noble art are sinking in the estimation of the community. And it will be owing to such practices, if persisted in, that to see a book correctly printed will, in a few years, be received as a phenomenon.

To render an art respectable it is indispensably necessary that its professors should be perfect masters of their calling, which can only be acquired by serving a proper apprenticeship. And, in our art, it is not always time that perfects the printer. For it is too often the case, that boys of little or no education are taken as apprentices which the first services as devil frequently preclude the knowledge of, until they are bound, when the discovery is too late to be remedied. Owing to the deficiency, they make but sorry printers; whereas, had they learned some trade which does not particularly require a good education, they might have been perfect masters of it and better able to gain a livelihood. These are evils, gentlemen, which we sorely feel, and which it is in your power to remedy; and we sincerely hope that this appeal to your justice and humanity may meet with that consideration which its importance demands.[2]

D. H. Reins,
W. Burbridge,
S. Johnson.

A letter from the Philadelphia society in September, 1810, informed the New York city organization of the new wage scale, that of September 20, and the strike for

[2] It is impossible to read this circular, and the subsequent struggle the unions had for fifty years with the runaway-apprentice and "two-thirder" problems without recalling that oldest of journeymen printers' documents, preserved in the British Museum, and quoted in full by Brentano in his "History and Development of Guilds" (note to p. 97), as follows:

"The case and proposals of the free journeymen printers in and about London humbly submitted to consideration. Licensed October 23, 1666.

"Whereas there are at this present in and about the city of London, to the number of 140 workmen printers, or thereabouts, who have served seven years to the art of printing, under lawful master printers, and are reduced to great necessities and temptations for want of lawful employment, occasioned partly by supernumerary apprentices and turnovers, which have increased the number almost twice as many, on the whole, as would be sufficient to discharge all the public and lawful work of the kingdom. The workmen printers above-mentioned, etc., propose: 1. That no foreigners (that is to say) such an one as has not

its enforcement in the former city. Immediately an extra meeting of the New York society was called to act upon it. The following extract from the minutes shows how a feeling of unity of interest was rapidly growing among the workmen of the neighboring cities of that date. The minutes are those of the special or called meeting:

A letter was read from the journeymen printers of Philadelphia, accompanied with a circular list of prices, which they are now standing out for, and urging us to co-operate with them in order to obtain their just demands; and the board, conceiving the nature of the communication of the utmost importance, came to the immediate resolution of convening the general society, and the following was immediately passed:

"*Resolved,* That a general extra meeting of this society be called on Monday, the 24th instant, for the purpose of giving general information to the members of the proceedings of the journeymen printers of Philadelphia.

"*Resolved* (unanimously), That we highly approve of the proceedings of our typographical brethren of the city of Philadelphia in the demand for a raise of prices.

"*Resolved, etc.,* That we pledge ourselves to each other that we will not take any situation vacated by any of our brethren in Philadelphia under the present circumstances.

"*Resolved, etc.,* That it be recommended to the members of this society to make the proceedings of this meeting known as general as possible.

"*Resolved,* That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by the secretary to the Philadelphia Typographical Society."

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served seven years to the art of printing, under a lawful master printer, as an apprentice, may be entertained and employed by any master printer for the time to come. 2. That a provision may be made to hinder the increase of apprentices and a limitation appointed as to the number, etc. 3. That no turnovers be received by any master printer but from a master printer; and that no master printer turning over any apprentice to another master printer may be permitted to take any other apprentice in his place till the full time of the said apprentice so turned over be expired; for, otherwise, the restraint and limitation of apprentices will be evaded, and the number supplied by turnovers."

It is significant to note that the remedy proposed by this first craft guild of London printers in 1666—i. e., limitation on the number of apprentices—was precisely the one eventually adopted by the typographical societies in the United States, beginning with the New Orleans society in 1839, and finally adopted by the Washington (D. C.) Union in its constitution of 1867, the last of the local unions to adopt the measure.

On August 7, 1811, the society added an article to its constitution limiting the age at which apprentices at presswork may begin and prohibiting members from working with men receiving less than the scale. The words of the amendment were:

> No member of this society shall be permitted to take with him as a companion at press a person who is of full age at the commencement of his apprenticeship; nor shall any member of the society work in an office where a person is employed for less than our established prices, under the penalty of expulsion in either case.

A side light is thrown on the conditions which furnish a justification, from the trade-unionist point of view, for the first provision of the above article, when on July 24, 1813, a committee reports on a proposition for membership. This applicant proves to have been a weaver by trade; but as weaving "gave him a pain in the breast" he got a situation in a livery stable. From that he went into a printing office as a pressman. Even his employer testified before the committee that when he came to work for him "he did not know how to scrape a ball, and by his appearance and conduct thought he was never in a printing office before." The society refused him admission "since he is a weaver, not a printer." Apprenticeship was felt to be their only protection, and as a safeguard the pressmen (who worked in pairs) were prohibited from taking as companion a man who had "broken into the trade" after he was 21 years of age.

Early in 1815 the society began debating the question of a new wage scale. One was finally adopted October 7, 1815. This scale further restricted the apprentices by requiring the employer to pay the pressmen an extra piece price where apprentices were being taught the trade. Not only did the society adopt a new scale, raising the rates to 27 cents per 1,000 ems and $9 per week,

but at the same meeting, by unanimous vote, adopted a resolution that "a committee of three be appointed to confer with the different typographical societies in the United States, the duty of which committee shall be to induce (if possible) the journeymen of Philadelphia, and Albany in particular, to raise their prices to at least the same standard as ours."

The new wage scale was accepted by most of the employers, but involved the society in a strike for its enforcement in a few minor offices. From a clause in a letter the New York society sent to the societies in Albany, N. Y., and Washington, D. C., in 1816, in response to notices of the adoption of new wage scales by those societies, it will be seen that the employers of New York were the first to insist upon or at least suggest the idea of a uniform wage scale for the entire country, an idea which for other reasons agitated the various societies for nearly a half century afterward. The clause referred to states:

> That you should pursue the measures you are now pursuing has been the desire of both the journeymen and employers of this city for the following reasons: It was urged by the employers last summer, when our journeymen made a demand for higher wages, that unless journeymen in other places would raise their prices to an equilibrium with those we had presented, it would induce the booksellers to send their work out of the city, as the difference in the price for which work could be done elsewhere would more than pay for the transportation.

It must be remembered that at this time and for nearly a quarter of a century afterward newspapers employed such a small percentage of the printers that the societies paid little attention to anything else than the book and job offices.

After the strike to enforce the wage scale of 1815 the society again had to discipline a number of its members. Some of the early societies had admitted to membership

employers who paid the scale. While this society had never done this, a member who had been admitted as a journeyman did not lose any of his rights in the society by becoming an employer. The obligation or pledge required members not only to demand the scale of prices as journeymen, but to pay it should they become "masters." The experience of the strike forced a new measure upon the organization. The temper of the society was to be tested by the trial of an extreme case, and one member who had become an employer subsequent to joining the society was brought up on a charge having six separate counts, three of which read as follows:

First. For an attempt, in combination with a few employing printers, to lessen the established wages of journeymen.

Second. For introducing into the printing business men wholly unacquainted with it to the exclusion of regular-bred workmen.

Third. For refusing to give employment to members of this society and employing one not a member in preference—a direct violation of the solemn pledge he has repeatedly given us.

The other three charges were, in substance, that he had given currency among the masters to the plans and purposes of the society, contrary to his obligation; that he had permitted his name to be added to the announcement of other employers in advertising for "strangers" to come to New York and take the places of the striking printers; and lastly, that he had injured his brother members of the society. On motion, a resolution of expulsion was passed, which resolution provided: "And his name, with the nature of his offense, be transmitted to the different typographical societies in the United States." To safeguard the future and make permanent the lesson learned, the by-laws were amended by the addition of the following:

Experience teaches us that the actions of men are influenced almost wholly by their interests, and that it is almost impossible

a society can be regulated and useful where its members are actuated by opposite motives and separate interests. This society is a society of journeymen printers, and as the interests of the journeymen are separate and in some respects opposite to that of the employers, we deem it improper that they should have any voice or influence in our deliberation; therefore,

Resolved, That when any member of this society shall become an employing printer he shall be considered without the limits of the society and not to vote on any question, or pay any dues in the same.

No device was to be permitted to lessen the piece price of a quantity named in the scale. Under the old system of printing playing cards but one was printed at a time. Some master printer devised a scheme of setting up two cards in a form and then claimed a reduction from the pressmen's scale for presswork. The meeting of June 7, 1817, was devoted to a solution of the problem: "If two cards of the same be set and worked two at a pull shall they be charged less than if they were worked singly?" The decision of the society was that "every fifty-two cards so worked be charged a pack."[3] Members were held to honest work for their employers and expelled from the society for an unworkmanlike thing as surely as for an act prejudicial to the interests of other workmen. In November, 1817, a member was expelled and his name sent to all known societies because he had "turned wrong a half sheet of 24's, and without mentioning the fact to his employers left the city, even neglecting to note down the signature letter in his bill—conduct highly derogatory to the New York Typographical Society and disgraceful to himself as a member."

Out of the conditions in the industry were rapidly de-

[3] The principle involved here has always been contended for by British trade unions, but not, as a rule, by those of the United States, at least until recently. The claim is that labor should have a once-established percentage share of the product, regardless of time involved in its production. This is now a dictum of the unions that seek to maintain "a competitive equality" among employers, but is not a part of the typographical union's creed.

veloped the measures which soon became the customs which, ossifying, became the anatomy of subsequent trade unionism—the bones and framework of all modern organizations along trade lines. These "fundamental principles of trade unionism," which are never now expressed in constitutions, or elaborated in resolutions, because too thoroughly understood to be expressed, or require expression, are but the successful experiments of the formative period in its life, made permanent by time; the sediment of experience petrified. As witness to this development it is worthy of note that at its meeting in November, 1817, the society resolved to keep a register of members, and their places of employment. One member was appointed as the representative of the society in each printing office, and at each meeting as their names were read they must give information "as to the state of trade and the chances of employment for more of our members." A list of those out of work was also to be kept, and these in the order of registration were to be notified of any vacancies or opportunities for employment reported at each meeting. How suggestive this is of the "father of the chapel," the "house of call," and the "waiting list," and each of the early societies developed similar features. The aggressive element was, however, being defeated in another direction. In 1816 the society had made application to the state legislature at Albany for an act of incorporation. The assembly passed the bill, but the senate inserted an amendment, which, while preserving all of the social and "benefit" features of the society, prohibited it from interfering in any manner with trade matters, or attempting to influence the wages of labor. This amendment to its bill the society declined to accept, and the matter went over for two years. In 1818 the bill came up in its original form again, and was again passed by the assembly. Thurlow

Weed, who had joined the society in October, 1816, just after it had established its wage scale of 1815, but before industrial peace had been entirely secured, had charge of the society's bill in Albany. Mr. Weed seems to have been thoroughly in sympathy with the trade regulation interests of the organizations, but the senate was not to be moved. After two years of effort to secure what it wanted from the legislature, the society finally accepted the senate's terms and adopted, as section 5 of article 1 of its constitution, the following:

SEC. 5. In no case shall the society interfere in respect to the price of labor.

The society exists today and is financially prosperous, but it passed out of the class of organizations considered in this article by its acceptance of this legislative charter in 1818. On its beneficial side it had a most elaborate system for the relief of needy members, going so far as to furnish and pay watchers for the sick. The large area of its jurisdiction was divided into sections with visiting committees for each. It was as active in matters of mutual benefit and help as on its trade side. The mutual aid element in these early societies has been fully written up heretofore by scholars who, judging only from their printed constitution, and not having access to the minutes or records, have assumed that they were merely mutual aid and burial societies. There is no disposition here to question or ignore this element in these societies, but to bring to light from the minutes the evidence that whatever livery of charitable clubs they wore in public, in their hall rooms they were labor organizations.

Considerable space has been given to this New York society of 1809 because of its trade aggressiveness. In trade matters it was the stormy petrel of the early societies, and but for the clipping of its wings in 1818 the societies organized in the movement of 1815 to 1820

would probably, under its influence, have been as distinctively and as openly trade unions as were those organized from 1830 to 1850.

In order to follow more closely the career of this New York Typographical Society from its inception to the surrender of its trade influence, there has been some sacrifice of strict chronological arrangement. It remains, however, but to state that from the time of its organization, July 1, 1809, until it ceased to be a labor force in 1818, it had enrolled 237 members.

During the war of 1812 the secretary of the society, David H. Reins, organized a company of artillery composed entirely of printers for the defense of the harbor of New York; just as the Philadelphia society, by unanimous vote in September, 1814, resolved to appropriate one day's labor for each of its members "on the fortifications now erecting for the defense of the city," and on October 14, 1814, appointed a committee of three "whose duty it shall be to receive applications of the wives of such members of this society now absent in the service of the country, under the requisition of the president thereof, as may stand in need of assistance, and that they report at every meeting of the directory the sum they think proper to be allowed to each."

The Philadelphia society, after passing the resolution of December, 1808, forbidding its members to instruct an apprentice who was more than 18 years of age at the commencement of his apprenticeship, and providing for the transmission to other societies of the names of expelled members, as elsewhere referred to, followed this up in March, 1809, by requiring all members to take the obligation formerly exacted only from officers, including the pledge "that I will procure employment for any member or members of this society in preference to any other when occasion may require."

Early in 1809 the society began proceedings to secure incorporation. Some alteration in the constitution was required by the courts preliminary thereto, though the exact character of the change does not appear on the minutes. In December, 1809, however, "the committee appointed to procure an incorporation reported that the constitution had been handed to the judge of the supreme court for signature on that day and that Mr. Franklin's fee as counsel was $8, which he would not accept, but returned to the committee as a donation to the funds of the society."

July 14, 1810, the initiation fee was raised to $5 and a clause added to its constitution which has caused the downfall of more societies than any other one thing with which they had to contend, to the effect that members who paid their dues for twenty years became "free members," entitled to all the benefits of the society for life without further payment. The effect of this will be referred to elsewhere.

In September, 1810, the society presented a new scale of prices to the employers, which seems to have been unsatisfactory. No copy of this price list has been found. A strike for its enforcement seems to have been a disastrous failure, almost depleting the society's treasury and greatly reducing its membership. At the beginning of 1810 there were 119 members in good standing, 14 joining during the year, and 78 resigned or were expelled, leaving the membership 55, or only one more than in 1802, at the close of its first year of existence.

Apart from its patriotic attitude in 1814, referred to above, the benevolent features of the society occupied its energies until June, 1816, when the pressmen formulated a scale and issued the following address to the employers. A similar statement was issued by the compositors, bearing the indorsement of the society, which raises the ques-

tion as to whether the pressmen belonged to the society or whether the society as such indorsed only the demands of the compositors and not those of the pressmen. The only copy of this address and price list found was transcribed on the minutes of the New York Typographical Society as a communication from Philadelphia. The document itself appears to emanate from a mass meeting rather than from the society.

The Philadelphia Typographical Society seems not to have become a purely benevolent association until 1831. Whether or not the pressmen acted independently of the society in this matter the address and scale is worth preserving here.

PHILADELPHIA, June 17, 1816.

To the Employing Printers of the City and County of Philadelphia.

GENTLEMEN: The pressmen are induced, from a duty which they owe to themselves, to call your serious attention to what they here present you. The general prices that they now receive for their work were established fourteen years since [by the scale committee of 1802]; it will therefore appear obvious to every person that there has been a great increase since that period in the population of our country, likewise a wide extension of our commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. The consequence has been a very considerable rise in the things necessary for the comfort of man. They are decidedly of the opinion that almost all mechanics have had an advance in their wages in proportion to the rise in the necessaries of life, taken in the aggregate; while the printer, whose profession is not second in point of merit to any other, is left as it were to stem the torrent of adversity with an empty pocket. Heaven forbid that this should be the fate of those whose labors tend so essentially to the promulgation of knowledge throughout our extensive country. And they likewise believe it to be an indelible fact, long since established, that Philadelphia is famous for its workmen in the art preservative of all arts, both in skill and faculty; but with shame they are compelled to say (notwithstanding our city is the emporium of art) that they receive a

less award for their services than is awarded in any of the other cities of the Union. From a sense of imperious duty incumbent upon them as respectable members of society, they now make the demand, fully confident that it is moderate and just. The laborer is worthy of his hire.

They therefore anticipate that you will, with liberality becoming your profession, give your decided approbation to the annexed scale of prices. Your opposition we ought not to expect. We are, however, directed by the meeting to inform you that we have been authorized and directed to correspond and confer with you individually, or to meet any committee that may be appointed on your part for that purpose. You will, therefore, gentlemen, please to inform us of your determination as soon as possible, as we have to report to the next meeting. On our part, we assure you that we will use our utmost endeavors in this conference to produce a good understanding and to avoid, as far as possible, those inconveniences and altercations which invariably arise out of an imperfect understanding, well aware that it is too often cherished by those whose position "does not command a view of the whole ground."

(Signed by order of the meeting.)

J. C. Dowden,
P. Miller,
Geo. Hitner,
John Douglas,
O. P. Merrill,

Committee on behalf of the Journeymen Pressmen.

PRESSWORK

Pressmen to receive not less than $9 per week for 10 hours' work per day. Paper—medium and below medium, not less than 33 1-3 cents per token; when the number is less than four tokens, to be charged 35 cents per token; above medium 37½ cents per token; stereotype editions to be charged 35 cents per token; broadsides, medium, 60 cents per token; royal, 75 cents per token. Cards—for one pack and not exceeding two packs, 33 1-3 cents; when the number exceeds two packs, to be charged 12½ cents per pack.

The result of this appeal is not known. In April, 1817, the society appointed a committee styled the Committee of Employ—

"Whose duty it shall be to receive the name or names of such person or persons belonging to this society as shall from time to time be out of employment, which committee shall thereupon take all just and honorable methods of procuring situations for such applicants.

"Said committee shall meet at least twice in every month, and shall make report to the board of directors at every meeting thereof of the number of applicants (designating their names), and generally of the progress made in the duties of said committee, which report shall be duly entered on the minutes by the secretary and read at each stated meeting of the society."

From time to time committees were "appointed to investigate the state of the printing business in this city" until February 5, 1831, when, by resolution, it was decided "that this society from and after the first day of April, 1831, be dissolved," and a committee was appointed to turn all its assets into cash and divide the funds among the members. Before the date set for dissolution arrived, however, namely, February 12, it was decided "that we do now agree to form an association for benevolent purposes;" and that while the cash on hand should be divided among the members, "the library and bookcase and the burial lot" should be given to the new organization, provided the donor of the burial lot (Mr. Ronaldson) would consent to the transfer.

Thus died the trade regulation features in one of the oldest societies. As a society it still exists, as does the New York society of 1809. Never so aggressively industrial as some of the others, the Philadelphia society was conservatively a trade organization from 1802 to 1831, and even after that, in 1832, it being rumored that one of its members was about to employ women as compositors, and had offered a non-union printer a situation as foreman in case women were employed, the feeling in

the society was so strong that the member in question felt called upon to write a letter to be spread upon the minutes of the society denying that he had ever intended to employ women.[4]

A table (see page 50), compiled from the records of this society, shows the growth in membership and receipts and expenditures for half a century, from its organization in 1802 till 1852.

The year 1815 was a memorable one for printers' societies. Boston, Mass.; Albany, N. Y., and Washington, D. C., organized during the year, and while the date of the organization of the Baltimore Typographical Society is not known, the first mention of it is also found during this year. The first meeting of the Washington

[4] This is the first mention found of women in the trade. Later the question became of utmost importance to printers, and a brief summary of its history seems necessary here, since the final disposition did not occur until after the date set as a limit to the general text of this article. January 17, 1835, a special meeting was called by the Washington (D. C.) society because of the alarm occasioned by a statement published in a local paper "that girls were being employed as compositors in newspaper offices in Philadelphia," to break a strike. Resolutions were adopted and embodied in a circular letter sent to the typographical societies of Philadelphia, Boston, New York and Baltimore, asking if any girls were so employed, if so, how many, and what action these societies "proposed to take to prevent the further progress of this evil?" The records do not show that any replies were received. The national convention of 1854 devoted much of its time to a discussion of the "woman question," as the Detroit Union had asked for instructions in the matter. The proceedings of the convention contain pages of resolutions on all sides of the problem, none of which passed. The matter was referred to a committee which recommended that the regulation of the subject be left to local unions, since "the employment of females, as compositors, can never become so general or extensive as to affect the trade materially." At a meeting of the Boston Typographical Union held June 14, 1856, a motion that "any member working in any office that employs female compositors should be expelled from the union," was "laid over" for future consideration, and April 11, 1857, the same union passed a resolution "that all females be allowed by this society to work in all branches of the business, provided they receive the scale of prices adopted by this union." The Philadelphia delegates to the national convention of 1855 were especially "instructed to oppose any recognition of the employment of females as compositors." Nearly every national convention debated, and every local union, in cities at least, had to adopt a policy in regard to this subject. Finally a "union of women printers" was organized in New York city in 1870 and sought admission to the national, and the national convention of 1872 settled the matter by admitting women to full membership in local unions and demanding for her labor the same price paid to men.

Statistics of Membership and of Receipts and Expenditures During First Half Century of the Philadelphia Typographical Society:

YEAR	MEMBERS			RECEIPTS		EXPENDITURES	
	Admitted	Died, Resigned, or Expelled	In Good Standing	Dues, Fines, Initiations	From Other Sources	Death, Sick, or Out-of-work Benefits	Other Expenses
1802	54	...	54	$80 64	.....	.....	.....
1803	13	5	62	70 94	.....	$3 00	$59 00
1804	1	...	63	162 00	.....	.....	9 00
1805	..	...	63	52 62	.....	.....	9 00
1806	6	1	68	116 87	$3 75	12 00	44 10
1807	22	2	88	229 38	48 00	41 00	30 37
1808	9	2	95	109 78	48 70	36 00	45 25
1809	24	...	119	168 00	44 00	65 00	165 37
1810	14	78	55	333 00	52 00	79 00	255 02
1811	6	2	59	209 88	31 00	194 00	57 50
1812	7	2	64	172 00	833 00	101 00	32 50
1813	6	3	67	193 00	65 34	31 00	46 50
1814	3	4	66	138 37	74 90	105 00	33 00
1815	10	4	72	251 38	70 34	103 00	38 18
1816	11	3	80	232 62	78 19	75 00	91 24
1817	14	6	88	247 50	95 93	48 00	160 84
1818	7	2	93	203 87	95 67	129 00	44 00
1819	2	4	91	130 25	67 92	183 00	256 25
1820	2	5	88	128 50	21 98	215 00	192 34
1821	..	4	84	118 50	35 75	270 00	27 75
1822	9	4	89	123 87	314 09	143 00	13 88
1823	2	3	88	161 88	71 54	114 50	271 01
1824	9	6	91	128 87	62 81	259 50	27 84
1825	10	2	99	154 63	999 05	101 50	259 26
1826	6	1	104	115 50	73 25	36 00	118 19
1827	12	4	112	199 25	80 25	163 50	130 87
1828	4	3	113	114 75	76 50	162 00	25 00
1829	6	3	116	137 91	91 00	248 00	51 30
1830	1	3	114	158 25	297 12	328 00	106 00
1831	52	*114	52	463 35	.....	55 00	21 58
1832	22	...	74	429 36	100 00	368 57	34 35
1833	45	14	105	473 84	112 00	267 00	79 94
1834	29	23	111	840 19	45 00	150 00	257 78
1835	39	33	117	831 00	70 00	295 52	305 92
1836	26	28	115	620 49	77 65	297 54	22 12
1837	19	19	115	688 13	88 10	203 67	180 09
1838	19	12	122	569 56	100 00	462 84	109 75
1839	21	18	125	729 24	112 00	260 36	147 45
1840	25	15	135	835 24	132 00	267 72	131 33
1841	37	6	166	1,030 04	150 00	648 35	130 04
1842	11	9	168	1,008 04	278 00	1,331 84	172 27
1843	9	8	169	1,156 21	162 00	827 13	258 92
1844	16	10	175	1,161 15	162 00	1,293 35	234 02
1845	15	...	190	1,221 00	162 00	1,264 72	165 55
1846	24	6	208	1,340 76	162 00	782 99	123 30
1847	11	7	212	1,642 34	163 10	1,235 35	132 00
1848	14	1	225	1,533 53	162 00	1,362 16	141 20
1849	18	9	234	1,630 42	162 00	1,566 88	150 85
1850	7	6	235	1,564 50	328 90	1,801 69	85 50
1851	15	9	241	1,508 12	233 71	1,568 23	99 90

* Reorganization. Funds divided equally.

printers for the purpose of organization was held December 10, 1814, at the private house of H. L. Lewis, in whose parlor the society met for some years, paying him $1 per month for the privilege. At this first meeting a committee was appointed to draft a constitution "with instructions to model the same as nearly as may be practicable by that of the Philadelphia Typographical Society." This committee reported in January, 1815; the constitution was adopted, and the society organized with nineteen members. Nine more were added during the year, making a total of twenty-eight at the close of 1815.[5]

The fact should not be overlooked that the Washington society (called the Columbia Typographical Society) was modeled after the most conservative and largely beneficial of the earlier societies—that of Philadelphia; while that of Albany, N. Y., evidently organized at the instigation of the emissaries from the New York city society, was patterned after that more aggressive body. But if the "first object of the Columbia society was benevolence," it also proposed to "regulate prices," and in the conflict of factions, almost evenly divided as to numbers (except under extreme provocation, as in 1836), it was at once liberally benevolent and conservatively persistent in trade matters, being the only one of the old societies that has survived until today, and developed into a modern trade union, rather than a mutual benefit association.

On June 15, 1815, a committee of correspondence was

[5] As no information has hitherto been obtainable relative to the membership of these organizations, the accessions to this society, by years, is here noted up to 1840. As stated above, it had twenty-eight members at the close of 1815. In 1816 it added fifteen to its membership; five in 1817; nine in 1818; five in 1819; nine in 1820; six in 1821; five in 1822; fourteen in 1823; ten in 1824; thirteen in 1825; eleven in 1826; nine in 1827; eleven in 1828; two in 1829; four in 1830; eleven in 1831; seven in 1832; five in 1833; seventy-one in 1834; thirty-three in 1835; seventeen in 1836; thirty-one in 1837; seventeen in 1838, and seventeen in 1839, making a total of recorded names in twenty-five years of 365.

appointed, which reported July 1 that it had sent the following circular letter to the typographical societies of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, and Boston. The copy here given is from the minutes of the original society. It differs in phraseology on minor points from the copy made from the records of the New York society as received.

WASHINGTON, July —, 1815.

To the President of the ——— Society, ——— at ———.

SIR: By a vote of the Columbia Typographical Society, we were appointed a committee of correspondence: In pursuance of which appointment it has become our duty, through you, to address the society over which you preside, informing them of the organization, in the District of Columbia, of a society under the above title: having for its object, first, benevolence, and second, the establishment of a regular system of prices. In the obtainment of these views, we feel assured of the good wishes of your body, as well as of every friend to the profession.

In the infancy of associations of this nature difficulties will frequently occur, tending to dampen the fondest expectations of the most sanguine. That we have had to contend with such difficulties we will not attempt to deny, but by a determined perseverance on the part of each member, they have been caused to vanish, and we now indulge the pleasing hope that our society is firmly and permanently established. With satisfaction we have it in our power to state that, with but few exceptions, every journeyman in this District is now a member of this society. The few who are not, we have the strongest reasons for asserting, will in a short time attach themselves to us.

We are also directed to state, for the information of the journeymen in your vicinity, the wages given in the District, viz.:

During the session of congress, per week	$10 00
Working on a Sunday	2 00
During the recess, per week	9 00
For pressmen and compositors—	
Composition, per 1000 m's, for brevier and upward	28
Composition, per 1000 m's, for less than brevier	33⅓
Presswork, per token	33⅓
Presswork, per token, on newspapers	37½

Journeymen are altogether employed by the week during the session of Congress.

We give this notice with a hope that it may prevent journeymen at a distance engaging at less prices than those above quoted.

With a request that reciprocal communications having a tendency to benefit the profession may at all times take place,

We have the honor to be, sir, yours, etc., respectfully,

JAS. PETTIGREW,
J. GIDEON, JR.

This letter brought but two replies, one from Baltimore[6] and that of the president of the New York Typographical Society, which society sent a further communication, received October 7, notifying the Columbia society of a strike in New York to enforce the scale of prices, and asking that no Washington printers be permitted to take situations in New York until the trouble was over. At this meeting of October 7 a "committee was appointed to draft a list of prices similar to that of Baltimore." This committee reported and the list was approved November 4, 1815.

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[6] The letter from the Baltimore society makes so clear the fact that that organization was likewise as thoroughly economic in its purpose as were the others that it is reproduced here, since no other documents of this early Baltimore society have been discovered.

BALTIMORE, December 8, 1815.

To the President of the Columbia Typographical Society.

SIR: I hasten to comply with a requisition of the Baltimore Typographical Association, imposed on me by a vote of that body at their last meeting, viz., a reply to a communication received from a committee of the society over which you have the honor to preside—under the name and title first mentioned. Previous, however, to entering into the performance of this task it becomes a duty incumbent on me as a friend to a mutual interchange of sentiments between associations of this nature, as well as individuals, to explain, so far as is within my power, the causes which have produced this almost unpardonable delay—a delay so derogatory to the feelings and so contrary to the wishes of every member of our body.

Your communication bears date of June 30, 1815. It was, I believe, received in due season, and promptly laid before the next meeting after its receipt, which meeting empowered and required the then secretary to forward a reply, expressive of the thanks of the association for the attention you have shown them, the pleasure they always experience in the establishment of any

The Boston Typographical Society of 1809 had apparently ceased to exist, as another of the same name was organized November 25, 1815, and on March 2, 1816, on the eve of a demand for an increase of wages, sent the following letter to the various societies:

BOSTON, March 2, 1816.

SIR: A society bearing the name of the "Boston Typographical Society" was formed in this town on the 25th of November last past, of which P. F. Quearean is president; Henry Nichols, vice-president, and William Learned, secretary.

On Monday next, 4th of March, the journeymen of this town and vicinity calculate to receive the prices which they have adopted. The employers have already been informed of our determination and we doubt not they will be obstinate at first, but must eventually agree to give us the prices we ask, provided we are united and the journeymen of your city do not think proper to come to this town for work at the call of the masters, as they will doubtless many of them advertise for workmen in a short time.

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regulations which have the least tendency to promote the interest and happiness of our brethren in every section of the Union, their congratulations that you have so completely succeeded in rebuffing the many obstacles naturally incident in the formation of such associations, and their readiness at all times to co-operate with you in all and every measure which may have for its object the mutual interest of both associations and the profession generally. The above order, from causes not yet explained, has not been complied with, nor was known until the last meeting.

Hoping that the above-recited fact will be sufficient to remove any unpleasant sensations from your minds which may have been excited in consequence thereof, I embrace the present occasion of complimenting you on the fundamental principles of your association—"benevolence" and the "establishment of a regular system of prices." The first is one of the noblest virtues of the human heart and the last very essential to the promotion of the interest and happiness of every association of a mechanical nature.

To conclude, sir, you may be assured that we will always feel proud to receive any communication from the Columbia society which may, in the least, have a tendency to favor the views or carry into effect the objects of each association, and will ever be ready at any moment to act with alacrity in conjunction with it on any measure that might lead to our mutual benefit.

I have the honor to remain, with the sentiments of respect (on behalf of the Baltimore association), your very obt. humble servant.

JOHN REVELL,
President of said Association.

MR. ALEXANDER GRAHAM,
President of the Columbia Typographical Society.

We, therefore, earnestly request that you will give notice to the members of your society of our proceedings, and as it is all important that we should be left to manage our own affairs in our own way, you will please give us every necessary aid in the present contest which "try men's souls."

We are, sir, with respect, yours, etc.,

ELIAKIM FISH,
GEO. SINGLETON,
WM. KERRY, JR.,
Committee.

P. S.—Should you observe in the newspapers an advertisement for journeymen wanted in this place, we request you to advertise in our behalf that there are between 50 and 60 journeymen out of employ in Boston.

October 4, 1816, the aggressive Albany society, which, as stated above, had been organized in 1815, sent the following letter to all societies:

ALBANY, October 4, 1816.

To the President of the Washington City Typographical Society, Washington.

SIR: All bodies formed for the purpose of maintaining the rights of those concerned therein, while at the same time they afford relief in cases of distress to which any of their members may be exposed, ought to possess the means of holding up to the contempt of those societies who have the same just and benevolent ends in view, such persons as either from self-interest or perverseness endeavor to defeat the object of such associations.

Influenced by these sentiments, the Albany Typographical Society authorized the undersigned to communicate to the different societies in the United States their willingness to co-operate with them in the furtherance of all lawful measures conducive with the interests of the business, and at the same time to forward the names of several unprincipled persons to you, and through you to the Washington City Typographical Society, who, for months past, have been and are still working in the office of Messrs. ——— in this city below the prices established by the society.

Their names are ——, ——, ——, ——, ——, ——.

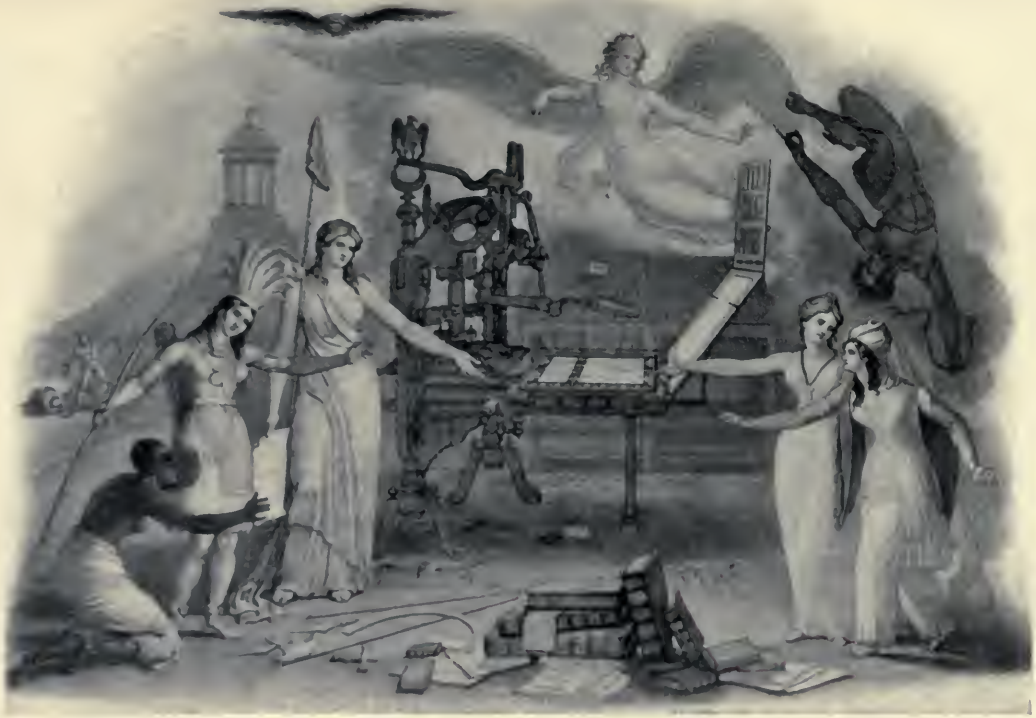
What renders their conduct the more censurable is the fact of their being several times warned of the consequences which would result from their proceedings, but persisting notwithstanding.

By order of the society.

JOHN B. N. STEINBERGH, *President.*
JOHN HENSHALL, *Secretary.*

While this was recognized as a radical step to take at that time, there was no refusal to comply with the request of the Albany society. It was, in fact, no more than the Philadelphia society had reluctantly conceded to the New York society in 1809. The Albany society seems to have refused to permit its members to work in offices with men receiving less than the scale almost from the first. This society seems to have been the first to give currency to the term "rat" as applied to a printer who works for less than the established wages, and struck against the employment of a man designated as a "rat" in 1821. To the credit of this stormy little society in Albany, N. Y., let it be said that in a subsequent letter it took up the case of at least one of these men and rescinded its action. The letter gives an inside view of the industrial conditions of the time which renders it pre-eminently worth preserving.

"We have become more fully acquainted with the causes which compelled Stephen Dorion to accept of the illegitimate prices. It appears he was among the first of those who refused to comply with the views of the employers and consequently lost his situation. He went to New York in pursuit of work, but could not procure any. He returned again to this city and after sacrificing all his property, amounting to about $100, besides contracting a heavy debt for the support of his family, with starvation staring him in the face, without the least hope or possibility of procuring any assistance from our society, and, from the



PHILADELPHIA TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Philadelphia Typographical Society

On the illustrated sheet preceding this paragraph is reproduced the allegory used by the Philadelphia Typographical Society to embellish its certificate of membership. It was designed and engraved by John Sartain.*

The Philadelphia Society was organized November 6, 1802. Every member was required to provide himself with a silver rule, with his name on one side and the name of the society on the other. The president and vice-president were provided with a gold rule, at the expense of this society, for their use and their successors. The sums given by the society to its members are paid as a right, and not as a charity.

This society has always been a public-spirited and patriotic body. In 1812 it sold its profitable bank shares at a loss of twenty per cent. and subscribed to United States bonds instead, to help the government in its war with Great Britain. It also made appropriations to assist the families of members who had enlisted.

In 1824 the society turned out in a body at a reception given to General Lafayette.

In 1827 the society contributed $90 to assist the Greeks in their gallant though fruitless struggle for independence.

In 1832 it participated in the centennial celebration of the birth of General Washington. It had in the line of parade a press in operation, on which some of the members were busy printing the "Farewell Address" of Washington while other members gave the printed sheets to the people along the route of parade.

In 1834 the society participated in the mock funeral over General Lafayette.

In 1844 it took part in the obsequies to General Harrison.

In 1861 to 1865, during the War of the Rebellion, it kept those members in good standing who were serving their country "at the front."

From 1802 until the Typographical Union was formed in 1850, this society was the regulator of all matters pertaining to the trade, and its decisions were acquiesced in by both employers and employed. Upon it were centered the respect of the employer, the faith of the journeyman and the hope of the apprentice. It has been especially honored in its membership by such men as John C. Clark, James Ronaldson, T. K. Collins, book printer; J. B. Lippincott, book publisher; Charles Eneu Johnson, ink manufacturer; Louis A. Godey, publisher of "Godey's Lady's Book"; Mathew Carey, well known as an author and publisher; Charles Johnson, Sr.; Archibald Binney, eminent as an attorney-at-law; Adam Ramage, inventor of the "two-pull" Ramage press; P. G. Collins, printer, one of the founders of the present society; Simon Cameron, secretary

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* Sartain, John: Engraver, designer and literary editor; born in London, England, October 24, 1808; became an engraver and did some important work, including some of the plates for William Young Ottley's works on early Italian prints. He removed to the United States in 1830 and settled in Philadelphia. He is generally thought to have introduced mezzotint engraving into America. He also practiced oil-painting and miniature-painting on ivory and vellum. Afterward he was editor and proprietor of the Foreign Semi-Monthly Magazine, and having bought the Union Magazine renamed it, making it Sartain's Union Magazine. He designed several public monuments, among which is that to Washington and Lafayette in Monument Cemetery, Philadelphia. His Reminiscences of a Very Old Man was published in 1899. Died in Philadelphia, October 25, 1897. Revised by Russell Sturgis.—*Universal Encyclopedia.*

of war during Lincoln's administration; William W. Harding, publisher for years of the Philadelphia Inquirer; Robert P. King, printer, a member of the late firm of King & Baird; Colonel James Page, eminent as a member of the Philadelphia bar; John W. Forney, United States senator, and founder of the Philadelphia Press; Morton McMichael, publisher of the North American for a number of years, also sheriff, and mayor of Philadelphia; Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Mass., author of "Printing in America"; Anthony J. Drexel; Laurence Johnson, Thomas MacKellar, John F. Smith, Richard Smith, Peter A. Jordan, type founders; Richard Ronaldson, one of the founders of the Johnson type foundry; George W. Childs, publisher for some years of the Public Ledger.

From the year 1831 down to the present time the society has paid out for relief more than $300,000.

Following is a key to the allegory referred to:

A figure of Liberty enveloped by the American banner and accompanied by the American eagle, which hovers immediately over her head; she holds in one hand a scroll inscribed with the motto of the society, and with the other directs the attention of the world (as represented by four figures personating its great leading divisions of Europe, Asia, Africa and America) to the printing press as the source of mental light. The light on the foreground objects comes both from the form on the press and from a figure of Intelligence above it, who has overthrown Ignorance, and points to the press as the instrument of power. The dark figure of Ignorance is represented with chains, and going down headlong, writhing and imprecating. In front is a pile of volumes, periodicals, newspapers, etc., and a number of instruments of warfare and destruction broken into fragments.

Far in the distance is the Temple of Fame, placed on the top of an almost inaccessible hill, and at its foot a king, his head bowed to the ground and his crown rolled in the dust—his freed subject standing by, erect, with fetters broken.

conviction that 'rats' in abundance could be procured to carry on the work of destruction, he chose rather to work at reduced wages than to become an inhabitant of a gaol or a poorhouse. Therefore we hope he may be exonerated from the odious appellation of 'rat'."

Twenty years later (1838), St. Louis, Mo., protested against a too strenuous hounding of "rats," and it was one of the first acts of the national organization of 1852 to call a halt on the abuse of this custom by local societies.

From 1816 to 1827, so far as can be determined from the minutes of the Washington society, communications between the various societies practically ceased, but each was active in its own field. The problem of a uniform wage scale throughout the country, begun by the complaint of the employers of New York city in the strike of 1815, now became a serious question to the societies from another point of view. The price lists were printed separately from the constitution, and the earlier constitutions in most societies made no direct reference to wage scales. Some members claimed that working for less than the wage scale was not a violation of the constitution. Roving printers also claimed that if they did not work below the scale of the society they had originally joined they were not violating any obligation. The Washington society's scale was higher than that of any northern city, and, as the government printing made the capital a sort of Mecca for "tramp" printers, this society became the first serious victim of this subterfuge.

To settle the claim made by home members, who insisted that the scale was not a part of the organic law, the society, February 1, 1817, ordered 250 copies of the constitution printed "with the list of prices annexed thereto." This plan was adopted by Boston in 1825, and gradually by all societies, and the reason for it is as stated above. It is kept up to this day by local printers'

unions. This, however, only partially settled the trouble with itinerant compositors.[7]

April 4, 1818, the society adopted an entirely new constitution, both in preamble and nearly every section. It broke away, practically, from the ultra conservatism of the Philadelphia model, and placed the Washington society more in line with that of New York city prior to its acceptance of a legislative charter.

The special agitation of the apprentice question began in Washington in 1818, and while the constitution of that year does not go beyond requiring "a satisfactory apprenticeship," nevertheless from the minutes it is learned that candidates for membership were not only vigorously questioned on this point, but were required to prove by written statements from "their masters" that they had served "a four-years' apprenticeship." Even after admission members were held liable to expulsion if it was discovered that there "had been irregularities in his apprenticeship." A case of this character came up July 16, 1818, when it was charged that one Fleming had no right to membership. Fleming proved that he had served two and a half years' apprenticeship in Dublin, Ireland, and afterward a short-term apprenticeship in Philadelphia, but this was claimed irregular, as the entire term

[7] The division of sentiment on the uniform wage scale was apparent in the call for the national convention of 1836, in which the Washington society sought to estop the convention from dealing with uniform rates by the very terms of the call, while Cincinnati had made the original request for a national convention in the hope of securing uniform rates of wages. In the convention of 1854 a resolution was introduced that all members should consider the bill of prices a part of the by-laws, and the convention of 1855 formulated a pledge, to be taken by all members, which covered the question in the following manner:

"I, ——— ———, hereby solemnly and sincerely swear * * * that I will, without equivocation or evasion, and to the best of my ability, so long as I live, abide by the constitution and by-laws, and the particular scale of prices of work acknowledged and adopted by this or other typographical unions of the United States, of which I now am or may become a member, and that I will at all times, by every honorable means in my power, procure employment for members of our union in preference to all others. So help me God."

must be under one master to protect the trade against "runaways." The vote on his expulsion being a tie, he was saved only by the casting vote of the president. The constitution of 1818 provided for certificates of membership, especially traveling certificates, and remitted the dues of members while traveling outside the District of Columbia, provided they joined any other society while so traveling and brought back with them a clear record from the society so joined. February 16, 1819, the society ordered 250 certificates of membership and made it obligatory for members to carry them when at work, whether in the District or out. The constitution was again revised in 1821, when the faction opposed to any trade interference had again secured a majority in the society. This revision is not here reproduced, as there are no important changes, except that four years' apprenticeship is made an "indispensable qualification for all persons hereafter admitted." All reference to other societies was stricken out, and a member absent from the District was compelled to pay dues upon his return precisely as though he had not been absent.

The first clause of article 17, section 1, states that "a majority of the society shall determine on all charges alleged against any member, whether they are of a nature cognizable by the rules of the society." As the event proved, it was under this provision that all interference in trade matters was to be ruled out of order by the "alimoners," who, at that moment, held a majority against the "industrialists." The society was not ready, however, to take a step which might compel the surrender of its right to interfere in wage matters. At a meeting held December 1, 1821, a resolution was introduced looking to the incorporation of the society by Congress. The trade-regulating element among members feared that this would result, as it had in New York city, in

taking away all power to interfere in prices of labor. It being pretty generally conceded that this might result, the debate was along that line. The vote was a tie, the president casting his vote against the project of incorporation. It was not until October 4, 1823, that a trade question was forced before the society, at which time the question whether or not setting minion for 30 cents per 1,000 ems on a newspaper was a violation of the price list was decided in the negative. April 3, 1824, charges were lodged against three men—one a foreman, one a proprietor for whom the others worked, and the third a journeyman—all members of the society, charging the two former with paying the latter less than the scale, and the latter with working under the scale. The contention was that it was none of the society's business, if all parties to the arrangement agreed to it willingly as individuals.

The test of strength between the two factions came on the question as to whether this was a charge "of a nature cognizable by the rules of the society," under article 17 of the constitution, as quoted above, and a majority voted that it was. The membership of the society had been waning for some time—but six new members joined in 1821, five in 1822. Some improvement began to be noted, however, and in 1824, for the first time, the society joined in a civic parade on the Fourth of July as a society, wearing silver "printers' rules" as badges. From the minutes it appears the society was out in full force, forming "in front of the president's house." In the parade they had a press on a wagon "printing and distributing from it copies of the Declaration of Independence."

At the June meeting in 1827 the spirit of the progressive element began to stir anew, and a communication was ordered to be sent to the New York city and Phila-

delphia societies. For ten years there had been no correspondence between these organizations. The letter of the Washington society[8] brought replies from both the societies addressed. They were faint-hearted letters, however, indicating that those societies, as such, were not more progressive than this one at that time. The letters are not of sufficient historical interest to reproduce them here. Of considerable more importance is a resolution introduced by W. H. Blaney, January 5, 1828. Mr. Blaney was a member of both the Philadelphia and Washington societies. During 1827 he had been visiting in New York city and Philadelphia. His acquaintance with the views of the printers of these cities was wide, and the plan he proposed was without reasonable doubt approved by a strong minority in all three of the

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[8] Copy of a communication to the presidents of the New York and Philadelphia typographical societies:

WASHINGTON CITY, July 9, 1827.

President of the New York Typographical Society.

SIR: At a stated meeting of the Columbia Typographical Society of Washington, held on the 7th instant, the president was "requested to forward a copy of our constitution and by-laws to the society over which you preside, and to request a reciprocation of favors on the part of your society."

In compliance with this request, I take pleasure in forwarding our constitution and requesting that you will forward us a copy of yours in return. The object of transmitting this instrument is, to open a correspondence with our brethren of New York, in the hope that, if kept up between the societies, it may be of mutual benefit. Any facts or information that may have that tendency will be thankfully received on our part, and we shall not fail to notify you of all matters which may be of moment, or likely to prove interesting to you.

Within the covers of the constitution you will find our list of prices, and the names of all the members of our society, up to the time it was printed. This latter information will prove interesting to some of our brethren of your city, if there shall be found among these signers of our constitution the names of any of their friends. It naturally gives us pleasure to procure information of the companions of our earlier years, and to learn, after a long separation, whether they are yet alive or whether they have passed that bourn from which no traveler returns.

This communication, and the constitution, will be handed you by our secretary, Francis G. Fish, who is on a visit to some of the principal Atlantic cities, and to his friends at the eastward. He is recommended to your favorable regard, and will be the bearer of any favor you may wish to send us in return.

Very respectfully, sir, I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

WILLIAM KERR, JR.,
President Columbia Typographical Society.

societies, though it must be remembered that the New York city society was prevented by its legislative charter of 1818 from embarking in such a project, nor is it entirely certain that the Philadelphia society had not, as a society, lost its control over price regulation. Mr. Blaney's plan was embodied in the following:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed from this society to devise means to form a connection with the Philadelphia and New York typographical societies for the support of prices in each city, and report the same at the next stated meeting.

The resolution was tabled, as the time was not yet come for this. Here we have the first hint (unless it be true that the New York society did make the same proposition to Boston in 1816) of a grouping of printers' organizations, such as was accomplished in 1836.

From 1828 on, the scrutiny of applicants for membership, on the point of their having served a full term of apprenticeship, became more searching and jealous.

The trouble with the printer to the United States Senate, Gen. Duff Green, which cemented the scattered societies and made new ones, and of which much will be said later, began early in 1829. At a meeting held July 4, 1829, the president of the society reported that he had held several fruitless conferences with and had six letters from "Mr. Duff Green on the subject of a reduction of the established prices."

At the meeting of February 7, 1829, a resolution to have the society incorporated by Congress was voted down by a decisive majority. This idea of incorporation was always associated more or less with that of surrendering control over wages, and the time for that had passed. A new impetus was coming to organization—new plans forming, a new opponent arising, who in an attempt to crush was destined to solidify the trade organizations.

The fatal mistake of the early societies was the "free membership" section in their constitutions. A member who paid his dues for a certain period—ten years in Washington, ten years in Baltimore, and twenty in Philadelphia, or who paid a lump sum equivalent to the accumulated dues of such periods—became a free member, entitled to all the benefits of the societies without further payment. When this maturing period arrived the society found itself with a list of non-paying members which acted as a discouragement to new members, because on the latter must fall the entire expense of the organization while the "free members" got most of the benefits.

The societies generally ceased to exist about the time the first list of free members appears. Baltimore, organized in 1814 or 1815, ceased to exist in 1825 or 1826; Philadelphia, organized in 1802 (with a twenty-year paying period adopted in 1810), disbanded to reorganize on another basis in 1831, and so on. The reason the Washington society did not go down under the baneful influence of this provision was that the printing business in Washington was so unevenly distributed. When Congress was in session the city was filled with itinerant printers who paid their dues while they stayed, but few of them settled down so as to ever become "free members." This influx and exodus of printers, resulting from sessional work, made possible the preservation of the Columbia Typographical Society, notwithstanding this defect in its early constitution; and this society, by the preservation of its minutes, has made possible a fairly comprehensive study of the character of these early societies, as well as furnishing a fair index, through its correspondence, of the progress of organization elsewhere.

The older organizations, almost without exception, called themselves societies. The new organizations were

adopting the term "association." In 1830 the New Orleans Typographical Association was organized, as appears from a notice of organization sent by it to the Philadelphia society. In 1832 this New Orleans association issued a price list radically increasing the scale of wages; no copy of this list has been found. This organization seems to have collapsed within a year or two and was reorganized, or another of the same name organized, May 9, 1835.

The printers of New York city were becoming dissatisfied, and a strong element began to feel that the typographical society, hampered as it was with legislative restrictions, was not sufficient for their needs. On November 19, 1830, a mass meeting of printers employed on the daily papers of the city was called, and the following resolution passed:

> *Resolved*, That it was never the intention of the printers employed on the morning and evening papers to make a schism between themselves and the New York Typographical Society (some of whom are members of that society). So they disclaim and refute the many insinuations prepared to convey that idea.

It is not at all clear that the old society attempted, as an organization, to check the move to organize the printers along trade lines; and it is certain that many members of the old society became members of the new when it was formed.

The formation of a new association along strictly trade lines occurred June 17, 1831. A price list was issued, for the enforcement of which the association seems to have become immediately involved in a strike. The organization continued in existence until about 1840. It should be understood that its organization was mainly due to the compositors on daily papers. There were 220 members in 1833.

The constitution of 1833 was prefaced with a most

remarkable document, called "Introductory Remarks." Probably no similar statement covering the period will be found written by workmen themselves. They give their point of view in language which, to put it mildly, must be considered vigorous. Some of the conditions complained of were local to New York city, but many of their grievances were general in the trade, and especially that of what would now be called child labor, out of which later on grew the apprenticeship restrictions.

Notwithstanding its length, the undoubted historical value of this document warrants its complete transcription here. It should be explained, perhaps, that in this, as in all the early documents, the term "printer" is often, though not exclusively, used to denote the employer, or proprietor, of the printing establishment, instead of the journeyman or compositor.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Typographical Association of New York was instituted on the 17th day of June, 1831. It may not be deemed improper to state some of the causes which led to its formation; and, in doing this, it will be necessary to revert to the condition of the printing business for some years past.

In the year 1809 the New York Typographical Society was formed, for the purpose of sustaining a uniform scale of prices, and of affording pecuniary relief to the sick and distressed of its own members, their widows and orphans. This institution has continued to the present time; but the principal object of its first formation has long since ceased to claim any part of its attention. In 1812, war occurring between this country and Great Britain, the business suffered extremely, and continued in a depressed state until 1815 or 1816, when it was found necessary to call a general meeting of the journeymen in the city, to take into consideration the propriety of revising the scale of prices; and after considerable debate between employers and employes, a scale was agreed upon, which was adopted by the New York Typographical Society. The demands of the workmen were very generally acceded to, and for some three or four years business was very brisk.

In the year 1818 the society was incorporated by an act of the legislature, and, being prohibited by the terms of its charter from interfering with the scale of prices, it became merely a mutual benefit institution.

In the meantime, the seeds of declension in the trade were gradually sown, and the fruit began to appear in various ways. Some printers from a distance, having heard that business was good, and, being determined to obtain it at all hazards, located themselves among us; and to secure a sufficient quantity of work commenced operations on terms that could not be afforded, if they wished to obtain a fair remuneration for their labor, or act honestly by the workman. The consequence was, that while a few grew rich at the expense of the journeymen, old-established printers, who had before paid honorable prices, were obliged to reduce their charges for work, or lose much of their business; and as their receipts were diminished, the wages of the journeymen were by degrees reduced, until, instead of a uniform scale of prices, every man was compelled to work for what he could obtain.

Another cause of depression was the practice, which then prevailed, and has continued more or less to the present time, of employing runaway or dismissed apprentices for a small compensation. These were called two-thirds men, and have always proved a great pest to the profession. Added to this, roller boys, having gained admission to the interior of a printing office, have in a short time found their way from the rear to the front of the press, to the discharge of the regular pressman.

The trade, also, as far as pressmen are concerned, had suffered extremely by the applications of machinery to that branch of the business; and while a few individuals were growing rich, as they asserted, for the benefit of the public at large, many who had spent from five to seven years of the flower of their lives in acquiring a knowledge of their profession, were left without employment, or were obliged to resort to some business with which they were unacquainted, and thus constrained to serve a sort of second apprenticeship.

Matters continued in this condition for a number of years. Meantime the business of stereotyping had increased to a great extent; and the numerous improvements in the art, or rather the motto of multum in parvo literally reduced to practice, ren-

dered it every year more and more difficult for compositors to support themselves and their families. To the disgrace of some employers, every advantage was taken of the necessities of the workmen, and impositions were continually practiced upon them.

Men, however, when borne down by oppression, rise in their strength, and assert their rights. The journeymen printers of the city of New York, from a sense of justice to themselves, and those employers who had uniformly paid honorable prices, resolved to unite as an association for the purpose of elevating the business to a proper level. Numbers of them were engaged on the several daily newspapers of this city at prices deemed sufficient when there was little labor and scarcely any competition, but which were found totally inadequate when all vied with each other to present the latest news to their readers. To accomplish this, the workmen were almost entirely deprived of their rest for nights together.

Scarcely any employment can be more laborious than that of publishing a daily morning newspaper. Many of the offices are in the most crowded parts of the city; and, not having been built for the purpose, are illy calculated to afford a good circulation of air, or what is next in importance, good light. To the injurious effects of these and similar causes, many of the most worthy of the profession have fallen victims; and others, after a short endurance, have found their faculties so impaired, and their constitutions so debilitated, as to be rendered incapable of undertaking any other permanent employment for their future support. It requires the united exercise of the mental and bodily labor of the persons employed, for nearly the whole night, and a considerable portion of the day; being seldom able to allot more than seven hours to rest and refreshment. To be thus confined for such a length of time, inhaling the stagnant air of a printing office, is sufficient to enervate a man of the most vigorous constitution.

Under all these circumstances, a general meeting of the trade was called about the 1st of June, 1831, at which a committee was appointed to draw up a just and equitable scale of prices. The committee made their report to an adjourned meeting, which adopted it; and on the 17th day of the same month the Typographical Association of New York was

established, and a constitution and by-laws framed for its government.

A circular to the employing printers was forthwith issued, covering the new scale of prices, and respectfully asking them to accede to it. Most of them, to their honor, saw the justice of the demand, and promptly awarded the wages asked for. There were some, however, both among the book offices and daily newspapers, who altogether refused, and have managed, from that time to the present, by a constant change of workmen (for no honorable journeyman, after a knowledge of the facts, would remain a moment in such degraded employment), to evade the demands for a fair compensation. It is a source of consolation, after all, that the expenses of those establishments where the prices are not paid are greater than those where they are, owing to the incompetency and dishonesty of those employed.

Among the means made use of to depress the business by those who withhold from the workmen their just demands, has been advertising in several of the newspapers in Scotland, and elsewhere in Great Britain, that a great opening for printers existed in New York, thereby inducing many to leave the comforts of home in the old country, to seek for a precarious subsistence on this side of the Atlantic. Many, to their regret, can testify of the truth of this assertion; and the feelings of the man, by whose unprincipled conduct this breaking up of kindred and subsequent disappointment in obtaining the means of support have happened, are not to be envied. Perhaps the day may come when remorse, like a subtle poison, may lurk about his heart, and cause him to do an act of justice to those who have been swindled by his deception.

When the association was informed of the means taken by unprincipled men to injure the business, a circular was immediately addressed to the printers of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and dispatched by one of its members. The association has since learned, by letters from Europe, that the appeal has had an extensive circulation, and has tended in a great measure to counteract the evil contemplated by the original advertisements.

Since its formation, the association has steadily advanced in strength and respectability, and has repeatedly been called upon to settle disputes arising between employers and journey-

men; and it is gratifying, that, in all instances where it has been appealed to, its decision has been respected and acted on by the parties concerned.

These repeated appeals, in cases of difficulty, have induced it again carefully to revise the scale of prices, explaining those points which were before involved in doubt, and amplifying others, so that no other construction can be given to them than the true one. As the trade has for a long time, and particularly since the introduction of stereotyping, been burdened with numerous grievances and vexations, which while they employed much of the journeyman's time, were never paid for, these things have in the revised scale been taken into consideration, and a proper compensation awarded. In doing this, however, proper attention has been paid to the interest of the employer; for if any of the vexations spoken of arise from either carelessness or the want of skill of the workmen, it shall be at his expense. It is intended that the revised scale of prices shall be for the benefit of both honorable employers and journeymen who know their business; but shall be of no service to those unfledged apologies for humanity who obtrude themselves on a profession of which they know nothing, and to which they can be little else than a burden and a disgrace.

Many of the latter class of individuals have made their appearance in this city, in consequence of advertisements inserted in papers whose proprietors do not pay the prices; but they are found, on trial, to be too bad even for such infamous uses. Some of them are runaway apprentices; others are destitute not only of honorable feeling but of all knowledge of their business, and generally trace their defects to the want of proper instruction from their masters. The consequence of the good workman is, that he is frequently made to suffer from errors committed by these pretenders.

As all institutions, in their infancy, are liable to imperfection, the Typographical Association could not expect to be exempt from the common lot. It was found that the constitution under which it has hitherto acted, was in many things defective; and it was deemed proper to appoint a committee to revise that instrument. This has been done, and the association, after a long and arduous discussion, adopted the constitution, by-laws and rules of order published in the following pages.

It now only remains for the members to be just to them-

selves and the printing business will take its proper stand in the community. To do this it is necessary that all journeymen coming within the jurisdiction of the association should become members, and strictly abide by the principles of the constitution.

December 6, 1834, the Columbia Society at Washington received a letter from the New York Typographical Association containing a list of the "rat offices," and another of the individual "rats" in the city. The strike had not been entirely successful, but the association recovered and seems to have been strong enough in 1835 to prevent the employment of non-union printers in New York. The evidence of this, such as it is, is to be found in the minutes of the Washington society, which show that September 26, 1835, a former member of the society, expelled for his connection with the strike of March, 1835 (the Duff Green strike), plaintively asks to be reinstated, his principal reason being that he wants to go to New York.

"I have," he says in his application, "for a long time past wished to go to New York, but I can not procure employment there without I take with me a certificate from this society, which, of course, I can not procure unless the society will reinstate me in my membership, which I now most respectfully and earnestly request them to do."

Some doubt about the association's power to prevent employment of non-union men in the city at least two years later is, however, suggested by the impassioned address of June 29, 1837, which it issued:

To the Journeymen Printers of New York City and Vicinity.

Fellow Craftsmen: At an adjourned meeting of the Typographical Association of New York city, held at the association rooms on Saturday evening, June 24, 1837, information having been given of a regularly organized "combination" on the part of certain of our employers to take advantage of the

present depressed state of our trade, and business in general, in order to reduce our present prices, and to render us, if possible, obedient vassals to the nod of the oppressor, a committee was appointed to address you in this particular, and urge you to a prompt and resolute resistance.

That committee is of opinion that the time has now arrived when you are to prove to the world one of two things—either that you are freemen and capable of understanding and maintaining your rights; or that you are base and servile sycophants, ready and willing to receive whatever compensation and terms your employers may choose to allow.

You are now to show whether, in your judgment, your employers or yourselves possess the right of fixing a value on your labor. If there yet remains one spark of the courage, manhood and determination which sustained you when forming the present scale of prices, let the employing printers of New York and the United States, see that it still exists, and can be easily fanned to a flame; let them see that the insignificant and paltry pittance which you now obtain for your support shall not be reduced at their pleasure—that for them to grow richer you will not consent to become poorer.

That a pressure exists, and that it is more difficult for all employers to procure money with which to meet expenses, we are all aware, but why should your wages be reduced on that account?

The prices for printing advertisements and for newspapers have not been reduced.

The prices that are now paid to printers are no more than will barely support them, and the common necessaries of life are even higher than when your present scale was formed. Then why should you submit to a reduction? Why be the passive minion of the will of tyrants?

The committee can discover no reason why you should, and it is their opinion that if true to yourselves you will not be.

Depend upon it, that if, in obedience to the mandate of grasping avarice—if because your employers say you must, you determine to yield, and go to work for less than the scale demands, you will not only cover yourselves with the consequent odium, but you will necessarily involve yourselves in debt from week to week; for it is folly to suppose that if your wages are once reduced your employers will of their own accord advance

them again, even though business should resume its accustomed course. No, having accomplished their purposes, and brought you in submission to their feet, they will keep you there, and the iron hand of oppression will be laid more heavily than ever.

Your employer knows well, that without constant employment, your wages are not sufficient for your support, and those of the unholy alliance which is now raising its hydra head against you, are no doubt impressed with the belief, that by seizing upon the present period of depression in the trade, they may compel you to work for whatever they may please to pay.

The committee would not be understood to include all employers as coming under their just reprehensions. No, thank Heavens, there are honorable exceptions, there are employers who have an eye to the comfort and happiness of their employes, their reward no man can take away, for it consists in the pleasing consciousness of an exercise of a measure of justice and the performance of noble action.

Our criticism applies to but a dishonorably combined few, whose object seems to be to shift the severity of the times from their own shoulders to the shoulders of their journeymen, caring little for their sufferings so that they escape—fattening on the profits of your labor, while your wives and children are denied many of the common necessaries of life.

The truth is your employers are much more able to pay the existing prices than you are to have your wages reduced, the pressure operates in a much greater degree to your disadvantage than to theirs, the depreciated "shinplasters" of the banks, which are bought up, no doubt, with considerable profit to the purchasers, are palmed off upon you in requital for your toil, as though each rag was worth its face in gold, these rags you must take, though on every dollar you get for your labor you suffer a heavy loss. Patiently you have borne all this, and would continue still to bear it; but in the name of even-handed justice, and for the sake of Heaven, your wives and your children, let the line of demarcation be here drawn—say to the overreaching oppressor, Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther.

The committee are well convinced that the chief reason the unprincipled combination of your employers have thus dared to invade your rights, and attempt the reduction of your wages, is because of a rumored want of the union spirit among yourselves. Without union nothing can be effected—with it, every-

thing. Come forward, then, you who are not members of the association; and join in putting a shoulder to the wheel. Support the association, and the association will support you. There are some of you now in the city who are not members, why is this? You all receive the benefits which result from it. Why, then, do you not join it, and thereby extend its benefits?

The committee would also respectfully impress on the minds of the members the necessity of a strict attention at all meetings of the association and a firm support of its principles. Let each and all of us determine upon union, strong and effectual union, and let the watchword be, The prices of the association must and shall be sustained.

CHAS. A. ADAMS,
H. D. BRISTOL,
W. H. MCCARTENAY,
GEO. HATTEN,
W. N. ROSE,
Committee.

June 6, 1840, it sent out another "rat list," which seems to indicate that it went down in another strike during that year, and was followed by the Franklin Typographical Association of 1844, which will be referred to further on.

The Baltimore Typographical Society, being the second of the name, began its existence November 26, 1831, with 25 original members, adding 24 more names to its roll within a month. This seems to have been about all the journeymen printers in Baltimore, as during the next six months, or up to June 30, 1832, it had added but 5 members. At that date it had expelled 1, and 5 had forfeited membership. The constitution and scale of prices were not adopted until June 2, 1832. This organization still exists as Typographical Union No. 12 and, next to the Washington Union, is the oldest existing trade organization among the printers, it being, of course, understood that while the Philadelphia organization of 1802, and that of New York of 1809 still exist, they have long since ceased to be labor organizations.

In the minutes of Columbia Typographical Society, under date of February 3, 1832, is mentioned a communication from the Typographical Society of Cincinnati, Ohio, asking for the Washington list of prices, and announcing the organization of the printers in Cincinnati.

In November, 1833, the Philadelphia Typographical Association was formed, the society of 1802 having become a purely benevolent institution in 1831. This organization immediately opened a correspondence with all other known societies, as was beginning now to be the custom,[9] and at its meeting held June 27, 1835, passed the following:

Resolved, That an advance of 2½ cents per 1,000 ems be demanded in addition to our present scale of prices.

Resolved, That work by the week in book and job offices and on afternoon papers be $9 per week (10 hours to constitute a day's work) and 20 cents an hour for overwork—morning papers to be charged $10 per week where they work by the week.

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[9] As the letter from the new Philadelphia organization to the older one in Washington is of something more than local interest, it is given here.

PHILADELPHIA, March 9, 1834.

SIR: I am induced to attempt this intrusion on your attention in consequence of a resolution of the Philadelphia Typographical Association, authorizing a correspondence to be established with the typographical trade societies throughout the Union. The ostensible object of this scheme is to elicit and impart authentic intelligence connected with the interests of the members of our common profession, and it is hoped the imperfect manner in which the project may be commenced will not be suffered to occasion the end proposed to be disregarded.

The society in whose name these paragraphs are penned was organized about five months since. Its primary and paramount intention is the determination and support of adequate wages for journeymen printers. That it must acknowledge so late an origin may appear singular; but as the exposition due this point might possibly demand a larger space than is allowable at present, it is proposed (with your permission) to recur to it at proper length in a future communication.

The outlines of a constitution have been agreed upon, but the details are still undetermined. A scale of prices is also under revision, copies of both which will be forwarded when sufficiently complete. The principles of association are literal and definite; the eligibility of candidates consisting in their being practical printers, not less than 21 years of age, and in actual connection with the business.

As respects numerical strength, the institution may be called feeble; but its originators were fully aware that the mental climate of our city might be found rather uncongenial to the rapid growth of such a scion of the liberty

This association seems to have gone out of existence in 1839 or 1840.

Early in 1834 the Benevolent Typographical Society of Richmond, Va., was formed, and on March 1 issued a letter to all societies. This letter is here reproduced, not alone because of its value in describing labor conditions in the trade, but as further evidence that "benevolence" was not the most serious purpose of these organizations even when they put it first in their name.

In reading the statement that no "rat" could obtain work in Richmond, it must be remembered that at that time "rat" meant a man working below the scale, and not necessarily that a non-member of the society could not secure employment.

RICHMOND, VA., March 1, 1834.

DEAR SIR: The journeymen printers in this city have recently formed a society. Previous to the formation of this

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tree; and though they have not as yet decided cause to exult in the result, there is certainly no cause for regret.

Since the formation of this association, a trades union has been commenced, and which now embraces a majority of the mechanics' societies in the city. Its present objects appear rational and useful, and its progress thus far is reported as satisfactory.

Business with us is, of course, dull; indeed, there is scarcely a volume in progress in Philadelphia. But the spring is dawning upon us, in whose very name there is relief; and since men's perverseness can not mar the seasons or derange the sublime machinery of the planet on whose surface their mad pranks are played, we think ourselves warranted in looking forward to better things—in the solemn determination (I would hope) that our next passover shall not find us unprepared.

Having thus endeavored to fulfil my instructions as far as is practicable at this time, I have now to request that this sheet, or the substance of its contents, may be laid before your society at your earliest convenience; and we shall await advices of the order taken thereupon, and also of the general state of affairs at Washington in the typographical department with equal respect and interest. Wishing you the perfect consummation of your best wishes and endeavors, I remain, with much respect,

Yours,

H. C. OBR.

P. S. As our association commits its correspondence to the care of the vice-president, any communications intended for the institution may be addressed to myself, at No. 227 Mulberry street, or at the office of the Daily Chronicle, Philadelphia.

H. C. O.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COLUMBIA TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

society we had no regular prices. The highest price given was 25 cents for both MS. and printed copy. On the 1st of February of the present year, we adopted a constitution (a copy of which I herewith communicate); together with by-laws for our government, and likewise a scale of prices. This scale of prices, as you will perceive, fixes the price for the composition of MS. at 30 cents—that for print at 28 cents—5 cents for MS. and 3 for print more than the highest price previously given. There was no alteration made in the price for presswork, the wages previously given being generally considered sufficiently high—the demand for pressmen having always been so great as to put it out of the power of the employers to make deductions in that branch.

The scale of prices was adopted on the 1st of February. A resolution passed requiring them to go into operation on the 10th of that month. The employers were furnished with a copy of the list of prices on the 3d—very short notice. When the 10th arrived, the employers, without a single exception, gave the wages asked for.

Things go on as smoothly under the new arrangement as before. All the printers here, with the exception of four or five, have joined the society. These, however, receive the wages fixed by the society. So far we have no rats. Before the society was formed we did have a few who did not receive the highest prices then given. All of these have joined the society and promised to receive, in future, for their labor no less than the wages fixed by our scale of prices.

I deem it unnecessary to say more at present than to desire you to send us a copy of your constitution, etc., that we may see how our brethren in your city are driving on. I likewise desire that you will write me a few lines, giving a history of the origin and progress of the society of which you are a member, and to lay this communication before your society at its next meeting, that they may know we have formed a society here, and so on. Communicate, likewise, if you please, the fact of the existence of our society to as many societies of this kind as you may know to have been formed. I desire this, not to put you to trouble, but to be sure of giving the information desired. It is my intention to write to as many as I have yet heard of. If you will be so kind as to comply with my request in this particular, be pleased not to omit to state that it is impossible to obtain work

at our business in Richmond as a rat, so as to save those whose intentions were to make the attempt the trouble and expense of the voyage. Respectfully,

R. S. Redford,

Corresponding Secretary Benevolent Typographical Society of Richmond.

N. B.—I should like to hear from you previous to the next meeting of our society, which takes place on the 1st Saturday in April. R. S. R.

The Corresponding Secretary Typographical Society at Washington.

It will be necessary to relate the trouble that the Columbia Typographical Society at Washington had in 1834 with one of the local newspaper proprietors, Gen. Duff Green, who was also printer to the United States Senate. This difficulty drew the typographical organizations of the country into closer touch than anything before had done, and led directly to the national organization of 1836.

The apprentice question had been a source of infinite trouble to the societies from the very first. From time to time the term of apprenticeship had been lengthened by various societies, increasing it from three to four, then from four to five years, in the vain hope of reducing the competition from this source. But there was no effective means of preventing apprentices from running away, and the longer apprenticeship only increased the temptation to do so, hence made matters worse. True, the master could legally compel the return of a runaway, if he could find him, but the supply of new apprentices and of other runaways willing to work for one-half or two-thirds the established price for journeymen made it unprofitable to search for escaped apprentices. The fact that a runaway apprentice could, and would, be so employed at rates higher, to say the least, than his apprentice rates, operated also to put a premium on running away. All

of the early societies had had more serious trouble with this than had that of Washington, which was exceptionally fortunate in many ways. In 1833, however, General Green began employing "two-thirders" on his paper, the United States Telegraph, and later introduced a large number of boys as apprentices in doing the government printing. He now proposed (1834) to establish what he called the Washington Institute, but which was termed by the printers "a manual-labor school." In this institute he proposed to take 200 boys each year and teach them the printing trade, allowing them $2 a week each for their work, which $2 was not, however, to be paid to them, but kept as a trust fund and invested by their employer for such of them as should remain with him the full period.

The first intimation of the excitement which this matter finally caused is found in the special meeting of January 11, 1834. At this meeting its president stated that its object was to take into consideration the subject of Gen. Duff Green's speech at the late celebration of the Columbia Typographical Society, and to adopt such measures as would more effectually protect the society against his plans, if attempted to be carried into execution, and concluded by offering the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS at a late meeting of the Columbia Typographical Society, Duff Green, editor of the United States Telegraph, did declare that he intended to monopolize all the work that was possible, and that he intended to employ a large number of children to take the place of the journeymen now employed by him, and that he wished to raise up a respectable class of men to take our places; and

WHEREAS the patronage of the press of this city is almost wholly derived from the government, and that we have a right, as men, to participate in its profits, which his views, if carried out, would engross to himself; be it

Resolved, That the Columbia Typographical Society are desirous of adopting such measures as shall be advantageous to the employing printers in this city, insure their own rights, and preserve the respectability of the profession.

Resolved, That we look upon the proposed measure of Duff Green, editor of the United States Telegraph, as visionary in its final results, subversive of our rights, as journeymen printers, and destructive of the profession to which we belong;

Therefore, resolved, That a committee of ——— be appointed to take the subject into consideration, and prepare a report of their deliberations, which when they have completed, they shall submit to a general meeting of the printers of this district, to be called by them, at such time and place, as they shall deem fit and proper.

After considerable discussion, Mr. Freeland offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this society that the practice which has lately come into vogue, of employing an undue number of apprentices, is destructive of the rights and interests of journeymen, and detrimental to employing printers;

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, whose business it shall be, whenever they shall think it necessary to do so, to call a general meeting of the printers of this city to take the subject into consideration.

The committee at this time reported against taking any action until something more definite was evolved. Up to this time no organization of printers had attempted to restrict the number of apprentices. In nearly every city except Washington the custom of employing a few journeymen to direct the work of many so-called apprentices was firmly established. In a letter to the Columbia Typographical Society March 21, 1834, Gen. Duff Green takes the position that any objection to his "school for printers" by the society must be based upon an assumption of the right of the society to "regulate the number of apprentices which I may think proper to employ, and to otherwise interfere so as to defeat the end I have in view."

In reply the society denied that it "assumes the right to regulate the number of your apprentices or that of any gentleman." In a letter dated April 7, 1834, General Green says to the society's committee:

> Your society can have no right to inquire into the age of the persons whom I employ. * * * But if, instead of employing 50 journeymen, I find it to my interest to employ but 10, any attempt on your part to enter into a combination to drive those 10 out of my employment, without I would give employment to the other 40, would be an offense against my rights, for which the laws have made ample provision, and which it would become my duty to enforce.

An elaborate "prospectus of the Washington Institute" was carried on the first page of Mr. Green's paper, the Telegraph, for some time, acting practically as an advertisement for boys to fill his school. The society appointed another committee to report on the matter. This committee was of the opinion that Mr. Green would be able to fill his school (this being the point upon which the former committee had advised non-action) and recommended that a protest be formulated and given as wide a circulation as the prospectus had enjoyed.[10] This protest was accordingly issued, and sent not only to every printers' society, but to the unorganized printers employed on the principal papers throughout the United States. In addition to this protest, which was issued by the society, as such, a pamphlet was published containing

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[10] One paragraph of the committee's report is here given as indicative of the social conditions:

> The committee have understood, also, that it is the intention of Mr. Green, in organizing his school, to draw a portion of his scholars from the houses of refuge in the northern cites. Now, although the committee object not to the character of any boy, when it is affected only by his origin, believing that when he comes to man's estate he must stand or fall by his individual merit, yet there is no doubt, from the facility with which these boys may be obtained by Mr. Green, the society will have a delicate and difficult matter on hand in attempting to prevent their employment in this school. With the principals of these extensive institutions, the specious and deceptive arguments of the prospectus will, no doubt, have powerful weight and influence. So far, then,

the proceedings of a public mass meeting, together with an "Address to the people of the United States," emanating from the meeting (such addresses were common in those days), the expense of printing the pamphlet being met by a collection taken up at the meeting. The Baltimore society had taken action on the subject from newspaper reports and sent a letter to the Columbia society in time to incorporate it in the proceedings of the public meeting. The protest contained an appeal to journeymen printers not to come to Washington to act as teachers in the proposed school. It was the fear of this that prompted the appointment of a committee of seven, under the following resolution, adopted March 7, 1834:

Ordered, That a committee of seven members be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to confer with each other, and report to this society, at their next meeting, what, in their opinion, would be the most proper and effectual course to pursue to bring about the establishment of a national typographical society.

Response was received from the typographical society at Louisville, Ky., enclosing a copy of its constitution and resolutions against "the Duff Green school for printers," and on the same date from Charleston (S. C.) Typographical Society, endorsing protest against the school. This is the first reference found to these societies. Richmond, Va., responded, and later other southern societies. December 13, 1834, the Philadelphia association notified

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as the success of the project of Mr. Green shall depend merely on the attainment of scholars, it is likely to be insured by the readiness with which, no doubt, the principals of those houses will supply him with the boys under their charge. The committee can conceive of no other mode of preventing this consummation than by circulating among these gentlemen a direct refutation of the principles laid down in the prospectus. It is in no degree their interest to aid Mr. Green in his schemes—they look only to the welfare of their charge; and, if it shall appear to them in the end, should we adopt this course, as it no doubt will, that, instead of benefiting the boys for whose future welfare they are in a measure responsible, the scheme of Mr. Green will be more likely to blast their prospects in life, be assured they will not be instrumental in aiding the establishment of the Washington Institute.

the Washington society that Gen. Duff Green was employing printers in Philadelphia and elsewhere "on condition that they would have no connection with the society," and that as fast as he secured "strangers" "society men" were being discharged. Matters went from bad to worse until a strike was declared against General Green March 14, 1835, the causes alleged being "against the employment of too many apprentices," for the society's scale of prices (or against "two-thirders"), because of discrimination against "society men," and for the discharge of the foreman. With the details of this long strike itself we have nothing to do. It was, however, the occasion of bringing the scattered associations into closer touch with each other. For the first time in its history the Washington society sent out a "rat circular." Philadelphia and New York promised to restrain their members from accepting employment in the Washington establishment, and the Philadelphia association expelled all its members who did so. Later the Washington society asked New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston for a list of all "two-thirders" and names and description of all "rats" in those cities. This request seems to have been ignored.

October 14, 1835, the Washington society passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the members of this society having heretofore determined not to accept employment in the office of Duff Green, do still adhere to that resolution, and will neither accept employment in that office, nor in any other office in which any hands or hand employed by the said Green since the 28th of March, 1835, or by his successor, E. R. Gibson, may hereafter be employed, until the obnoxious individual or individuals be discharged.

This sweeping resolution, exceedingly radical for that day, and certainly so for this society, was forwarded to all other societies in the United States and endorsed by

most of them, thus foreshadowing the action of the national convention of the next year (1836), making "a rat" so declared by one printers' organization to be considered such by all.

Two other societies are mentioned in 1835 for the first time. First, the Mississippi Typographical Association, of Natchez, which sent out a "rat list" as a result of a strike September 19, 1835, and another communication November 6; and, second, the New Orleans Typographical Association, organized May 9, 1835, indicating that the society organized there in 1830 had ceased to exist.

In June, 1835, the Franklin Society, of Cincinnati, had a strike against a reduction of wages in one establishment. It seems that "strangers" were brought in from Pittsburgh and elsewhere. November 6, 1835, the Cincinnati society sent out a circular calling for a national convention. No copy of this circular has been found, but upon its receipt the Washington society appointed a committee to report on the subject. This report, which was accepted and issued to other societies as a call for the convention, was as follows:

Mr. Wm. Walters, from the committee, to whom was referred the circular from the Franklin Typographical Society of Cincinnati, proposing a National Typographical Society, presented the following report:

Your committee have carefully read the report and resolutions of the Franklin Typographical Society, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The resolutions propose—

"First. That each society in its own district be sustained by all others in the prices it may establish.

"Second. That journeymen bringing certificates of membership in any society, of good standing, receive a preference over all others in the efforts made to procure them employment.

"Third. That rats, pronounced such by one society, be considered as such by all other societies."

If there be a community of men, which, more than another,

has felt the necessity of a closer union amongst the different typographical societies of the United States, it is our own. During the two last years the society and many of its members have been the victims of the most unrelenting persecution and proscription. Single handed they have encountered the force of this opposition, for although one or two societies nobly cheered our efforts, the great body of them stood aloof, apparently idle spectators of the controversy. Any other course, however, could scarcely have been looked for from them, when we consider the distance which separates them and the absence of any effective bonds of union between them.

A close examination of the resolutions proposed by the Franklin Typographical Society has convinced your committee that they do not go far enough. Each of the propositions has been in [a] degree, and is now enforced by almost every society in the Union. There is, however, no obligation to uphold them existing amongst any of the societies, and our own experience teaches us that the declaration we have all made "to procure employment for a member of the society in preference to any other person" has been but loosely observed; or, to use the more forcible language of the Franklin Typographical Society, "the certificate of membership ought no longer to procure from us a mere assent of the good standing of the holder, but should call forth our active friendship for the bearer—our zealous effort to get him into employment in preference to all others."

All this and much more should be done; and the question for us to consider is, what are the means necessary for its accomplishment? What additional measures are necessary in order permanently, not merely transiently, to assent to such regulations amongst the different typographical societies of the United States as shall ensure to every member of every society a proper equivalent for his labor, and a good prospect of constant employment while ever he shall remain within the pale of the honorable members of the craft?

Deeply impressed with the importance of the measure your committee are about to propose, in order to accomplish these most desirable results, they beg leave to assure the society that it has not been without the most mature reflection that they have brought forward the resolutions which are appended, and which they believe will alone provide a remedy sufficiently ample for the widespread evils which are now felt.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the different typographical societies of the United States to form a union of societies, under such name as the convention to be held for that purpose shall designate.

Resolved, That in order to form such union, a convention be held in the city of Washington on the 3d day of March next, to be composed of three delegates from every typographical society existing in the United States.

Resolved, That the convention shall have power to draft a constitution, and such other regulations as shall be thought proper for the government of the union, which constitution shall be submitted to the local societies for their adoption; and whenever two-thirds of the local societies shall agree to the said constitution, the government of the union shall be considered as formed, and annual meetings take place accordingly.

Resolved, That the power now possessed by the different societies to regulate the prices within their respective limits shall not be infringed by any regulation of the convention.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to every typographical society in the United States; and that such of them as shall agree to them, be requested to appoint delegates, without further notice, to attend the convention.

Wm. Walters,
Jas. Brown,
Wm. W. Curran.

The report and resolutions having been read, the second resolution was amended by inserting the first Monday of June as the time of the meeting of the convention, and as amended were adopted unanimously.

Letters approving of the convention and promising to send delegates were received from Harrisburg (Pa.) Typographical Association, August 26, 1836 (first mention); Baltimore, July 30; Nashville, Tenn., August 26; Philadelphia, August 27; Cincinnati, August 28; Richmond, Va., October 14, and later letters along the same line were received from New Orleans, and from Mobile, Ala. (first mention). New Orleans named two members of the Washington society and asked that they be

permitted to act as proxy delegates from New Orleans, thus inaugurating from the very start that system of proxy representation that has many times since so nearly disrupted organizations.

October 14, 1836, the Washington society met to elect delegates to the convention, and also to appoint a committee to arrange for the same, since it was to be held in Washington. At the meeting the society decided to "pay all the expenses of the National Typographical Convention."

The first convention of the National Typographical Society met in the aldermen's chamber, city hall, Washington, D. C., November 7, 1836, the session lasting five days. Delegates were present from the typographical societies in Baltimore, New York city, Washington, Harrisburg, Pa., Philadelphia, and by proxy from New Orleans. The delegate from the Philadelphia association was excluded from the convention, not because of any objection to the association, but because the Washington society succeeded in proving that the delegate himself was one of the men that had worked for a time in the Duff Green establishment during the strike. The Philadelphia association evidently was not aware of this when it elected him, as he was immediately expelled by that association.

The convention was welcomed in an address from the mayor of the city, Hon. Peter Force,[11] who had joined the New York Typographical Society in 1812, and was its president in 1815. In 1816 he joined the Colum-

[11] Visitors going up in the Washington monument may see carved in one of its largest stones the name "Peter Force." Students of industrial history prefer, however, to remember him by a monument of very different character. Mr. Force was for a number of years one of the proprietors of a job printing office in Washington. Here he executed many of the "broadsides" so characteristic of the time, and here were printed the constitutions of many civic societies of all kinds. He seems to have had a keen intuition of the historical value of things, and early began a collection of tracts, broadsides, constitu-

bia Typographical Society, and became its first "free member" in 1826.

The convention adopted a constitution and issued two addresses, one to the various typographical societies in the United States, the other to the printers of the country in general.

To the local societies the convention appealed for a closer relation one with the other; proposing uniform regulations regarding apprentices; that runaways from one office should not be permitted to work in any other; that members expelled from one society for any good cause should not be admitted to membership by any other society; that no member of any society should work in any printing office where such expelled member was employed until he was reinstated by the original society; there was to be an exchange of "rat" lists, and, most important of all, the societies were advised to open their doors to membership for all printers then working at the trade as journeymen, whether they served an apprenticeship or not; then after organizing all these, put up the bars and require a six-year apprenticeship. There had for years been two factions in the societies—one, seeing that the apprenticeship requirements were creating an army of printers sufficiently large to do all the work, outside of the societies because of ineligibility, wanted temporarily to let down the bars and organize the trade, and then increase the requirements; the other faction, sticking to the old traditions, sought to remedy the evil by increasing the severity of apprenticeship. It

tions, etc., which he ultimately gave to the Library of Congress as the Force Collection of Tracts—a veritable gold mine of industrial information, especially as relating to the southern states. In those days tracts and "broadsides" occupied relatively the position of magazine articles and newspaper discussions of today, and their preservation for future reference was of utmost importance. Mr. Force was of great assistance to the typographical societies as an employer in their struggle with the apprentice problem. As indicated in the text, he was mayor of Washington, and was employed by the government to plan or outline a system for a government printing establishment.

seems that the societies had elected delegates to the convention from the more radical factions in nearly every instance.

A notice printed on the cover of the published proceedings of this convention of 1836, and dated November 26, is of interest. It follows:

> Since the adjournment of the convention the committee on publication have learned with much regret that two attempts have in the south been made to injure the journeymen. They would, therefore, urge upon all printers in every city, town and village where no society exists to establish one as soon as practicable to enable them to be represented in the National Typographical Society in September next.

The "two attempts to injure the journeymen" referred, no doubt, to the strike in Richmond, Va., in November, 1836, to enforce the apprentice section of the local constitution, and to the fight the union in Augusta, Ga., was making against that printers' Banquo, Gen. Duff Green, who had taken his boys' school idea with him and gone to South Carolina to organize "The American Literary Company." The Augusta association had gotten out a circular similar to the Washington society's "protest," which circular was printed in the Washington papers at the expense of the local society. At the request of the Augusta association the Washington society had a transcript of its minutes, and all documents and letters relative to the Duff Green matter, made and forwarded to the former organization—no small nor inexpensive task in those pre-typewriter days.

The second convention of the National Typographical Society met in New York city September 4, 1837, with delegates from eight societies in the United States, and a fraternal delegate from Nova Scotia, who was seated with full powers, predictive of admission of Canadian unions into the National, thus forming the present Inter-

Edmonston, Washington, D. C.

PETER FORCE

President New York Typographical Society, 1815
Mayor of Washington, D. C., 1836

national Typographical Union in 1869. It is doubtful whether the proceedings of this convention were ever printed. No copy has been found in the search for data for this report. The report of the Washington delegates will, however, give an idea of the proceedings, and is here transcribed entire from the minutes of that society:

WASHINGTON, January 6, 1838.

The delegates appointed by the Columbia Typographical Society to attend the national association, which was to assemble in the city of New York on the 4th of September, 1837, beg leave to submit the following report:

That your delegates have been prevented from making a report by the non-arrival of the printed proceedings of the meeting, which was left under the control of the New York members. Although we have received a letter intimating that they would be soon sent on, we still have been disappointed. It is a matter of regret to us, as we find it almost impossible to direct your attention to the necessary acts which require your immediate co-operation; and which alone can enable us to discharge our task satisfactorily to ourselves.

That your delegation arrived in New York on the second of September, and were notified to meet at the sheriff's room, in the city hall, on the 4th, which was kindly granted by the public authorities of said city. Eight societies being represented, viz., New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Mobile, New Orleans, and Washington. The meeting was organized by calling to the chair one of this society's delegation, and appointing A. I. W. Jackson, of Baltimore, as secretary. That their first act was to revise the constitution, adopted by the convention which met at Washington in November, 1836. That after a labored investigation of that instrument, they made some amendments, in order to accord with the views and instructions of the several members. That they continued in session till Saturday, the 9th, inclusive, when, severally, having subscribed the new constitution, they adjourned sine die, to meet again at Pittsburgh, next September, and that they were then invited, and attended a public dinner given by the New York association, in courtesy to the members of the national association.

Your delegates, not having the constitution to refer to, must, of course, be excused from entering into a detail of the several articles; but they would remark that, in article 10th, twenty-five per cent is to be levied of the different societies, annually, by a prescribed rule, to defray all expenses incurred by the association; their instructions were for thirty per cent.

Article 13 furnishes the mode of checking the practice of employing two-third apprentices. This is of initial importance to the whole fraternity, and requires consideration commensurate with its importance; for all can realize the complete prostration which such a custom must create. The proposed check, adopted by the association, appears as simple as it is easy of accomplishment, if judicious measures alone be pursued. This plan is by the granting to travelers the "union card," which was introduced into the convention's constitution at Washington. Many duties are enjoined on local societies, which must be referred by you to committees, to mature and prescribe a mode of operation for carrying them into effect.

Your delegates are aware that the society will look for an expression of their opinion as to the utility and future prospects of the association, and, therefore, they will present their views in as brief a manner as possible. From all they could learn from their intercourse with the gentlemen composing the assembly, they are of the belief that no other plan could be adopted that would prove so efficacious and satisfactory to all concerned, and guard the craft against the innovations which are daily arising to drive the regular and good workmen out of employment, or to reduce their wages to the standard of the cupidity of some employers who forget the rights of their fellow-men.

That the anticipated prospects of the association may be evidenced from the interest taken in it by all associations in the United States and Nova Scotia, whose delegate was admitted to a seat during the discussions. It is the opinion of your delegation, that the employer and the journeymen were never on such amicable terms of friendly feelings as they are at the moment, which certainly is ominous of our success in this great cause.

In closing the imperfect report they have made, they would congratulate the society on the high respect in which they are at present held by both employers and journeymen, as well in

Washington as throughout the whole country; and they sincerely pray this band of union may never be severed by any untoward circumstance, originating on your part. They now conclude by recommending the following resolution for adoption:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to receive the printed proceedings of the association, and to report on their contents as soon as practicable, or on any matters concerning said association.

JAMES CLEPHANE,
JAMES HANDLEY.

The national society did not hold a convention in 1838. In August of that year the following announcement appeared in papers in most of the cities where printers were organized:

NATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Meeting postponed—The undersigned, officers of the National Typographical Association composing the board of control, at the earnest solicitations of a number of delegates and societies forming said association, have, after mature deliberation, resolved on a postponement of the next meeting, and hereby give this public notice to the different societies of printers attached to said association, as well as those desirous of connecting themselves thereto, that the next meeting of the National Typographical Association will be held in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa., on the first Monday of September, 1839, at which time and place it is fondly expected the representatives from the different societies will be in attendance.

A. I. W. JACKSON, Baltimore, *President.*
WILLIAM WELLINGTON, Philadelphia,
Recording Secretary.
CHARLES ALBERT DAVIS, New York,
Corresponding Secretary.
JAMES CLEPHANE, Washington,
Treasurer Board of Control.

August 10, 1838.

The publishers of newspapers throughout the United States will confer a favor on the craft in general by giving the above notice one or two insertions.

Whether this postponed convention ever met is not known and may well be doubted. The general laws for the government of local societies appear to have been promulgated by the New York convention of 1837. They were gotten out in leaflet form by the Washington society for its own use, as follows:

COLUMBIA TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

DECEMBER 1, 1838.

Resolved, That the general laws recommended by the National Typographical Society to the local societies for their government be printed for the use of the members.

W. A. KENNEDY, *Secretary.*

GENERAL LAWS

ARTICLE 1. Every apprentice shall serve until he be 21 years of age; and at the time of entering as an apprentice shall not be more than 16 years of age; and every boy taken as an apprentice shall be bound to his employer in due form of law.

ARTICLE 2. No runaway apprentice shall be received into any office in the United States attached to the national association, either as an apprentice or journeyman.

ARTICLE 3. That on the death of his master, or if, from any cause, the office wherein he was indentured shall be discontinued, he may be taken into another office, and be regularly indentured to finish the term of his apprenticeship.

ARTICLE 4. After the 1st day of January, 1844, it shall not be lawful for any local society to consider any application for membership unaccompanied by sufficient proof that he had served the period of five years, as a regularly indentured apprentice at the printing business.

ARTICLE 5. That after the 1st of January, 1839, it shall not be lawful for any local society to permit members of said society to work in any office where boys may be taken as apprentices to the printing business, to serve for a less period than five years.

ARTICLE 6. The local societies shall have the power to establish such tariff of prices as may be suitable to the section of country in which they may be located.

ARTICLE 7. It shall be the duty of all local societies, working under the jurisdiction of the national association, to sustain each other in their list of prices or such other regulations as they may adopt for their government.

ARTICLE 8. That all local societies suspend so much of their constitutions as requires a term of apprenticeship as a qualification for membership; and that they admit all who are at work at the business as journeymen so soon as it shall be ascertained that the proposed regulations of the association upon this subject shall be adopted by two-thirds of the societies.

ARTICLE 9. Any person presenting his union card from one society, under the jurisdiction of the national association, to another society under the same jurisdiction, and paying the monthly dues called for by their constitution, shall be entitled to the trade benefits of said society.

ARTICLE 10. Local societies shall recognize but two classes of printers—employers and journeymen—that is, persons who carry on business solely as employers and those who work as journeymen, in the manner prescribed, and at the prices demanded by such society.

ARTICLE 11. It shall be the duty of local societies to have prepared an annual report of their condition, showing the number of members admitted for the year preceding; the amount of receipts from initiation, dues, and fines; the number of newspapers and periodical publications, together with all offices of whatever character, under the immediate control of practical printers, at the time of making such reports; also, those under the control of others than printers, and such other information as may be in possession of said local societies, in reference to the profession generally; said report to be transmitted to the national association at its annual meetings.

ARTICLE 12. That the societies be requested to forward to the national association, annually, the number, as near as may be ascertained, of apprentices in the district of country over which the society has jurisdiction; also, of all the journeymen —distinguishing members of the society from others.

ARTICLE 13. That men pronounced rats by one society, shall be considered such by all others, until reinstated by said society.

ARTICLE 14. A local society, on the suspension or expulsion of a member, shall give information to all other societies as

soon as practicable, and make annual report to the national association.

ARTICLE 15. That it be made obligatory on the members of the respective societies to solicit all printers in good standing to join some local society.

ARTICLE 16. That every society which may henceforth be established, transmit the title, list of officers, and its locality, to the corresponding secretary of the National Typographical Association.

ARTICLE 17. The above regulations, when adopted by two-thirds of the local societies, shall become binding upon the whole, as general laws, for the government of the craft.

To return now to affairs of the local societies, the Philadelphia Typographical Association sent out a letter dated June 16, 1834, on the state of trade, saying: "For several months the book offices have not had work enough to employ even their apprentices, and when we may safely anticipate a favorable change we are as unable to say as we are anxious to hear." July 11, 1835, the same association wrote that it was having trouble as a result of "having taken measures to effect an advance in the price of our labor;" that the employers were advertising in other cities, and asked the Washington society to "prevent that influx of strangers upon which the employers[12] rely in connection with the defection, which, in a small degree, we are sorry to say, they have effected for defeating the purposes of this association." Later, August 30, 1835, the association sent out a circular saying the trouble was over.[13]

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[12] It may be of interest to note that an employing printers' association was formed just before this in Philadelphia, it being organized February 7, 1835. A scale of prices for composition and presswork, by which all contracts for such work were made, was adopted and made a part of the constitution. Members violating the contract scale were subject to fine or expulsion. Evidently the "Printers' Company" of 1794 had ceased to exist.

[13] The steam press was beginning to alarm the pressmen, and curiously enough they proposed at first to meet it just as, in after years, the glass workers' unions and the coal miners' unions proposed to meet the machine, i. e., by reducing their wages for hand work to a point where it would not pay the employers to install steam presses, except that the pressmen proposed to do it

August 6, 1836, the Nashville (Tenn.) Typographical Society sent out its revised constitution and price list. The society bound itself by its constitution to "co-operate with the National Typographical Society" and to be represented in its convention. This society had thirty-five

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by exactly the methods they opposed when applied by the employers to typesetting—by the introduction of boys into the business through a subdivision of labor. A resolution was passed by the Washington society with this in view October 14, 1835, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of making such alterations in the price of presswork and the introduction of rollers and roller boys as will enable employers to have their work done as cheap, better, and with greater certainty by hand than by the use of steam or power presses, while at the same time pressmen will be able to make as good wages, if not better than under the present system.

As showing the attitude of the early printers toward machinery the two following remarkable letters are taken from the minutes of the Washington society:

[Copy of a letter laid before the society by a member.]

WARRENTON, VA., October 6, 1840.

DEAR SIR: Through you I would respectfully inform the typographical society of Washington that I have invented and made a machine for setting and distributing type; which machine is now in complete operation in this place, and will, according to the estimate of practical printers, do the work of four men; the cost not to exceed $20. Being poor myself, my object is to realize something like a compensation for my time, labor and ingenuity; and being aware that it may perhaps conflict with the interest of your society, I have concluded to propose to sell them the exclusive right for the District of Columbia. To effect this object, I propose that your society deputize some one to decide upon the merits of the same; pledging myself to let them have it, as a body, for less than I can get from an individual proprietor.

Let me hear from you early, or by the society.

Respectfully, I. D. HILL.

[Reply.]

Mr. I. D. Hill. WASHINGTON, November 18, 1840.

SIR: In compliance with a resolution of Columbia Typographical Society, I acknowledge the receipt of your letter, apprising it of your invention and your desire to dispose of it to said society. And, I am also instructed to say, that, while they wish you success in your undertaking, they do not feel themselves justified in offering you any pecuniary aid; nor do they feel willing to abet in bringing into operation anything that would encroach upon the rights of those who have given years of labor and privation to acquire a knowledge of a business which they had reason to believe would yield them a support in after life. You propose to distribute and set type by machinery! Shade of the immortal Faust, thou art forever eclipsed. But should your invention prove beneficial to the craft, we will hail you as a benefactor. Your professions of regard for this society, and the craft at large, are duly appreciated.

Yours respectfully, in behalf of Columbia Typographical Society.

DAVID H. HANLON,
Corresponding Secretary.

members in 1836, and the "chapel" system was firmly established in all offices.

During 1836 a letter was received from the Typographical Society at Columbia, S. C. The letter, however, does not make clear whether the society had just been organized or not. This society sent out a "rat list" in 1842, and seems to have gone down in a strike of that year.

December 3, 1836, the Washington society, "owing to the advance in the price of products generally" (by which is meant the cost of living)[14] asked for "an advance of about 10 per cent on our present tariff prices for the employing printers of the District," and appointed a committee to revise the scale and call on the employers. January 7, 1837, the committee reported that the employers had agreed to the new scale, and it was ordered printed. It is impossible to ignore the evidence of the slowness of the world's affairs in those days when we reflect that this was the first change in price list adopted by the society since the original one of 1815, and that was but a schedule of prices already paid and had been in existence for several years. Wage scales that last twenty-two years without alteration will not be numerous in this century.

February 4, 1837, the Typographical Society at Lexington, Ky., issued a circular, which, like the one from Columbia, S. C., does not state clearly when the society was formed.

In 1838 the St. Louis (Mo.) Typographical Association sent out a protest against a perpetual "ratting" of printers who had conducted themselves honorably in

[14] As indicative of the cost of living, the prices quoted from the central market at Washington, D. C., September 18, 1837, are here reproduced: "Beef, from 6¼ to 12½ cents per pound; corned beef, 8 cents; veal, 6¼ to 10 cents; pork, 12 cents; mutton, 6¼ to 10 cents per pound; lamb, 50 to 75 cents per quarter; ham, 14 cents per pound; butter 20 to 25 cents; butter, print, 31¼ to 37½ cents; lard, 12½ cents per pound; chickens, $2 to $3 per dozen; eggs, 15 cents; corn (green), 12½ cents per dozen; potatoes, 50 cents per bushel; sweet potatoes, 37½ cents per peck; corn meal, $1.12½ per bushel; rye meal, 80 cents per bushel."

other cities. The occasion of this was that a printer who had worked in the Duff Green plant, Washington, D. C., in 1836 or 1837, went to St. Louis, Mo., and obtained a situation, when it was discovered he was on the rat list sent out from Washington. The St. Louis society testified that the man had "conducted himself honorably" in St. Louis and wanted to know how long the rat list was expected to last. The Washington society in reply granted its permission to the St. Louis association to accept this man as a member, and annulled its rat list of 1836.

May 4, 1839, the Washington society adopted the "chapel system." From Louisville, Ky., came a letter stating that the Louisville Typographical Association was formed April 1, 1839. "There having been heretofore two societies in this city, which now exist no more, we have organized upon entirely different lines." During the year several societies were heard from for the first time, some only recently organized, while others appear to have been in existence for some time. Vicksburg, Miss., for instance, sent out a "rat list" and asked for an exchange of same; Columbus, Ohio, was first heard of July 6, 1839, the letter not being preserved in the minutes. Detroit, Mich., sent out a strike notice stating that the association had been compelled to strike for wages due and unpaid. Rochester, N. Y., reported that an organization had just been effected; as did Frankfort, Ky., and Tallahassee, Fla.

The most important event of this year (1839), however, in view of the continued apprenticeship troubles, was the action of the New Orleans Typographical Association. September 1, 1838, this organization sent out a circular letter notifying all societies that it was on strike against one office in the city, that of David Felt & Co. August 3, 1839, it sent out a "rat circular," doubtless growing out of the same difficulty. In its constitution

as revised September 14, 1839, this association prohibits any member from working "on any English daily morning paper, on which any apprentices may be employed." January 8, 1840, the Boston association sent letters asking for wage scales and stating it was making a list of wages paid in all cities. Jackson (Miss.) Typographical Association was organized in 1840. The collapse of the National Society disheartened the local societies and gave the "benefit" faction, or the "alimoners," as they were called, the floor and the argument for a year or two.

April 4, 1840, the Mobile (Ala.) association, and June 6 of the same year the New York association, each sent out "rat circulars" as a result of strikes in which both organizations seem to have gotten their death blow. Nowhere, outside of New Orleans, was the apprentice trouble settled or even mollified, and even there it was controlled only in the morning newspaper offices. The Washington society was permitting special exceptions to its apprentice regulations; and in Philadelphia, society members were working with boys and "two-thirders" until it was said there were just journeymen enough in an office to tell the apprentices what to do. The whole subject was chaotic. In January, 1842, the Washington society appointed a committee to go over the entire matter. The "alimoners" had a majority of the committee and were for the repeal of all laws attempting to regulate trade affairs of this kind. The minority report was for strict enforcement. Taken together, these reports form a most important document on the subject. Not only do we get here an inside view of the workings of the two factions, but we get a view of the situation as seen by those most interested. The report is given below:

The committee appointed upon the apprentice regulations at the last stated meeting submitted the two following reports, which were received.

The committee of the Columbia Typographical Society, to whom the following resolution was referred, viz.: *"Resolved,* That this society appoint a committee to inquire into, and report upon, the expediency of either modifying, repealing or more rigidly enforcing the apprentice regulations of the said society"—ask permission of the society respectfully to present their views in the following report:

That your committee, in accordance with the above resolution, have duly considered the matter referred to them, and given to it that attention which the importance of the subject demands. That your committee consider the above-named regulations were recommended by the general convention of printers, with the intention (in connection with other measures), to unite the societies of the different cities for the advancement of the interests of the craft; and could only be beneficial by general adoption. That such has not been the case is evident to every one, for they have only been carried out by one society besides this. That, as said project of union has totally failed of success, this society is under no obligations to other societies to enforce said regulations. That this society, itself, having violated the regulations in the case of the boy (Bailey) taken into the office of Mr. Allen, and failed to enforce them in numerous other instances where they have been openly violated, can not now, with any hope of success, resolve to enforce them. Can this society demand of employers an adherence to regulations that the society was the first to violate? These regulations, by mutual agreement between them, were equally binding upon this society and employers; but, by your own act, in the opinion of your committee, you have absolved the employers from all obligation to adhere to them. When violations of said regulations have occurred, and been reported to this society, you have, more than once, appointed committees to confer with the employers on the subject, but without any satisfactory result. Some have promised to comply with the wishes of the society; others have treated you with contemptuous silence, and all have continued to violate the apprentice regulations, as long as it was their interest to do so. That, in the opinion of your committee, the aforesaid regulations operate in favor of the employer, and against the interests of the journeymen: the long term of apprenticeship, and the legal power given to the master to make the apprentice serve the full term of five years, cer-

tainly offers greater inducements to employers to take apprentices, and bring them in competition with journeymen, than the old system, under which—the term of apprenticeship depending altogether on the will of the boy, the master possessing no legal power to detain him—there was less inducement to bring apprentices in competition with journeymen. In a word, the regulations, as they now stand, are a dead letter, and as long as they remain in, and are acknowledged by, this society, as a part of its constitution, without, at the same time, enforcing them, they are a disgrace and reproach to us. That, in the opinion of your committee, it is inexpedient to modify or enforce said regulations. That, in the opinion of your committee, if this society, in its wisdom, should see fit to repeal the said regulations, it will settle all differences now existing between this society and employers in relation to apprentices, prevent future collisions of the same nature; still the murmurs and dissatisfaction of a large and respectable minority of this society; and give peace and good feelings where we have long had agitation and angry contention.

In conclusion, your committee would respectfully recommend the following resolution for adoption, and ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject:

Resolved, That the apprentice regulations of the Columbia Typographical Society be, and they are hereby, repealed.

C. W. C. Dunnington,
John T. C. Clark,
Committee.

A minority of the committee of the Columbia Typographical Society, to whom was referred the subject of a repeal or modification of the apprentice regulations of said society respectfully begs leave to report:

That he has given the matter his most serious attention and weighed all the arguments that presented themselves to his mind, for and against these regulations, in the calm balance of reflection. For the repeal of the regulations, there appear to exist the following reasons: First, because the regulations were framed to meet a general law on the subject, to be in force in all cities throughout the Union, whereas said general law has only been complied with in one city besides this. Second, because the regulations were not made in accordance with long-established usage, either in this or in any other age and country,

but were merely got up as an experiment, which experiment has failed to stand the test of five years' successful application. Third, because this society has itself specially authorized an infraction of the regulations in one instance and not promptly condemned their infraction in other instances. Fourth, because a very respectable minority in this society, in number and character, have always regarded the regulations as irregular, and not within the purview of the society's original jurisdiction—a minority which has sufficiently increased of late to call for some concession, or else the most convincing arguments, from the majority.

These reasons appear to be of such weight as to entitle them to great consideration. The closing part of the last season might seem to many particularly cogent as regards the mere expediency of repeal, from the fact that the regulations of a society of operatives can scarcely ever be beneficial or effective, unless approved by two-thirds of those who are to carry them into effect. The undersigned has been mindful of the strength of the reasons in favor of repeal, and also of the deduction which may be naturally drawn from the closing portion of the last; but he has deemed it due to the investigation in which he is engaged, to turn to the other side, and see what reasons may be offered for the retention and maintenance of these regulations. They may be stated as follows: First, the regulations prevent a too rapid multiplication of journeymen, by withdrawing from parents and guardians the inducement of putting boys to the business as a temporary stay or relief, who, having served a couple of years, are turned out to compete with journeymen of more mature experience. Second, they improve the quality of such apprentices as do serve, by affording them ample time to learn their business, a complete knowledge of which always stimulates them, in every situation in life, to a regard for the honor of the craft. Third, masters will readily start the printing business with apprentices only, when they can transfer or abandon such apprentices at will. Fourth, boys who are initiated into the business from temporary expediency, besides excluding journeymen to a certain extent, while serving their apprenticeship, frequently return, on the failure of other business, at a time when those who have made it the business of their lives can scarcely procure employment at it—thereby increasing the general distress among the craft. Fifth,

this society, from its foundation up to a very short period before the adoption of these regulations, showed its partiality for long apprenticeship by requiring four years of such service to be one of the constituent qualifications of membership. Sixth, the small number of apprentices now, in this city, compared with what there were when these regulations were established, affords the most irrefragable evidence of the efficacy and good result of the regulations.

The undersigned, after such a hesitancy as is involved in the foregoing citation of the merits of the case, has concluded to, and does, recommend an adherence to the apprentice regulations. He believes they have been productive of much good to the master, the journeyman, and the apprentice: to the master, by increasing his net profit on the apprentice's labor; to the journeyman, by limiting the number of his competitors; to the apprentice, by affording him a competent experience; and to all, through an amenity and congeniality of sentiment engendered by the system. He thinks that their repeal would be but an entering wedge to split and divide our society on all the regulations which it has established for the general welfare. He also believes there is no middle ground. Modification would only multiply the attacks of those interested in repeal, as well as the enemies of the society. Special instances may occur where an exception to the regulations will be necessary—such as where the family to which an apprentice belongs is removing from one section of country to another; but in such special instances the undersigned apprehends a vote of two-thirds can readily be obtained to authorize such exception.

In conclusion, the undersigned asks that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

F. Jefferson.

Mr. Delano offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the apprentice regulations be enforced forthwith.

For which Mr. Drew offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That a committee of vigilance be appointed, to consist of one member of this society in each office, in the city, to supervise the admission of apprentices into the respective offices in which the members of the committee may be engaged; and

that, on the admission of a new apprentice into an office, the committee be required to wait upon the employer, on the authority of the society, and inquire whether such apprentice has been taken in accordance with the regulations of this society, and to report the same to the society; and that said committee also be authorized to pursue a like course with regard to those apprentices who are now working in offices contrary to the rules of the society.

Nothing, however, came of it at this time. By resolution the society had appointed a committee November 6, 1841, to make a list of all the "journeymen now employed in the several offices of this city, designating the number that are members of this society, the number that have been, but from any cause have ceased to be members, and the number that have never been attached to the society."

April 2, 1842, a resolution to prohibit members from working with non-members after January 1, 1843, was introduced, this being the first attempt in Washington to discriminate against merely non-union men as distinguished, of course, from "rats," or men working under the scale. The argument of the resolution is identical with that used against the non-union man today:

WHEREAS experience has clearly demonstrated that it has been only by the formation and continuance of the Columbia Typographical Society that the craft have been enabled to attain their present prosperous condition, in a moral and pecuniary point of view, in this city; and

WHEREAS a crisis has arrived in the affairs of the profession, which calls for a rally of all members of the craft in support of the constitution and regulations of the society; and believing that all who work at the business in this city are benefited by the existence of said society, and bound, both by honor and interest, to contribute to its support. Therefore,

Resolved, That every person working at the business will be required to make application to join this society within one month from the time of his commencing work at any office in this city, at a regular stated meeting of the society.

Resolved, That on the refusal or neglect of any to comply with the regulation contained in the foregoing resolution, or in case of the rejection of such applicant, the members of this society shall cease to work in any office where such person may be employed.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution go into effect as an amendment to the constitution, on the 1st day of January, 1843.

As a similar resolution was introduced in 1847, this, if passed (the minutes do not show whether it was or not), does not appear to have been very effective, but is none the less indicative of the sentiment of the time.

In New York city early in 1844 the Franklin Typographical Association had been founded for the purpose of securing an advance in wages. The scale, which was 28 cents per 1,000 ems and $11 a week, was agreed upon at a meeting held April 13, 1844, to take effect April 15. At a meeting held on the latter date the following resolutions were passed:

WHEREAS the Franklin Typographical Association have designated the 15th day of April, 1844, as the time for the revised scale of prices to go into operation; and

WHEREAS it is necessary for the association, to protect those who may be thrown out of employment in consequence thereof; therefore,

Resolved, That all persons who may be thrown out of employment in consequence of demanding the advance designated in the scale, be requested to report themselves to the board of management at Stoneal's Hotel, Fulton street, on Monday, April 15, 1844, between the hours of 10 A. M. and 10 P. M. to receive such information, instructions and assistance as circumstances may require.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to make arrangements for the firing a salute of 100 guns on Monday, April 15, 1844, in honor of the large number of the generous and liberal employers who have already signified their willingness to pay the new scale.

This firing of guns was premature, if intended as a celebration of victory. May 6, 1844, the association

opened reading rooms and a house of call at No. 109 Nassau street for the use of all the journeymen printers, and where "members of the association out of employment are requested to call and register their names and addresses." It was, in fact, a "headquarters of the strikers," such as we know today. Matters grew worse and worse for the association. July 22 the following "address" was issued:

The corresponding secretary of the Franklin Typographical Association having been duly appointed by the board of managers to confer with certain printers concerning prices, respectfully submits the following report:

Saturday morning, July 20, I called on John F. Trow, the corporation printer, and stated to him that I had been appointed by the association to inquire of him if there was any truth in the rumor that he was about to reduce prices in his book office. He answered me very haughtily, "Suppose there is?" I said that I did not come to explain why he should not reduce prices, but merely to ask what truth there was in the rumor. Again he replied, "Suppose there is?" I asked him if that was his only answer. He replied that he acknowledged no right in the association to ask him questions; that the association had been the cause of difficulty in his office, and that he was determined to "set his face against" this or any other association that should assume the right of dictation as to what men should receive for their labor. He should "set his face against the association." He held that he had the right to pay what he pleased for work, and that no one had a right to say a word in the matter; and he was "determined to set his face against the association."

After this ebullition of superfluous breath, the gentlemanly corporation printer set his back against me and I walked off.

Printers of New York! have you no interest in this matter? A portion of your number, by great exertion, formed an association—upon a liberal and benevolent plan—have adopted a scale of prices to which these very men acceded, and which every honorable employer considers fair and just.

This scale of prices will put more money in your pocket in a month than the association will take from you in a whole year.

If you who are not members of our association would come up and join—if you would help yourselves fight your own battles—we might give such answer as would effectually convince John F. Trow, and others of his belief, that free and independent men, men who earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of their brow, have a right to dictate to fellow-men—aye though their names be not blazoned six several times in gorgeousness of gold leaf and paint upon the walls of a four-story building.

But if the mass of journeymen printers will remain idle in this business—if they will shun all opportunity for benefiting themselves—then they must submit to be insolently told that they have no right to ask a fair return for their labor, that they must take what their masters choose to offer, and be silent; they must be content to cringe before the soulless tyrant who by any means may happen to possess control over a case of type and a rickety press; they must be content to live or die, to feast or starve, as the greed and avarice of the employer may dictate.

Fellow-journeymen! have you not as fair a right to sunlight and shade, to air and existence as any other breathing mortal? If so, then protect that right, for it is in danger. The men who would deprive you of a portion of your hard-earned wages, were willing for their own interests to pay the scale at the time of its adoption.

Business was brisk then, work was plenty, and men were in demand. Now work is scarce, and for that reason these fellows would cut down your wages! as if the laborer was responsible for the decrease of business, and his wife and children must be punished and starved so that the employer's account of profits and gain may foot up as they did when business was good. Oh, charitable, enlightened, benevolent logic that would reduce the compensation for work because work is scarce.

In view of these circumstances, we call upon the journeymen printers of New York to come up, not to help us individually, nor for the purpose of parade or display, but come up for the benefit of yourselves, for your own protection, for the protection of your wives and children—for the protection of their honor—for the protection of the honor and the dignity of labor, and the character of freemen; all of which are endangered by the illiberal, selfish and unjust actions of a certain number of purse-proud mortals.

T. F. Ottarson,
Corresponding Secretary.

The last meeting of this militant association, so far as can be learned, was held December 21, 1844. About this time, or possibly in 1843, an attempt was made to found a national secret society, to be composed of picked men from the local associations in all cities, and to be called "The Order of Faust." The move was started in New York city, and it is said that such of the leaders as were approached in Albany, Washington, Cincinnati, Boston and Philadelphia were ready to join and to found co-ordinate branches.

The years from 1844 to 1847 were remarkable for nothing but the same old temporizing struggle over apprentices, and the ever-swelling army of "two-thirders" which was augmented continuously from the apprentices. In 1845, in Washington, a group of printers forming a committee from the society were arrested upon a charge of "conspiracy," as the result of an attempt to enforce the society's apprenticeship regulations, which all of the employers (including those causing the arrest) had agreed to for years, but which nobody, not even the society, had paid much attention to. The extent to which apprentices were substituted for journeymen, as compared with the present time, can be best realized by reference to an incident in Detroit, Mich. In 1846 the apprentices struck on a Detroit newspaper, and publication was suspended for two days because there were not journeymen enough to do the work. November 22, 1847, the Albany (N. Y.) association sent out a letter stating that contractors had taken the state printing at 17 cents per 1,000 ems, and were hiring boys at $3 a week to do the work. The next year the Albany Union limited the number of apprentices. In 1847 the Baltimore association adopted a constitutional amendment limiting apprentices at the ratio of one apprentice to each three journeymen. In the convention of 1850 the Baltimore delegates, as well

as those of Albany, urged limitation, and referred to that of their own unions, but without mentioning the ratio. Mr. H. T. Ogden, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who was a delegate to the convention of 1850, in an interview for this report, kindly supplied this important information. Mr. Ogden went to Cincinnati in 1847, and his first employment was in a job office where there were three journeymen and five boys, called apprentices, but were only so in name. Mr. Ogden thinks that was about the ratio throughout the Middle West at that time. Few offices had more than one or two journeymen. He remembers that in the best office in Lexington, Ky., in 1836, there was one journeyman and five apprentices in the news composing room and one journeyman and one apprentice in the jobroom. In 1847 Mr. Ogden corresponded with the Baltimore union and got its apprenticeship limitation rule, which was adopted by the Cincinnati Union in 1848. In 1849 there seems to have been a rivalry between the radical and conservative elements, the former wishing further to restrict apprentices by increasing the ratio to 1 to 4. Mr. Ogden was the candidate of the "1 to 3" party, and was elected president of the union.

In 1848 the Typographical Union of Boston was organized. A preliminary meeting to discuss organization was held December 8, 1848, at the residence of Mr. Henry K. Oliver, who later became the first chief of the first bureau of the statistics of labor. Final organization was effected December 16, 1848, with approximately sixty members. The prices paid at that time were 25 cents per 1,000 ems to first-class journeymen in the best offices and 16 2-3 cents to "two-thirders," who outnumbered the journeymen about two to one. The union issued a circular in December, 1848, in which it said:

There are in Boston 156 journeymen working 12 hours each day and 7 days each week, who receive on an average of $9.25

per week. There are 325 journeymen working 10 hours each day and 6 days each week, who receive on an average of $6 per week.

The scale of prices demanded by the union in 1849 was 28 cents per 1,000 ems, with a weekly rate of $13 on morning papers; for evening and semi-weekly papers, 28 cents per 1,000 and $10 weekly rate. Job offices and weekly papers paid the same piece rate, or $9 a week on weekly rate; time work was 20 cents an hour.

The Pittsburgh (Pa.) Typographical Association was formed in 1849 and issued a scale of prices. This union proposed at first only a three-year indentured apprenticeship for all boys employed in offices; but in 1850 or 1851 adopted a limitation of apprentices at "1 to 3." The Boston union of 1848 tried to solve its problems by refusing to admit to membership any who had not served a four-year apprenticeship and had recommendations as a good printer. It is difficult to see how this would solve the problem of the "two-thirder," who was content to remain a two-thirder and out of the union, however, as it is not at all clear that members refused to work with non-union men at first, and certainly not with non-union men who claimed to be only apprentices, as the "two-thirders" when driven to defense invariably did. In 1849 the Boston union had a long and bitter strike to enforce its new scale.

December 29, 1849, a meeting attended by 27 compositors from the daily newspaper offices was held in New York city to discuss organization and the prospects of securing a uniform scale of wages throughout the city. This was accomplished January 19, 1850, by the organization of the New York Typographical Union (now "Big Six") and the adoption of a scale calling for 32 cents per 1,000 ems, which the employers acceded to without friction. Hon. Horace Greeley, having accepted

an invitation to serve, was elected its first president; "working cards" with his signature as president still exist and are greatly prized by their owners.[15]

A typographical union existed in San Francisco, Cal., and one in Trenton, N. J., in 1850; but whether organized in that year or not, is not known. The San Francisco scale of wages was $5 a day. Likewise the printers of Savannah, Ga., and those of Syracuse, N. Y., report organization and trouble in September, 1850, but do not clearly indicate how long they had been organized.

The present typographical union in Philadelphia was organized August 10, 1850, adopting a constitution and by-laws and price list. This constitution limits apprentices, and prohibits its members from working with "two-

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[15] The New York Tribune of January 21, 1850, contains the following notice of the organization and condensation of the constitution adopted:

At a meeting of the New York Printers' Union held on Saturday evening, January 19, 1850, the following officers were elected: President, Horace Greeley; vice-president, Edgar H. Rogers; recording secretary, William H. Prindle; financial secretary, R. Cunningham; corresponding secretary, George Johnson; treasurer, Thomas N. Rooker.

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW YORK PRINTERS' UNION.

The objects of the union shall be the maintenance of a fair rate of wages, the assistance and encouragement of good workmen, the support of members in sickness and distress, the relief of deserving printers who may visit our city in search of employment, the establishment of a library for the use and instruction of members, and to use every means in our power which may tend to the elevation of printers in the scale of social life.

1. The officers of this union shall consist of a president, vice-president, a recording secretary, a financial secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, a financial committee of three to serve one year, a visiting committee of seven to serve for three months, a relief committee of five to serve for six months, and a board of five trustees to be elected annually.

2. The regular meetings of the union are to be held on the first and third Saturdays of each month, and special meetings may at any time be called, at the request of six members, signified in writing to the president.

3. Eleven members shall constitute a quorum for the transacting of business.

4. The initiation fee is $1, and application for admission may be made through any member, the applicant first depositing in the hands of the financial secretary the sum of $1.

5. At the next meeting after his proposition the union shall take his request into consideration and it shall thereupon be balloted for by ball ballots,

thirders." The union was immediately involved in a strike. September 18, 1850, there were 425 members enrolled and 30 journeymen who had refused to join, but were not working below the scale. September 21 the "vigilance committee" reported 55 "two-thirders" and 60 unbound boys in the printing offices of the city, and gave name and detailed personal description of each. The strike lasted into December, when the committee reported to the union that it could not win the strike with the demands as they then stood, recommending the repeal of the limitation on apprentices, that being the one demand most bitterly opposed by employers, and the one which alienated public sentiment. The sections of the by-laws limiting apprentices were repealed, as the union

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and if the applicant shall receive three-quarters of all the ballots, he shall be entitled tq a certificate of membership.

6. Any printer who has attained the age of 21 years, who is in sound health, and of good moral standing in society, may become a member by complying with the requirements of the constitution.

7. Members may pay their dues monthly if they prefer it, and should the liabilities of the union in consequence of benefits to sick and superannuated members exceed the receipts thereof, then three-quarters of the members present at a regular meeting, or at a special (in which not less than twenty members shall form a quorum), shall have power to lay an assessment not to exceed the sum of $2 in any one year upon every member of the union in addition to all other constitutional dues.

8. In addition to the initiation fee of $1, the sum of $6.50 per annum will be required from each member as dues, payable quarterly on the first Saturday of April, July, October and January.

9. Members who are rendered unable to work by sickness shall receive the sum of $4 per week, and in case of death of a member's wife, $20. In case of the death of a member an assessment of 25 cents upon each member will be made for defraying the funeral expenses. The surplus, if any, to go into the general fund.

10. No member shall be entitled to receive any benefits until he shall have been a member one year.

11. Whenever a new member is proposed a committee of investigation of the members shall be appointed to inquire into the qualifications of the candidate and report in writing at the next regular meeting.

12. The widows and orphans of members who are qualified at the time of their decease shall, upon the recommendation of a committee appointed to investigate the circumstances, be allowed such assistances as the union may from time to time direct.

13. This union may at any future time adopt a scale of prices for the governance of the trade; and any printer who may be working for less than such scale shall not be considered a proper person to be a member of this union.

was unable by strike to enforce them. September 28, 1850, the New York union issued a call for a national convention, Boston and Philadelphia joining in the call.

To summarize, we find documentary evidence that New York city had an organization, probably temporary, in 1786; another formed in 1795 and existing until late in 1797; a third existing from 1799 to 1804; another organized in 1809, and existing as a trade organization to 1818, and as a mutual benefit society still in existence. Again, in 1831, a trade organization formed principally by newspaper compositors, and existing until about 1840, the exact date of its dissolution not being known. Again, in 1844, an organization which seems to have continued only from April to the last of December of that year, and, lastly, the present union, which was organized in January, 1850.

In Philadelphia the printers organized in 1802, continuing as a trade organization with benefit features until 1831, when it was reorganized as a purely benefit society and as such still exists; another association, organized in 1833, lasted until 1839 or 1840, and in 1850 the present union was organized.

In Boston the evidence of an organization in 1803 is not quite conclusive; one organized in 1809 lasted until 1826 (that of 1822 being a non-trade-regulating society); another in 1838, the date of the dissolution of which was not ascertained, and the present union, formed in 1848.

Baltimore, in 1814, organized a society which existed until 1826, the present union having been organized in 1831.

Washington organized in 1815 the society which still exists as Union No. 101, and is the oldest existing union of printers, if not the oldest union in any trade, in the United States. Albany, N. Y., had an organization from 1815 to 1827, another in 1847. New Orleans, one in

1830, which must have collapsed in a short time, as another was organized in 1835, existing until about 1845. The present union was formed in 1852.

Cincinnati organized in 1832 a society which appears to have lasted until about 1840. The present union was organized in 1846, though not, of course, under its present charter, as all charters were dated by the National Union and then reissued and dated by the reorganized International, which was not done until 1869. Richmond, Va., and Charleston, S. C., appear in 1834. Louisville, Ky., had an organization in 1834; another in 1839, which seems to have survived until 1847. In 1835 is found the first mention of or reports from organizations in Natchez, Miss., and Nashville, Tenn. In 1836 the first record is made of organizations in Harrisburg, Pa.; Mobile, Ala., and Augusta, Ga. The Columbia (S. C.) society was also organized in 1836, the society existing until about 1842. An organization was formed in Lexington, Ky., in 1837. St. Louis had an organization in 1838, which appears to have been in existence some time when first heard from through a circular letter issued by it protesting against a continuous rat list. In 1839 first mention is noted of organizations in Frankfort, Ky.; Rochester, N. Y.; Tallahassee, Fla.; Columbus, Ohio; Detroit, Mich., and Vicksburg, Miss.

Organizations were formed in Jackson, Miss., in 1840; Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1849; San Francisco, Cal., in 1849 or 1850; Savannah, Ga.; Syracuse, N. Y., and Trenton, N. J., in 1850. The organization in Oregon and Washington Territories of what appears to have been a delegate union occurred in 1853. Lastly, two national organizations were organized, that of 1836 and that of 1850, which reorganized in 1852 as the present national body of printers.

Conventions 1850 to 1912

Conventions 1850, 1851, 1852

National Convention of Journeymen Printers of the United States, Held in New York, December 2-5, 1850, Together with "An Address."

THE first national convention of journeymen printers of the United States, aside from the conventions of 1836 and 1837, was held in New York city, in December, 1850. The membership of the convention comprised delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Kentucky. The sessions of the convention were held at Stoneall's Hotel in Fulton street.

Officers, 1850 — A temporary organization was effected, and John W. Peregoy, of Maryland, was elected president, together with George E. Greene, Kentucky, and M. C. Brown, Pennsylvania, vice-presidents; F. J. Ottarson, New York, and John Hartman, New Jersey, secretaries. A committee of seven was appointed to prepare and present business for the transaction of the convention.

National Executive Committee Created — The first formative act of the convention was the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That a standing national executive committee of three from each state be appointed to enforce the execution of all resolutions of this convention bearing upon the different sections here represented; to gather information on all matters of interest to the trade; to report the same quarterly to the different unions, and to the next convention when it assembles; to make arrangements for the assembling of the next convention, and also to attend to whatever else the convention may direct, during the interim between the adjournment of this and the assembling of the next convention.

Formation of Local Unions — After the creation of the executive committee, the convention adopted the follow-

ing resolution, which was ordered to be forwarded to the various local organizations then in existence throughout the country:

Resolved, That this convention recommend to our brethren throughout the country the formation of unions on the following basis:

FIRST. Regulation and adjustment of the different scales of prices so as not to conflict with each other.

SECOND. Giving traveling certificates to their members, in good standing, to be legal for one year, which shall recommend the holders thereof to assistance and traveling expenses from the union in any city or town where they can not obtain work; provided said holders have done nothing in the meantime, by a course of intemperance or otherwise, to disqualify them from the same, of which fact the national executive committee shall notify the unions or societies in other places.

THIRD. Keeping a registry of the names of "rats" and other unworthy members of the trade, and description of their persons, to be sent to every union or society in the country and to be kept by each union for reference.

FOURTH. Receiving no stranger as a member of any union or society who shall not produce a legal certificate of membership from the society or union of the place to which he belongs.

FIFTH. Levying a monthly contribution upon each member sufficiently large to enable it to accumulate within two years a sum equivalent at least to $10 for each member, as a reserve fund, in view of their being compelled to quit work in vindication of their rights.

SIXTH. Establishing the right of any sister union or society to call upon them for pecuniary assistance, if necessary, to the amount of $1 from each member; provided that all sums thus loaned shall be repaid in monthly installments, equivalent to at least five per cent of the original loan; the first installment to be paid within one month after the difficulty calling for the loan shall have passed away.

SEVENTH. Granting certificates from one union to enable the members thereof to become attached to any other, without paying an entrance fee; provided the holder intends residing permanently within the bounds of the union into which he seeks admission.

Apprentices — The next question considered by the delegates was the importance of limiting the number of apprentices. After an extended debate, participated in by nearly all of those present, the following expression of sentiment by the convention was adopted:

Resolved, That the limiting of the number of apprentices be earnestly recommended to the different unions throughout the country for their adoption.

The convention also expressed itself in favor of indenturing apprentices for a period of not less than five years, and employing printers were urgently requested to adopt the system.

Contract Printing — Another subject that occupied considerable time during the session of the convention was the matter of contract printing by the legislatures of the several states and by the congress of the nation. The convention was divided on this question, but finally expressed itself as being opposed to the system so universally adopted by the legislatures of the different states of giving out the printing for their several bodies, by contract, to the lowest bidder, believing that the action was repugnant to the spirit of republican institutions, inasmuch as its effect was to degrade labor below the standard of its merit by throwing it into the market for the competition of men not practical printers, who had neither the character nor the interests of the trade at heart.

The convention recommended to the trade at large to respectfully protest, in formal manner, against the contract system in every branch of public work; and the executive committee was instructed to urge upon the various unions some general action upon this subject.

Government Printing Office — The convention also declared itself as opposed to the establishing of a government printing office, believing that the same would have a tendency to political favoritism.

As a means of handling the government printing, the following method was proposed and referred to the succeeding convention:

Resolved, That the national executive committee have power to correspond with the several unions, which are or may be established, on the subject of joint stock offices, and particularly to ascertain from such unions if funds can be subscribed by the members thereof in an amount sufficient to warrant the establishment of a national union for doing the printing of the United States government.

National Executive Committee Appointed, 1850 — The national executive committee, authorized by the convention, was appointed by the chairman, as follows:

New York — T. J. Walsh, Albany; Edwin H. Rogers, Peter MacDonald, New York city.

Pennsylvania — R. B. Smyth, John F. Keyser, W. B. Eckert, Philadelphia.

New Jersey — Charles Bechtel, John Hartman, William Gillipsy, Trenton.

Maryland — M. F. Conway, Frederick Young, John W. Peregoy, Baltimore.

Kentucky — George E. Greene, J. L. Gibbons, Raymond Lynch, Louisville.

The committee elected M. F. Conway, of Baltimore, as chairman of the national executive committee.

The convention was in session four days and adjourned to meet at Baltimore, September 12, 1851.

Address to Printers — The following address was issued for general circulation among the printers of the country:

Address to the Journeymen Printers of the United States

For some time past the project of calling together a national convention of journeymen printers has met with considerable attention and favor from the trade in various por-

JOHN W. PEREGOY, Baltimore
President
First National Convention Journeymen Printers
December 2 – 5, 1850

tions of the country. Aware of this fact, and partaking also in the general desire, the unions of New York, Philadelphia and Boston, about a month since, issued a circular, requesting the different societies throughout the country to send delegates to a national convention, to be held in New York, on Monday, December 2, 1850. In consequence of the very short space of time intervening between the receipt of the circular and the meeting of the convention, but five states have sent delegates, viz.: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Kentucky. These delegates met in convention at the time and place specified, and, through their committee, now address you.

It is useless for us to disguise from ourselves the fact that, under the present arrangement of things, there exists a perpetual antagonism between labor and capital. The toilers are involuntarily pitted against the employers; one side striving to sell their labor for as much, and the other striving to buy it for as little, as they can. In this war of interests, labor, of itself, stands no chance. The power is all on the other side. Every addition to the number of laborers in the market decreases their power; while the power of capital grows in a ratio commensurate with the increase of the capital itself. On the one side, the greater the number of dollars, the greater the ability to succeed in the conflict; on the other, the greater the number of laborers, the less the ability to succeed. Add to this fact that wealth accumulates, on the one side, much faster as the laborers accumulate on the other, and the utter impotency of unorganized labor in a warfare against capital becomes manifest.

To remedy the many disastrous grievances arising from this disparity of power, combination for mutual agreement in determining rates of wages and for concert of action in maintaining them has been resorted to in many trades, and principally in our own. Its success has abundantly demonstrated its utility. Indeed, while the present wage system continues in operation, as an immediate protection from pressing calamities, it is clearly the only effective means which labor can adopt. So far as it extends, it destroys competition in the labor market, unites the working people, and produces a sort of equilibrium in the power of the conflicting parties.

This being the case, it appears evident that an extensive

organization, embracing the whole country, would secure to our own, or to any other trade, a power which could be derived from no other source. The delegates here assembled have come together deeply impressed with this conviction. They regard such an organization not only as an agent of immediate relief, but also as essential to the ultimate destruction of those unnatural relations at present subsisting between the interests of the employing and the employed classes. All their actions have accordingly been regulated with a view to the establishment of such an organization. They have recommended the formation of societies in all the cities and towns throughout the country. They have rendered it obligatory upon all members of the profession, traveling to any point embraced in the representation here, for work, to have with them certificates of membership from the society located in the place from which they come. They have established a national executive committee to urge the enforcement of their recommendations and requirements. They have also instructed that committee to use its utmost exertions to have a full representation of the whole country in the next national convention, which they have ordered to be held in Baltimore, on the 12th day of next September.

The members of the convention are well aware that to secure the adoption of the measures they recommend they must recommend those alone which are best calculated to effect the immediate well-being of the individual members of the trade. The establishment of a general organization must be effected upon certain principles. In proportion as the advantages of the operation of those principles are felt and observed, the establishment of that organization will be rendered certain or doubtful. The principles, therefore, recommended by the convention, upon which it urges the formation of societies throughout the country, are such as can not fail to enlist in their favor the most potent considerations of self-interest. Among them are—

First. An understanding in the regulation of scales of prices in different localities, so that those in one place may not be permitted to become so comparatively high as to induce work to be sent elsewhere.

Second. The enforcement of the principle of limiting the number of apprentices, by which measure a too rapid increase

in the number of workmen, too little care in the selection of boys for the business, and the employment of herds of half men at half wages, to the detriment of good workmen, will be effectually prevented.

THIRD. The issuing of traveling certificates, by which the distresses of brother craftsmen, incurred in journeying from one place to another, in search of work, may be relieved. In this we have one of those means of attracting and attaching to our societies men who, not troubled largely with abstract principles of strict duty, are nevertheless willing to become "repentant prodigals" for the sake of the "fatted calf." Besides, it is eminently calculated to produce a warmer attachment on the part of superior men, inasmuch as it will bind them in the ties of gratitude and in the luxurious fellowship of good deeds.

FOURTH. Measures to prevent disgraced members of the profession enjoying, anywhere in the United States, those privileges which belong exclusively to honorable printers. They consist in keeping a registry of "rats," to be sent by the executive committee to every union in the country, for reference; and admitting to membership no stranger who does not produce evidence of his having been a member in good standing of the society, if any existed, in the place from which he comes.

FIFTH. The gradual collection of a sum of money by each union sufficient to enable it to hold out successfully against the employers in the event of a contention for higher wages.

SIXTH. The recognition of the right of a union to borrow from any other, when necessary, a sum of money to the amount of one dollar for each member thereof, to be repaid in a manner prescribed. This is intended, in conjunction with other measures proposed, to strengthen each individual society in the struggles which it may be called on to make, from time to time, against unjust employers. Its efficacy needs no explanation.

SEVENTH. Measures for the attainment of several other objects of less importance, which are calculated to give efficacy to the whole.

Such has been the main work of the convention; and, while the members thereof are aware that it is but the commencement of an undertaking which, in its full completion, must necessarily be more or less protractive, they look with confi-

dence to those who shall follow them, in subsequent conventions, to conduct it to a successful consummation.

The project of establishing a joint stock office at Washington city for the purpose of executing the printing of the United States government was introduced into the convention; but its newness, as a matter of practical concern, to the great body of journeymen printers, with the necessity of having a thorough deliberation on so important a matter, and the propriety of delegates being elected with a special regard to its consideration, prompted its reference to the next convention. The practicability of the working people employing themselves, and realizing the profits of their own labor, there can be no doubt, might be illustrated and established if the journeymen printers of the United States would resolve to try the experiment. In fact, our Philadelphia brethren have already, to a great extent, succeeded in an effort of the kind. A publishing establishment has been instituted in that city by the union there; and thus far has answered the most sanguine expectations of its projectors and friends. If a similar concern, on a large scale, could be instituted in Washington, a similar result might be reasonably apprehended. The subject is, at least, well worth a full and deliberate consideration, and may be regarded as one of the most important and interesting which will engage the attention of the next convention.

Combination merely to fix and sustain a scale of prices is of minor importance compared with that combination which looks to an ultimate redemption of labor. Scales of prices, to keep up the value of labor, are only necessary under a system which, in its uninterrupted operation, gives to that value a continual downward tendency. But when labor determines to sell itself no longer to speculators, but to become its own employer; to own and enjoy itself and the fruit thereof, the necessity for scales of prices will have passed away, and labor will be forever rescued from the control of the capitalist. It will then be free, fruitful, honorable. The shackles of a disastrous conventionalism will have fallen from its limbs; and it will appear in the character which nature designed it to sustain. This is certainly a consummation most devoutly to be wished; and however difficult it may be to attain, if within the range of possibility, ought to constitute the great end to which all our other aims and efforts should be made subsidiary.

The journeymen printers of the United States are earnestly invoked, by their brethren here, to employ their most effective endeavors in the prosecution of this work. Its success now rests with them; and it is to be hoped they will feel the full weight of the responsibility. We beg them to take into favorable consideration the measures we have recommended for their adoption. We beg them to assist the national executive committee by every possible means in the fulfillment of its duties. We beg them to circulate the official proceedings of this convention (published in pamphlet form by the union of Philadelphia) wherever such circulation will be calculated to excite an interest in the movement. And we beg them, finally, to send a full representation to the next convention from every section of the country. They owe a duty which they are thus called upon to discharge, not only to us, who have commenced in this movement—not alone to themselves, who are so deeply interested in it—but also to the laborers of all trades and vocations, who are anxiously awaiting the development of some sure plan of amelioration which they can all adopt. Public opinion places us at the head of the mechanical professions. Let us not belie that opinion by falling behind it. Something is expected of us, and when the next convention assembles, let its numbers and its actions justify and realize the public expectation. Let something be evolved during its deliberations which will redound to the benefit of our own trade, and, by the way of example, to the benefit of all others.

M. F. Conway,
Geo. E. Greene,
And. J. Atkinson,
J. S. Nafew,
Chas. Bechtel,
Committee.

By order of the convention.

John W. Peregoy,
President.

F. J. Ottarson,
John Hartman,
Secretaries.

Geo. E. Greene,
M. C. Brown,
Vice-Presidents.

New York, *December 7, 1850.*

Comment on Address to Printers — In Mr. Stewart's history of the "Early Organizations of Printers" the fol-

lowing comment is made on the foregoing address: "It is not the purpose of this article to comment on the documents submitted, but as this address would be considered extremely radical if issued by the International Typographical Union today, and as it is extremely improbable that anything bordering on some of its sentiments could be passed in that organization, it is but fair to call attention to the fact that the lines between radicalism and a progressive conservatism were not so clearly defined or sharply drawn then as now. An attack upon the wage system of industry did not mean then what it means now. Such attacks had been and were being made by the humanitarians of that day; and Greeley, Dana, Alcott, Thoreau, and all they of the Brook Farm and countless other experiments, were decrying the wage system without exciting anybody, even themselves. Their plan of establishing co-operative communities and groups, like the Brook Farm or the proposed printing office to do the government printing, 'abolished the wage system' for individuals and groups of individuals. It did not matter that their idea was to extend these until all would eventually be in some group, since that was so palpably impossible or infinitely remote in time that it was a perfectly safe subject for discussion. That these reflections upon the wage system in those days did not mean what the same language would mean today is shown from the fact that the same convention unanimously passed a resolution opposing a government printing office. There was nothing inconsistent about this then, for the theory that the wage system can only be ultimately abolished for all by the final absorption of industries by organized government had not been definitely formulated by any school of thinkers in this country at that time. The socialists of that day were St. Simonites, not Bellamyites, nor yet Carl Marxians. Nevertheless, it is well to note that the history of the typo-

graphical union is marked by the gradual elimination of general propositions from its councils; the progressively emphatic tightening of the lines on strictly trade matters. Its strength lies largely in its experience and the long line of precedents established, which enable it to know the best thing to do and to do that quickly and with firmness. It is organized not vaguely at the top of the International alone, nor solely by the more compact local union; but in every union printing office there is a chapel, or office organization, and its discipline and control, as well as its attempt to adjust grievances, settle troubles, or make agreements, begins at the chapel."

Second National Convention of Journeymen Printers, Held in Baltimore, September 12-16, 1851

The second national convention of journeymen printers assembled in Baltimore, Friday, September 12, 1851, in accordance with the call of the national executive committee appointed the year previous. Delegates were in attendance from eight states, as follows: New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, Ohio and New Jersey.

Officers, 1851 — The convention was temporarily organized by the selection of J. L. Gibbons, Louisville, as chairman, and M. F. Conway, Baltimore, and A. C. Pool, Harrisburg, as secretaries. After the adoption of the report of the committee on credentials, J. L. Gibbons, Louisville, was elected president; William C. Figner, Philadelphia, first vice-president; George Wadham, Massachusetts, second vice-president; J. R. Lewellen, Richmond, third vice-president; W. G. Williams, Cincinnati, fourth vice-president; H. A. Guild, New York, and M. F. Conway, Baltimore, secretaries.

Permanent Committees — Three permanent committees were authorized—on unfinished business, on new

business, and on legislative business, together with a committee on rules and regulations for the government of the convention, and such special committees as were deemed necessary for the proper and prompt transaction of the business before the convention.

Government Printing — A special committee was appointed to consider matters relating to government printing, a subject left over from the previous convention. The committee submitted the following memorial, which, after much debate, was adopted by the convention:

Memorial of the National Convention of Printers to the Congress of the United States

We, the delegates representing the typographical associations of a large number of the United States of America, among which are New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts and New Jersey, and, as we believe, a majority of the remaining states of this confederacy, would most respectfully ask the attention of your honorable bodies, to consider—

First. That in view of the past difficulties and legislation by congress, growing out of the election of the public printer in the two houses, by the selection of inexperienced or party men, and on that account only, as a reward for partisan services, for the performance of the public work; and, for the purpose of doing away, to a great degree, with the annoyances complained of by the people's representatives, during several of the last successive sessions, that, in your future election of the public printers, you will, in all cases where competent, practical printers, and those who have not served a regular apprenticeship at that business are applicants, give your decision in favor of the former by the enactment of a permanent law by congress to that effect—thus settling this long-vexed question, so far as the future legislation upon the subject of the public printing is concerned.

Second. That the subject to which we refer—that of the public printing—has been one which has engaged to no limited extent the attention of all classes, in the various sections of the country, and more particularly the interests we repre-

sent; that the evil of which we complain is one that should be settled at once in favor of those who labor, by every reason of justice, so that labor in that department shall be placed in the position to which it is entitled, in order that it may be in accordance with the spirit of our free, liberal, and republican institutions.

THIRD. That it must be apparent to the honorable representatives of the people of this union that where the said work is apportioned to individuals not practically qualified to perform it, that, in giving the work to the former, it is gross injustice to those who are practically qualified for the performance of that duty—is subversive of the rights of labor, and repugnant to the character of our republican institutions.

FOURTH. That we are opposed, for the most manifest reasons, to the giving to the lowest bidder the public printing of the national government, whereby a system of auctioneering has been carried on, of serious injury to the men who labor at printing, and of delay in the prosecution of the public business by congress; and we beg to urge, most respectfully, upon your honorable bodies, the propriety, in the selection of the public printer, that congress, in giving its decisions in favor of that officer, shall so decide as, that a committee of three practical printers, to be appointed on behalf of that fraternity, in conjunction with a committee to be appointed in behalf of congress, shall fix the rates at which the said printing shall hereafter be done.

Following the favorable action of the convention on the foregoing memorial, delegates gave further expression to their views on the subject of contract labor by recommending to all unions located in capital cities, where public or legislative printing is done, to use their utmost endeavors, by petitions to their respective legislative bodies, for the abolishment of the contract or auctioneering system so far as applied to the public business.

National Typographical Union Suggested — On the third day of the convention the committee on new business offered the following report: "That, after mature deliberation, we are fully convinced that the most practi-

cable and speedy method of obtaining the various objects sought to be effected for the relief and benefit of the craft will be found in the organization of a national printers' union, which shall be legislative in its character. We, therefore, respectfully recommend the appointment of a committee, with instructions to report at as early a moment as possible, for the purpose of drafting a constitution for the permanent organization and government of a national printers' union."

Committee to Frame Constitution Appointed — This report was adopted, and accordingly a committee of eight was appointed to frame a constitution. The members of the committee were J. B. Smith, Philadelphia; James H. Walford, Richmond; Charles A. Randall, Massachusetts; R. J. Bruce, Baltimore; E. H. Rogers, New York; William G. Williams, Cincinnati; Charles Bechtel, New Jersey; J. L. Gibbons, Louisville. This committee submitted a report on the evening of the following day.

The name given the organization in the reported constitution was "The Printers' National Union." An amendment was offered, and carried, to call the organization the "United States Printers' Union," but this action was subsequently reconsidered, and it was decided the name should be the "National Typographical Union."

Subordinate Unions — As originally reported, the constitution of the National Union recognized "district" and "state" unions as subordinates; but when the question arose as to whether "state unions" should be represented in the national body in the same ratio as "district unions" there seemed to be a great diversity of opinion, and a lengthy discussion ensued, when a proposition was made to strike out "district" and "state unions" and substitute "local unions," and another to insert "subordinate unions," which latter amendment prevailed.

Constitution to be Ratified — The constitution as a

whole was adopted, and seemed to be regarded by all as highly satisfactory. It was signed by the members of the convention, and was subsequently forwarded to the different typographical unions for their ratification. As soon as the unions of five different states should signify their willingness to comply with the requirements of the constitution, the national executive committee was directed to issue a circular, announcing that the National Typographical Union had been formed, and notify all unions that the first session of the National Union would be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the first Monday of May, 1852.

Call Issued to Form National Union — The executive committee, in the course of a few weeks after the adjournment, was notified by more than the requisite number of unions of their ratification and adhesion to the constitution of the National Typographical Union, and a call was accordingly issued in due time by the committee for the assembling of the union at Cincinnati, on the first Monday of May, 1852.

Constitution Presented for Approval — The constitution and schedule follow:

National Typographical Union

We, the representatives of the typographical associations of the states of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, Massachusetts and New Jersey, in national convention assembled, for our government, do ordain and establish the following:

CONSTITUTION

Article I

Section 1. This body shall be known by the name of "The National Typographical Union," and shall be acknowledged, respected and obeyed as such by each subordinate union in the country. It shall possess original and exclusive jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to the fellowship of the craft in

the United States. All subordinate unions shall assemble under its warrant, and derive their authority from it, enabling them to make all necessary local laws for their own government. It shall be the ultimate tribunal to which all matters of general importance to the welfare of the members of the different unions shall be referred, and its decisions thereon shall be final and conclusive. To it shall belong the power to regulate, fix and determine the customs and usages in regard to all matters appertaining to the craft. It shall possess inherent power to establish subordinate unions, who shall always act by virtue of a warrant granted by authority of this body.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The members of this National Union shall be composed of its elective officers and representatives from subordinate unions, acting under legal, unreclaimed warrants granted by this National Union.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The elective officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents (who shall be chosen from different states), a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer—all of whom shall be elected annually, by ballot, and be installed and enter upon the duties of their offices at the termination of the session at which they are elected. They shall attend each meeting of the National Union and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by its laws and regulations. No officer, who is not also a representative, shall be permitted to vote, except the president, in case of equal division.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. The president shall preside at the meetings of the National Union, preserve order, and enforce the laws thereof. He shall have the casting vote whenever the National Union shall be equally divided; but shall not vote at other times. During the recess of this National Union, he shall, in conjunction with the vice-presidents, have a general superintendence over the interests of the craft; and make report, immediately upon the assembling of the National Union, of his acts and doings in relation thereto. He shall not hold any office in a subordinate union while acting as president of the National Union.

SEC. 2. The vice-presidents shall assist the president in the

discharge of his duties, and shall take precedence of rank in proportion to the votes received in the election of each (i. e., the officer receiving the highest number of votes shall rank before the one receiving the lower number). In the absence of the president, the first vice-president shall preside; and in the absence of both the president and the first vice-president, the second vice-president shall preside.

SEC. 3. The recording secretary shall make a just and true record of the proceedings of the National Union, in a book provided for that purpose; keep accounts between the National Union and subordinates under its jurisdiction; read all petitions, reports and papers to be laid before the National Union, and perform such other duties as may from time to time be required of him.

SEC. 4. The corresponding secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the National Union, and transact such business as appertains to his office. Copies of all communications transmitted or received by him shall be laid before the National Union.

SEC. 5. The treasurer shall keep the moneys of the National Union, and pay all orders drawn on him by the president and attested by the recording secretary, under the seal of the National Union. He shall lay before the union at each regular session a full and correct statement of his accounts, and before entering upon the duties of his office give such security as the National Union may require.

ARTICLE V

SECTION 1. Representatives from subordinate unions must be actual members, in good standing. They must be elected by the body they represent for the term of one year, and furnished with a certificate of election.

SEC. 2. Each subordinate union shall be entitled to three representatives in the National Union, and each representative shall be entitled to one vote. The expenses of the attendance of said representatives shall be defrayed by the unions they respectively represent.

ARTICLE VI

SECTION 1. The National Union shall meet annually on the first Monday in May at such place as shall from time to time be determined upon.

ARTICLE VII

SECTION 1. The revenue of the National Union shall be derived as follows: For a warrant for a subordinate union, five dollars, and five per cent upon the total receipts of subordinate unions.

ARTICLE VIII

SECTION 1. In case of death, resignation, disqualification or refusal of the president-elect to serve, the duties of the office for the remainder of the term shall be performed by the vice-presidents in the order designated in this constitution. And in case of death, resignation, disqualification or refusal of the above officers to serve, then a president pro tem. shall be elected. In case of the death, resignation, disqualification or refusal to serve of any officer, the presiding officer for the time being shall appoint some qualified person to perform the duties until the next regular meeting of the National Union.

ARTICLE IX

SECTION 1. A majority of the representatives of the several unions under the jurisdiction of this National Union shall be necessary to form a quorum for the transaction of business. All questions, unless otherwise provided for, shall be decided by a majority of the votes given.

ARTICLE X

SECTION 1. General laws for the government of the craft throughout the jurisdiction of this National Union may be enacted and enforced by this body; and any union within the jurisdiction refusing to abide by its laws and decisions shall be expelled. The National Union shall also, upon the request of any subordinate union under its jurisdiction, establish ceremonies of initiation into the ranks of such subordinate.

SEC. 2. The National Union shall from time to time enact such by-laws as it may deem necessary; provided, that such by-laws do not conflict with this constitution.

SEC. 3. Any alteration or amendment of this constitution must be offered to the National Union at a regular session thereof, and, if seconded, it shall be entered on the minutes. At the next stated meeting the amendments may be considered, and if agreed to by two-thirds of the votes given, shall become part of the constitution. All alterations to the laws of the National Union shall be made in like manner; and no law of a

general application shall be adopted unless submitted and entered upon the minutes at the regular session previous to its being adopted.

J. L. Gibbons, Louisville, Ky.; H. A. Guild, E. H. Rogers, New York; Thos. J. Walsh, Myron H. Rooker, Albany, N. Y.; Wm. Figner, Wm. B. Eckert, J. B. Smith, Geo. W. Jones, John H. Fasy, Philadelphia, Pa.; Alex. W. Rook, Pittsburgh, Pa.; W. J. Irvin, A. G. Pool, Harrisburg, Pa.; Geo. Wadham, Chas. A. Randall, H. H. Boardman, Boston, Mass.; James H. Walford, J. Richard Lewellen, Richmond, Va.; M. F. Conway, Robert J. Bruce, George Randell, Washington Ashton, August Donnelly, Baltimore, Md.; W. G. Williams, Henry T. Ogden, Hiram H. Young, Cincinnati; Charles Bechtel, J. W. Cassedy, Trenton, N. J.

SCHEDULE

FIRST. This constitution, being adopted, shall be signed by the members of this convention, published by its authority, and forwarded by the national executive committee to the different typographical unions and associations for their ratification.

SECOND. So soon as the unions of five different states shall signify to the executive committee their willingness to comply with the principles and requisitions of the constitution, and accompany the same with the regular fee of five dollars, the said executive committee shall issue their circular, announcing that the National Typographical Union has been formed, and request all subordinates, who have ratified the constitution, to elect representatives in pursuance of its provisions, who shall assemble on the first Monday in May, 1852, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

THIRD. If five unions, as specified above, do not ratify the convention as early as the 15th day of May next, then the national executive committee shall call a national convention, to assemble at such time thereafter as they in their judgment may deem proper, to be held in the city where the first session of the National Typographical Union would have been held had it been formed as above. Also

Resolved, That a national executive committee of one from each typographical society here represented be appointed to enforce the execution of all resolutions adopted by this convention, collect information on all matters in relation to the trade, and report the same to the next convention.

Resolved, That the secretary from New York be authorized and required, in conjunction with the national executive committee, to take charge of the proceedings of this convention, together with the "Address" of the executive committee, and have them printed, subject to orders for the same from all local typographical associations, or societies, at a price to be fixed by the said secretary.

Resolved, That the various local societies be earnestly requested to order, for circulation in their respective localities and districts, such number of copies of the above-mentioned proceedings as may be necessary to supply all newspapers and printers in their own district, or elsewhere, as they may deem proper.

Resolved, That the officers and members of the various societies throughout the country are hereby requested to have the proceedings of this convention, or an outline thereof, published in all newspapers within the circle of their influence.

National Executive Committee, 1851 — The national executive committee, authorized by the schedule appended to the constitution, was appointed by the president, as follows: H. T. Ogden, Cincinnati; W. B. Eckert, Philadelphia; H. J. Irvin, Harrisburg; A. W. Rook, Pittsburgh; C. A. Randall, Boston; M. F. Conway, Baltimore; Charles Bechtel, Trenton; Thomas J. Walsh, Albany; J. Richard Lewellen, Richmond; E. H. Rogers, New York; D. P. White, Utica; J. L. Gibbons, Louisville.

Third National Convention of Journeymen Printers and First Annual Session of the National Typographical Union, Held in Cincinnati, May 3-6, 1852

Officers, 1852 — On Monday, May 3, 1852, the third national convention of journeymen printers met in Cincinnati, Ohio, and after the usual formality of inspecting credentials of delegates a permanent organization was effected by the election of M. C. Brown, of Philadelphia, as president of the convention, together with S. W. Wilder, Boston, first vice-president; E. A. Lewis, St.

J. L. GIBBONS, Louisville
President
Second National Convention Journeymen Printers
September 12 – 16, 1851

Louis, second vice-president; G. B. Seig, Cincinnati, recording secretary; W. A. Baker, New York, corresponding secretary; J. S. Nafew, Albany, treasurer.

The usual committees were authorized and it was decided that all officers of the previous convention be allowed the privilege of participating in the proceedings of the body without the right of voting.

Organization of the National Typographical Union — The question whether the assembly should be considered as an organized national typographical union or as a printers' convention was finally decided by the passage of a resolution to the effect that the convention would accept and adopt the constitution tendered by the national convention at its last session, and after adopting said constitution the members of the convention would thereupon constitute the "National Typographical Union."

The constitution under which it was proposed to organize the National Typographical Union, having been referred to the committee on permanent organization, brought forth the following resolution:

Resolved, That the stipulations of the late national convention having been complied with, the National Typographical Union is hereby declared organized, and the officers of the present convention be and they are hereby declared officers of the said National Union for the time being.

Thus it appears that on Wednesday, May 5, 1852, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, the National Typographical Union had its birth, after the efforts of three successive conventions of journeymen printers having that purpose in view.

Sunday Work — The first action of the National Typographical Union, as such, was the passage of a resolution condemning Sunday work, the delegates apparently being of one mind on the subject—only one negative vote having been cast against the resolution.

Form of Charter — The next action of the union was the adoption of a form of charter for subordinate unions:

NATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

To all whom it may concern:

KNOW YE, That we, the National Typographical Union of the United States of America, have granted, and do grant, to the practical printers whose names are hereto annexed, and their associates, this Charter, fully constituting them a Typographical Society, under the name and title of ..... Typographical Union, located in .....with full power to perform all the duties appertaining to the same, while they shall conform to the rules and regulations of the National Typographical Union; otherwise this Charter may be declared null and void.

In witness whereof, we have caused this to be signed by our president and recording secretary, and the seal of the National Typographical Union to be affixed in the ....., this ..... day of ....., one thousand eight hundred and .....

...., *President.*

...., *Recording Secretary.*

By-laws — After adopting the form of charter as above, a committee was appointed to prepare a code of by-laws for the government of the union.

Assigning Charter Numbers — Satisfactory evidence being received from fourteen subordinate unions that they had severally ratified the published constitution and signified their willingness to accept and abide by the laws and regulations of the National Typographical Union, the question arose as to which union should be honored by the first charter, and it was unanimously agreed to draw lots for numbers, with the following result: Indianapolis, No. 1; Philadelphia, No. 2; Cincinnati, No. 3; Albany, No. 4; Columbus, No. 5; New York, No. 6; Pittsburgh, No. 7; St. Louis, No. 8; Buffalo, No. 9; Louisville, No. 10; Memphis, No. 11; Baltimore, No. 12; Boston, No. 13; Harrisburg, No. 14.

Public Printing — That the matter of public printing was still an open question before the convention is evidenced by the report of a special committee on a national printing office, which committee proposed the presentation of another memorial to congress on that subject. After a debate, extending over a considerable portion of the fourth day's session, the subject was laid on the table by a vote of 14 to 11.

Selecting Convention City — A unique method was pursued by the delegates in the selection of a convention city for the following year. Several subordinate unions in the state of Pennsylvania aspired for the honor of entertaining the next convention. An evidence of the spirit which prevailed at the time is shown by the fact that it was determined first to select the state in which to hold the convention, and all of the states represented were then placed in nomination, with the result that Pennsylvania was chosen. This narrowed the selection down to Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, Pittsburgh finally being successful.

First Officers National Typographical Union, 1852 — On the third day of the convention, J. S. Nafew, of Albany, N. Y., was elected president for the ensuing year, together with G. E. Greene, Louisville, first vice-president; T. G. Forster, St. Louis, second vice-president; R. R. R. Dumars, Pittsburgh, recording secretary; J. M. McCreary, Cincinnati, corresponding secretary; G. H. Randell, Baltimore, treasurer.

National Executive Committee, 1852 — On motion, it was ordered that the delegates present at the convention constitute the national executive committee.

After adjournment, a telegram was received from New Orleans Union saying it had just reorganized, and sending assurances of hearty concurrence in all measures for the welfare of the craft.

National Typographical Union

Conventions of the National Typographical Union from 1853 to 1869

(INCLUSIVE)

THIS chapter will include the conventions held at Pittsburgh, in 1853; Buffalo, 1854; Memphis, 1855; Philadelphia, 1856; New Orleans, 1857; Chicago, 1858; Boston, 1859; Nashville, 1860; New York, 1862; Cleveland, 1863; Louisville, 1864; Philadelphia, 1865; Chicago, 1866; Memphis, 1867; Washington, 1868; and Albany, 1869, covering the administrations of Presidents J. S. Nafew, Gerard Stith, Louis Graham, Charles F. Town, M. C. Brown, William Cuddy, R. C. Smith, J. M. Farquhar, Eugene Vallette, A. M. Carver, Robert E. Craig, John H. Oberly and Robert McKechnie.

This period covers the history of the National Typographical Union, the convention at Albany in 1869 having adopted an amended constitution and by-laws, which changed the name from "National" to "International Typographical Union," the jurisdiction of the organization having been extended to include the several provinces of Canada.

Convention at Pittsburgh

[1853]—The second annual session of the National Typographical Union was held in the city of Pittsburgh, beginning Monday, May 2, and closing Thursday, May 5, 1853. The convention was called to order by Thomas Gales Forster, of St. Louis, second vice-president, President John S. Nafew and the first vice-president, G. E. Greene, being absent. In addition to the fourteen unions which originally formed the National Typographical Union, charters had been issued during the year to

Rochester No. 15; Chicago No. 16; New Orleans No. 17, and Detroit No. 18. Delegates were present from all subordinate unions except Indianapolis, Ind., and Columbus, Ohio.

New York Co-operative Union — The first important business before the convention was a petition signed by 386 book and job printers of New York city asking for a charter from the National Typographical Union, in order to legalize the existence of the New York Printers' Co-operative Union in that city, it being urged that New York Union No. 6, as existing at that time, was not a fair exponent of the views of the printers of that city, as it did not number in its membership one-tenth of the workmen, and that nine-tenths of this one-tenth were employed on newspapers and could not pay that attention to the wants of the majority—the book and job hands—that their circumstances required.

It was complained that No. 6, by incorporating in its constitution a benevolent feature, largely enhanced the initiation fee and amount of dues, thus keeping the great majority of the petitioners from joining its ranks. The petitioners also set forth their belief that it would be for the best interests of the trade that two unions should exist in the city of New York, claiming that a large majority of the workmen in that city had no protection. A delegate from the Co-operative Union was unanimously admitted to a seat in the convention pending the consideration of the petition. After an exhaustive debate, which occupied much of the time of the convention, the National Union disposed of the question by adopting the following resolutions:

Resolved, That owing to the intimate connection between all branches of the printing business it is the opinion of the National Typographical Union that two subordinate unions can not exist advantageously in the same city.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

JOHN S. NAFEW, Albany
President National Typographical Union
May 5, 1852 – May 5, 1853

Resolved, That the prayer of the New York Co-operative Union can not be granted, and that it is recommended to New York Typographical Union to adopt such measures as it may deem best to effect a more perfect organization and conciliation of the craft in that city.

Official Organ — A proposition was introduced to arrange for the establishment of an official organ, devoted to the interests of the craft, under the auspices of the National Typographical Union, but no definite action was taken, the matter being held over for consideration at the next session.

Protest from Baltimore — A vigorous protest was presented by the delegate from Baltimore against the action of the National Union at its Cincinnati convention in assigning to Baltimore the number "12" for its charter. It was claimed that as Baltimore Union was organized in 1831, and had remained in active existence ever since, it was entitled to "No. 1," which had been assigned to Indianapolis. The convention refused to change the numbers as originally assigned and the delegate from Baltimore withdrew, but afterward resumed his seat and took part in the proceedings.

The protest filed by the delegate from Baltimore on behalf of his union was as follows:

Baltimore Typographical Society, which I have the honor to represent, desires, through its representative to the present National Union, to respectfully and formally protest against the assignment of No. 12 for their charter. Its members consider, in their collective capacity, that their society is entitled, not alone from their present organization, but from the fact that they claim to be the oldest co-operative association represented in the National Typographical Union (it having been formed in November, 1831, and remained in active existence ever since), their just right to charter No. 1, which was assigned to Indianapolis, Ind., that society having forfeited its claim to that position by its refusal or failure to have a representative on this floor.

They deem it unnecessary to enter into detail as to the justice of their claim, as they conceive that such must be perfectly apparent to the minds of the members of the National Typographical Union, without entering into an elaborate statement of the reasons which govern them in making this protest.

In conclusion, they trust that the assignment of charter No. 1, asked for by the body, be granted.

Unique Treasurer's Report — The report of the treasurer submitted to the convention at Pittsburgh is indeed an interesting document, when compared with the receipts and expenditures of the organization at the present day. The total receipts for the year amounted to $70, and the total expenditures, as per order of the previous convention, were $25, which would have left a balance in the treasury of $45 but for the fact that among the receipts was a counterfeit five-dollar bill on the Merchants' Bank, of Wheeling, Va., which left a balance of genuine money, according to the report, of $40 only.

Membership for Trade Protection — The early typographical societies, having been founded and sustained chiefly for "beneficiary" purposes, it was found that this system was still retained by many subordinate unions to the exclusion of many printers who desired membership for trade protection only. To remedy this matter the convention adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That this National Typographical Union require of such of its subordinates as yet retain the "beneficiary system" to alter their rules so as to admit to their fellowship such members of the craft who wish to be admitted for trade protection merely.

Death of John W. Peregoy — During the progress of the convention, President Stith called the attention of the delegates to the fact that John W. Peregoy, president of the first printers' national convention, held at New York in December, 1850, had recently deceased. Delegate Randell, of Baltimore, addressed the convention.

Mr. President, the melancholy duty devolves upon me of announcing to this body the death of my late associate and colleague in the Baltimore Typographical Society, and late president of the first national printers' convention. Sir, the relations existing between the deceased and myself, apart from the position he occupied in this body, renders the task still more painful to me. We entered as co-laborers in the good cause, members of our subordinate union, upon the same night, January 27, 1838, and an uninterrupted friendship characterized our intercourse until the day of his death. Three times did our body confer the post of presiding officer upon him, as an evidence of the estimation in which he was held by us in that city; and while holding that position he was summoned from among us by death. In all the relations of life he was exemplary in a high degree, and possessed the undivided confidence and esteem of all with whom he had intercourse. No man was more universally beloved among his associates, whether in the private social circle or in his public capacity as president of our body. I trust, therefore, I may be pardoned if I have obtruded upon the privilege assigned me in thus referring to these minute acts in his career.

The convention then adopted the following resolutions offered by Mr. Randell:

WHEREAS it has pleased an all-wise Providence to remove from the midst of his usefulness upon earth one who was identified with the craft in all that concerned its welfare, John Willis Peregoy, the first president of the first national convention of printers, assembled in New York; and

WHEREAS such was the estimation in which he was held by his co-laborers in the "art preservative of all arts," by his suavity of manner, not less than the noble stand which he ever occupied for the good of the fraternity, of which he was a member, in every section of our country; and

WHEREAS it is due, not less to his private worth than to his public capacity in this body, that some expression of our condolence should be made; therefore,

Resolved, That we have learned, with the most profound sorrow, of the loss which this body has sustained by the death of John Willis Peregoy, who departed this life at Baltimore on the 25th of January, 1853.

Resolved, That the representatives to this union wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

Resolved, That the foregoing expression of our regard for the memory of the deceased be signed by the officers and communicated to his family, and also to the Baltimore Typographical Union; and that the same be entered upon our minutes.

Sunday Labor — The following resolutions dealing with the question of Sunday labor were adopted:

Resolved, That the recent stand taken by Louisville Typographical Union in endeavoring to perpetuate and continue in force an arrangement abolishing Sunday labor, voluntarily entered into between the employers and that body, was a moral and eminently just position, and is entitled to the approbation of all classes of our community.

Resolved, That if the designs of the Louisville union were thwarted by the treachery of any of its members, or the violation of the obligation of proprietors of newspapers, such persons deserve the condemnation of all who desire to see so slavish and immoral a system abolished.

Deaths of Illustrious Statesmen — The following resolutions, which elicited some discussion as to the propriety of their adoption by the union, were finally passed on a division by a vote of 16 ayes, 7 noes:

Resolved, That this National Typographical Union, in common with their fellow citizens throughout the country, and the lovers of freedom wherever to be found, deeply lament the loss of our three illustrious statesmen—Clay, Calhoun and Webster.

Resolved, That this National Typographical Union also mourn the death of the vice-president of the United States, Col. William R. King.

Free Use of Telegraph Lines — On the morning of the second day of the convention the secretary read a communication from Cleveland, tendering the free use of the "House" and the "Lake Erie" telegraph lines, and also one from the "National Lines" in Pittsburgh, to the union, which were accepted with thanks.

Charters and Traveling Cards — In the report of Recording Secretary Dumars the following interesting paragraph is found: "Among the last resolutions adopted by the National Union at its convention in Cincinnati, last year, was one authorizing myself, in connection with my colleague, Mr. Kinkead, to have engraved a suitable charter, to be furnished to such unions as had complied, and to all others which might comply, with the requisitions of the constitution and by-laws in reference to applications for charters. The same committee was also authorized to have engraved or printed a 'union card,' to be furnished to subordinate unions and by them to any of their members who might wish to travel or change their locations. But the late period at which the proceedings of the session of the National Union at Cincinnati were published prevented me from calling the attention of the subordinate unions, in time, to a resolution passed at that session authorizing me to draw upon them quarterly for the amount of their percentage. That resolution was adopted for the purpose of enabling the committee on charters and cards to raise funds to pay the expenses of getting up said charters and cards; but, receiving no money, they did not feel authorized to run into debt, with no prospect of getting out of it in a reasonable space of time. I feel assured, had the proceedings of the session of the National Union at Cincinnati been promptly published, I would have had the satisfaction, long before this, of having forwarded, to the various unions entitled, their charters; and to have also induced a large number of new unions to organize, whose charter fees, united with their percentage, would have greatly augmented the receipts of the National Union. Another source of revenue was also cut off by the failure of the secretaries of the late session of the National Union to discharge their duty. Had the committee been enabled to have secured the

prompt engraving or printing of the union card, and supplied the subordinate unions with such number of copies as might have been desired, a considerable amount of money would have been raised from this source alone."

Password, Grip, Secret Signs, etc. — The report of a special committee appointed to consider the advisability of using a national password, reported the following, requesting its adoption as an amendment to the by-laws:

ARTICLE VII. It shall be the duty of the president of the National Typographical Union, at intervals of three months, commencing with the month of June, to communicate to the presidents and vice-presidents of the different unions having charters from this union, a national password, to be given to all members of their union in good standing at the time of taking out their cards; and in the case of the death or inability of the president, then the duty to devolve on the first vice-president, and in the event of the inability of the first vice-president, this duty to devolve on the second vice-president.

The following resolution from Chicago Union was referred to a special committee on secret organization:

Resolved, That the representatives from this union to the National Typographical Union, to be held in Pittsburgh on the first Monday in May next, be instructed to cast their vote for, and use their influence to secure, the adoption by that union of a practical system of secret signs, grips, passwords, etc., for the use and benefit of all members, good and true, of subordinate unions under the jurisdiction of the National Union.

Both the proposed amendment to the by-laws and the above resolution were defeated.

General Laws — At this convention was laid the foundation of the present general laws of the union. Following is the first general law adopted by the National Typographical Union:

No union shall admit as a member any person who comes from a place where a union existed at the time of his leaving unless he can produce a duly attested certificate of membership from said union; and any person admitted by such certifi-

cate shall be exempt from the payment of the usual initiation fee; but shall be required to pay the regular monthly dues from the date of his admission: *Provided, however,* That an applicant for membership, without a certificate, shall be allowed the privilege of giving a statement, in writing, of reasons why he should be admitted, which statement, if satisfactory to the union, shall entitle the application of such person to consideration.

First Traveling Card — The convention adopted the following form of certificate of membership:

This is to certify that the bearer hereof, whose signature appears on the margin of this certificate, is a member in good standing of ..... Typographical Union No. ...., State of ....., and is entitled to the confidence, friendship and good offices of all unions under the jurisdiction of the National Typographical Union.

Given under our hands and the seal of the union, at ....., this .... day of ....., 18...

...., *President.*

...., *Secretary.*

Opposed to Strikes — The following resolution was agreed to with but three dissenting votes:

Resolved, That the National Union regards as injudicious a frequent resort to strikes on the part of journeymen on any misunderstanding occurring between them and their employers, believing that in most cases all such differences can be settled satisfactorily by other and more amicable means; and that a strike should be resorted to only when all such means fail.

Scale of Prices — During the progress of the convention the president proposed the following question to the delegates: "Is the bill of prices properly a part of the by-laws of the subordinate unions?" The answer of the convention was that the question was one that should be left entirely to the discretion of subordinate unions.

Measurement of Type — Through a special committee appointed for that purpose, the union adopted a minimum "standard" for the measurement of type, as follows:

Agate, 15 ems to the alphabet; nonpareil, 14; minion and brevier, 13; bourgeois to pica, inclusive, 12.

Seal — The first design of a seal for the National Typographical Union was authorized and the style and character of design were entrusted to the delegates from Buffalo and Rochester, N. Y. The credit, however, of the design is due to H. H. Whitcomb, secretary-treasurer from 1854 till 1857. The first seal was executed in the summer of 1853.

Officers, 1853 — Gerard Stith, of New Orleans, was elected president for the ensuing year, together with Andrew McCoubrey, Boston, first vice-president; F. A. Albaugh, New York, second vice-president; H. H. Whitcomb, Buffalo, recording secretary; James P. Woodbury, Chicago, corresponding secretary; M. C. Brown, Philadelphia, treasurer.

No reference is made to the national executive committee in the proceedings of this convention.

Buffalo, N. Y., was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1854.

Convention at Buffalo

[1854] — The third annual session of the National Typographical Union was called to order in Buffalo, N. Y., on Monday, May 1, 1854. In point of delegates present and subordinate unions represented, this convention made a poor showing, such important cities as Indianapolis, Albany, Columbus, St. Louis, Baltimore and Harrisburg not being represented.

President Stith was unable to attend the convention and Lewis Graham, of New Orleans, was elected president pro tem. and presided over the sessions of the convention, which lasted three days.

New York Co-operative Union — The time of the convention was largely occupied by a discussion of another

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

GERARD STITH, New Orleans
President National Typographical Union
May 5, 1853 – May 2, 1854

petition for a charter from the Co-operative Union of New York city. It was finally determined that the National Typographical Union record itself in favor of a principle never to recognize more than one union in each city. The warring unions in New York were urged to bury their differences and combine under one charter.

Offices of Secretary and Treasurer Combined — The offices of recording secretary and treasurer were combined, in order to facilitate the transaction of the National Typographical Union's business, and it was also determined to elect officers at the beginning of each annual convention, instead of at the close, experience having proved that many officers, not being returned as delegates by the subordinate unions to which they belonged, did not feel able to stand the expense of attending the convention on their own responsibility.

Female Labor in Composing Rooms — Delegate Bond, of Detroit, presented the following memorial from Detroit Union in relation to the employment of females in printing offices, which was referred to the committee on subordinate unions:

At the April meeting of the Detroit Typographical Union No. 18, it was decided by nearly a unanimous vote, after some discussion, to refer the subject of the introduction and continued employment of females within its jurisdiction to the National Union, they wishing for its full and explicit view or decision. Their representatives were instructed, by its elective body, to urge the expediency and adoption of some decisive measure to guide and sustain any subordinate union in whatever just and proper course a majority of its members may think fit to pursue against this injurious invasion by which employers wished to set aside fair usage and compensation. We trust, therefore, that this body, as now assembled, will give some expression, or adopt some conclusive rule, on which all subordinates throughout the United States can act, should they think it advisable, at any time, without further reference to the National Union.

In view of the above, which we trust will meet the sincere concurrence of the National body, as pertaining to the general welfare of our organization in the United States, of which we are a part, we would urge the adoption of the best means of discountenancing and preventing if possible an evil which, if allowed, will eventually impair the prosperity and efficiency of subordinate unions, thereby affecting the National Union, as the innovators can never, under our present system, become co-operators in the organization by which we endeavor to establish fair usages throughout the Union. We ask a decided action at the present session in this matter.

The committee to which the memorial was referred was divided in opinion regarding the proper recommendation to be made to the convention. A majority of the committee entertained the belief that the employment of females as compositors would never become general, or so extensive as to affect the trade materially, and were of the opinion that subordinate unions should dispose of the matter in a way to best suit their several localities. The minority report recognized the right of females to any employment to which they might be fitted, and with this expression of opinion it was recommended that all legislation on the subject be left in the hands of subordinate unions, with power to act in such manner as their wisdom might direct.

Neither the majority nor the minority reports found favor with a majority of the delegates. After a prolonged discussion, and the consideration of numerous amendments, it was finally ordered "that this union will not encourage, by its acts, the employment of females as compositors."

Membership, Traveling Cards, Seal, Charter — The secretary summarized the transactions of his office during the year, and in addition to his financial statement reported a total membership of 1,512. It also appeared in the report that 439 members had been expelled.

At the last session of the National Union, the secretary-elect was instructed to act in concert with the Buffalo and Rochester delegations in getting up and issuing a certificate of membership, a seal for the National Union and a charter for subordinate unions. During the year which has elapsed, I have issued the certificate and adopted a seal. The charter is nearly ready and will be sent on to the subordinate unions at as early a day as possible. In relation to the certificate, a motion was adopted to print 1,000 cards. Upon reflection, this seemed too small a number, and I decided to get 2,400 printed, by which I might be able to supply all unions with a sufficient number to last for more than one year. I have now on hand but 600. In the month of July last, I had printed and sent to all subordinate unions, a circular informing them that the certificates were ready for circulation, at the cost of $5 per hundred.—Secretary's report.

Official Organ — A proposition to establish an official organ, left over from the previous convention, was discussed at some length but no definite action was had. Several minor amendments and a few additions were made to the general laws.

General Laws — It appears that at this particular period in the history of the National Union it was not clearly understood that the general laws were binding on subordinate unions. Gradually, however, all doubt as to these laws being effective was cleared away and they have since been accepted by subordinate unions as binding.

Charters Issued — Charters were issued to Elmira No. 19 and Nashville No. 20.

Executive Committee, 1854 — The president appointed the following national executive committee: Eugene Vallette, Philadelphia; Augustus Donnelly, Cincinnati; Thomas J. Walsh, New York; Con. Dusenbery, Pittsburgh; W. F. Rogers, Buffalo; Louis L. Burke, Louisville; William T. Yancey, Memphis; Andrew McCoubrey, Boston; O. A. Stafford, Chicago; Henry Starkey, Detroit; William H. Beach, Rochester; O. R. Burdick, Elmira.

Officers, 1854 — Lewis Graham, New Orleans, who had presided over the sessions of the convention as president pro tem., was elected president for the ensuing term, together with Con. Dusenbery, Pittsburgh, first vice-president; Charles F. Town, New York, second vice-president; H. H. Whitcomb, Buffalo, secretary-treasurer; William T. Yancey, Memphis, corresponding secretary.

Memphis, Tenn., was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1855.

Convention at Memphis

[1855] — The fourth annual session of the National Typographical Union was called to order by Second Vice-President Charles F. Town on Monday, May 7, 1855, in Memphis, Tenn.

In the number of delegates present and unions represented this convention was even smaller than the preceding one. The depressed condition of the trade throughout the country was offered as a reason for the small attendance. It was noticeable, however, that those unions that had not been represented in the Buffalo convention the year previous did not send representatives to Memphis, and the real reason, perhaps, for their non-representation, was the demoralized condition of the various locals themselves. Delegates were present from Philadelphia, Cincinnati, New York, Buffalo, Louisville, Memphis, Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, Detroit and Nashville. Among the unions not represented were Indianapolis, Albany, Columbus, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Baltimore, Harrisburg and Elmira. San Francisco No. 21 and Dubuque No. 22 had been granted charters during the year but were not represented at the convention.

Lewis Graham, president, and the first vice-president were not in attendance at the convention and the first session was called to order by Charles F. Town, of New

York, second vice-president, who presided during the week and who was elected president for the ensuing term.

President's Report — President Graham, although unable to attend the Memphis convention, forwarded his annual report by mail. The president said that the beneficial influences of the National Typographical Union had already been felt and appreciated, and though but in its infancy, its progress had met with great obstacles, yet it was destined to concentrate within its orbit the whole trade of the union, elevate to a proper standard and harmonize the discordant elements of which it was composed.

Duties of Executive Committee — The president also said that he was unable to report upon the condition of trade throughout the country for lack of proper information. On this subject the president said: "I regret this very much, because I conceive it to be the particular duty of the president to report at the commencement of each session, not only upon the general state of trade, but upon all transactions that may have occurred in different localities whereby the interest of the trade is affected. As this duty can not be performed without some assistance, I would suggest that the present plan of the executive committee be so remodeled as to make it the duty of the president to appoint one member from each union represented to form a committee, which shall report to him, semi-annually and annually, the state of trade in their respective localities, together with all other matters that may occur affecting the same; these reports to be embodied in that of the president and become part and parcel of the proceedings. In the event of the removal of a member of that committee from the locality for which he was appointed, the president of that union should be empowered to fill the vacancy. You will thus perceive that, at the commencement of each term, such information will be laid before you as can not fail to exhibit a true state of

the trade in the different localities of the country for the twelve months preceding, and enable you more effectually to take such measures as circumstances may require.

Permanent Convention City — "I would also call your attention to a subject which, if permitted to exist, is destined, sooner or later, in my opinion, to detract much of the interest that is now felt for the National Union, and retard, in great measure, by the consequent slim attendance of representatives, the accomplishment of the objects we have in view. I refer to the present system of removing the National Union, every year, from point to point, irrespective of the benefits to accrue therefrom, or the inconvenience and expense the great body of the subordinate unions will be subjected to when desirous of being fully represented. Under the convention system, this plan was probably essential to enlist the feelings of the different sections of the country, and no doubt contributed much toward accomplishing one of the objects contemplated by those who so nobly begun this work—the permanent organization of a national body. This object having been attained, the same reasons no longer exist to continue this system, as we now number unions from every city of importance in the country, besides having given each section of the country the benefit derived from a location of the National Typographical Union in their midst. I would therefore suggest for your serious consideration that proper measures be taken to secure the permanent location of the National Union at some point central and equally accessible to the great body of the subordinate unions. Your own judgment will dictate to you the importance of such a movement, for only upon an equal representation and a full knowledge of the wants of different sections of the country can you determine correctly upon such measures as will redound to the general good."

The recommendation of President Graham to establish

a permanent headquarters was fully discussed and a resolution that "the National Typographical Union shall convene permanently on the first Tuesday of May, biennially, in the city of Washington, D. C.," was laid on the table. The further recommendation of President Graham that the president appoint one member from each union represented at the conventions to constitute the national executive committee was concurred in.

Public Printing — The national printing office question was again before the convention, but this time assumed a different shape. A proposition was made to establish a national printing office upon a joint-stock plan, each subordinate union purchasing its proportion of stock, with the understanding that the plant would begin operations as soon as $10,000 was raised. The plant was to be managed by a board of trustees appointed by the National Typographical Union, and the net proceeds, if any, were to be divided pro rata among the contributing unions. Following the custom that seemed to prevail in the early days of the organization, whenever a question of importance divided the convention, it was postponed to the next session. That was the fate of this proposition.

Ritual — A special committee was appointed to examine a ritual which had been adopted by Cincinnati Typographical Union. After duly considering the subject the committee reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That with a view of creating a stronger bond of brotherhood among the craft and giving more interest to the meetings of subordinate unions, this National Union, in compliance with section 1, article x, of the constitution, hereby approves the ritual prepared by Cincinnati Typographical Union No. 3, embodying opening, initiatory, installation and closing ceremonies, etc., and would recognize its adoption by any subordinate union that may deem it conducive to their prosperity and harmony or be impressed that it will enhance the interest of their meetings.

The consideration of the resolution was made a special order of business for the following day, when the report of the committee was adopted, with the following proviso: "That the National Union disapprove of the adoption of any oath or ritual for initiation of members other than such as may be legal and in accordance with the usages of public bodies."

Proprietor Members — An appeal case from Memphis, Tenn., involving the question of proprietor membership was disposed of by the adoption of a resolution to the effect that it was a matter for the exclusive consideration of subordinate unions, to be acted upon as they deemed expedient and conducive to their welfare.

Executive Committee, 1855 — The president appointed the following national executive committee: Henry G. Fisher, Philadelphia; Augustus Donnelly, Cincinnati; Charles W. Colburn, New York; James E. Fox, Buffalo; James S. Gilbert, Louisville; J. W. Smith, Memphis; Thomas R. Shepard, Boston; E. S. Davis, Chicago; Lewis Graham, New Orleans, and Travis Winham, Nashville.

Officers, 1855 — Charles F. Town, New York, was elected president for the ensuing term, together with Francis C. Still, Boston, first vice-president; Augustus Donnelly, Cincinnati, second vice-president; H. H. Whitcomb, Buffalo, secretary-treasurer, and S. Harris, New Orleans, corresponding secretary.

After being in session three days, the convention adjourned to meet in Philadelphia, May, 1856.

Convention at Philadelphia

[1856] — The fifth annual convention of the National Typographical Union began its sessions at Philadelphia, May 5, 1856. Like the two preceding conventions, this meeting was marked by a slim attendance of delegates and the small number of unions represented.

LEWIS GRAHAM, New Orleans
President National Typographical Union
May 2, 1854 – May 7, 1855

Perhaps the most important work of this convention was the collating and harmonizing of the constitution and by-laws of the union. A special committee was appointed for this purpose, which presented a report to the convention on the third day that met with general favor, only a few minor amendments to the document as presented being passed.

Pressmen — The question of admitting pressmen to membership in the union was brought to the attention of the convention through a communication from Memphis, Tenn., from a pressman in that city. This communication is thought to be worthy of reproduction:

MEMPHIS, TENN., *April 20, 1856.*

To the National Typographical Union.

GENTLEMEN: I desire to place your honorable body in possession of some facts in regard to an action of the Memphis Union, which I believe to be wholly unjust, inasmuch as by its action power pressmen have been cut off from all participation in this union, and are not, as in other cities, recognized or protected by it. I conceive this course, upon the part of this union, to be unwise and unjust for several considerations, which I will endeavor, in my humble way, to explain.

If I am not mistaken in my understanding of the original aims and intentions of those who first conceived the formation, and assisted to establish upon a firm foundation, the National Typographical Union, it was brought into existence with the view of raising a bulwark for the defense and mutual protection of each and every part of the printing business; and as the aforesaid action leaves one department exposed to the abuses which must inevitably arise whenever any portion of this business is left at the mercy of unprincipled employers and dishonorable printers, I can not help believing that this union, in its proceedings in regard to pressmen, has acted contrary to the established laws and usages of the National Union.

As the matter now stands a pressman who has been published throughout the country by any subordinate union may come to Memphis and work alongside of honorable men, and no notice must be taken of it. If this is not a palpable in-

fringement upon the original proposition of your honorable body, I am free to confess I deem it woefully deficient. If the National Union will sanction or permit some of her subordinates to compel pressmen to join their union, or the printers refuse to work with those who refuse, and at the same time permit others to exclude them from any participation whatever, I am much mistaken in the good sense of those who compose this union; for, by such a course as this the pressman who abandons a good situation in some other city, for the purpose of protecting compositors from some abuse of an employer, may be deprived of another by the same dishonorable fellow who took his place but a few months previous, and for which he was branded by the union as a deep-dyed and uncompromising rat. I will here state for the information of the National Union that this has, to some extent, already been the case.

I feel a deep conviction that if the National Union sanctions the course about to be taken by some of her subordinates, the day is not far distant when she will see her strength fast declining, for only by a strict adherence to the old motto—"United we stand, divided we fall"—can we expect to succeed. It requires the united co-operation of every branch of our profession to uphold and maintain our rights—knowing them, we must maintain them. Through a wise and judicious management the institution of printers' unions will ultimately redound to the advancement of our profession, but, like all other magnificent superstructures, if abused by the great head in its failure to govern all of the parts wisely, by throwing its protecting arm around all alike, it must finally droop and die. And, as the great head of this institution, you should guard well against any and all attempts at abuse; and reposing confidence in you to do this, I humbly ask for a calm and deliberate investigation of this matter, and a speedy removal of the cause of complaint.

All of which is most respectfully submitted.

A. T. Norton, *Power Pressman,*
Eagle and Enquirer Office.

This communication caused considerable debate in the convention, and it was contended by several delegates that no practical printer could be reasonably excluded from the union, if fair, whether working as a power pressman

or otherwise, except that a person merely understanding that portion of the business would scarcely be considered a printer and his exclusion would be very proper. It was finally decided by the convention, however, that the matter was one that should be discretionary with subordinate unions.

Government Printing Office — A special committee on government printing office, to which had been referred several propositions, including a resolution of Cincinnati Typographical Union in favor of the establishment by congress of a government printing plant, reported for adoption resolutions to the effect that the National Typographical Union considered the establishment by congress of a government printing office the most practical method of abolishing the contract system and the notorious abuses and effects incident thereto. It was further held that the establishment of a government printing office, while conducive to the public interests, would also tend to the elevation of all classes of labor by creating an honorable relation between the printer and the government that would serve as an example and criterion to individual employers.

The recommendations contained in the resolutions were concurred in by the convention and it was urged upon subordinate unions that they get up petitions to congress in favor of a government printing office and have the same signed extensively by all classes of citizens and presented by the representatives of their respective districts.

At the same session of the convention at which the resolutions above referred to were adopted, after the transaction of other business, a motion was passed again to take up the report of the special committee on government printing office, when it was ordered that the majority report of the committee appointed at the previous convention to consider the matter be adopted. After a brief

discussion, the motion prevailed. The majority report referred to was as follows:

Resolved, That this union recommend to the various subordinate unions the propriety of establishing a fund by subscription on the part of the individual members of each union for the purpose of establishing a national printing office, upon a joint stock principle, each union paying in proportion to the amount of stock subscribed for; said establishment to go into operation so soon as $10,000 shall be raised, which shall be placed in the hands of trustees of this National Union, to be selected for that purpose, the net proceeds thereof to be periodically divided, pro rata, among the several unions so subscribing, so soon as this National Union shall deem the undertaking firmly established.

Charters — Returns — Of the twenty-three unions chartered up to the time of holding this convention, eleven failed to make any returns for the year. Indianapolis, Albany, Columbus, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Baltimore, Detroit, Elmira, San Francisco, Dubuque and Milwaukee failed to send delegates to the convention. Baton Rouge was granted a charter and St. Louis Union appears from the record to have been rechartered, the organization not having paid its per capita tax for two years preceding.

National Executive Committee, 1856 — The president appointed the following national executive committee for the ensuing term: William B. Eckert, Philadelphia; R. B. Hardy, Cincinnati; T. J. Walsh, New York; Newcomb, Buffalo; J. H. Blackstone, Louisville; J. E. Yancey, Memphis; William Graham, Boston; William J. Irvin, Harrisburg; H. M. Biden, Rochester; B. C. Sanford, Chicago; Thomas F. Hedges, New Orleans; William S. Bond, Detroit; L. Collins, Nashville; James Risk, San Francisco.

Officers, 1856 — M. C. Brown, of Philadelphia, was elected president, together with B. C. Sanford, Chicago, first vice-president; Thomas F. Hedges, New Orleans,

second vice-president; J. H. Blackstone, Louisville, corresponding secretary, and H. H. Whitcomb, Memphis, secretary-treasurer.

Convention at New Orleans

[1857] — The convention at New Orleans was unique in two respects. In point of duration the sessions extended over a period of six days, but in number of unions represented and delegates present it fell below any preceding convention of the National Union. In the absence of the president and first vice-president, Thomas F. Hedges, of New Orleans, second vice-president, called the meeting to order.

The report of the committee on credentials showed the fact that nine unions were represented by twelve delegates. During the week, however, delegates arrived and were given seats in the convention representing Petersburg, Mobile and Galveston, which jurisdictions were granted charters by the convention.

Non-Member Delegates — The first proposition of importance which came before the convention involved the right of a delegate to represent a subordinate union of which he was not a member. It was finally determined that any member in good standing, appearing with proper credentials from a subordinate union, was entitled to a seat in the convention, without giving consideration to the fact that he was not a member of that particular local union.

Union Printers Home Suggested — A communication was received from National Committeeman Bond, of Detroit, who, being unable to attend the convention, presented a statement dealing with many subjects of interest to the craft at that time. According to this statement, Detroit Union had given serious consideration to the establishment of a union printers home, or asylum, for

those members who had grown old in the art. It was pointed out that England had an institution of this kind in active operation and attention was called to the possibilities of such an institution in this country. It was proposed to petition congress for a land grant sufficient for a site, with the alternative of appealing to the members of subordinate unions for a sufficient sum to purchase one or more sections of land in a convenient and pleasant locality, it being planned to allot small plots of ground to old printers having families, incapable themselves of further gaining a livelihood at the business; also to build an asylum for those not having families. Thus it may be seen that at the New Orleans convention, in 1857, the first proposition to establish a home for superannuated printers was suggested by the representative of Detroit Union. While the convention gave serious consideration to the subject, nothing tangible resulted.

Baltimore Union Rechartered — It appears from the minutes of the New Orleans convention that the absence of representation from Baltimore Union for the preceding three years was not altogether due to resentment felt by that body against the action of the Cincinnati convention in allotting charter No. 12 to Baltimore. A delegate from Baltimore appeared before the convention asking that the union in that city be rechartered. In addressing the convention on this subject, the delegate said that a majority of the members of Baltimore Union had felt aggrieved at some of the actions and decisions of the National Union, and also for seeming neglect on the part of the officials of the National body in not furnishing the properly signed and attested charter form at the time the application was made and the warrant granted. For these reasons Baltimore Union had determined to sever its connection with the parent body. In carrying out this resolution all communications received from the secretary of the National

Union had been laid on the table. With this explanation, after a brief debate, the request of Baltimore Union was complied with by the convention and a new charter was ordered issued with the old number. That the complaint by Baltimore Union of negligence on the part of the secretary of the National body was, perhaps, not without sufficient reason, is evidenced by a communication from Providence Typographical Union to the effect that the sum of $5 had been forwarded to the address of the secretary of the National Union in order that the Providence society might effect its affiliation. The communication said that no response had been received from the secretary of the National Union regarding the application for a charter, although much trouble had been taken to find the whereabouts of that official. A communication from Boston Typographical Union also complained that that body had been unable to obtain acknowledgment from the National secretary of moneys forwarded, and answers to various communications from Boston had not been received. The members of Boston Union seriously considered withdrawing from the National Union on this account.

The committee to which the communications from Baltimore and Providence was referred failed to fix the blame for the confusion complained of, attributing the unfortunate condition to the fact that the moneys forwarded had not been registered and that no record could be obtained of the communications sent, the secretary denying that he had received any of them.

Biennial Conventions — A proposition changing the custom of annual conventions so that the meetings of the National body should be held biennially was defeated, as was a proposition to hold all conventions of the National body in the same city.

Unique Invitation — A communication from the New

Orleans fire department, unique in its character, was laid before the convention by the president, as follows:

FIREMAN'S CHARITABLE ASSOCIATION,
NEW ORLEANS, May 9, 1857.

To the President and Delegates of the National Typographical Union.

GENTLEMEN: Allow me to invite you to be present and witness a public trial of the steam fire engine Young America, to take place tomorrow (Sunday) morning, 10th instant, at 9 o'clock, at the levee, foot of Canal street.

Trusting you will accept, I have the honor to remain,
Yours, etc.,
DAVID BRADBURY,
First Assistant Engineer, N. O. Fire Department.

Allow me to join Mr. Bradbury in the above invitation.
JAMES BEGGS,
Treasurer N. O. Fire Department.

The invitation was accepted and the secretary directed to acknowledge its receipt and return the thanks of the National body for the courtesy extended.

Co-operative Union Disbanded — A communication was received from the secretary of New York Typographical Union No. 6 to the effect that the Co-operative Union of that city had disbanded and that its membership had merged into No. 6.

Separate Branches — The first attempt in the history of the organization to separate the different branches of the craft was defeated by a unanimous vote, the proposition coming up in the report of the committee on unfinished business, which proposed three divisions of the union—newspaper, book and job, and press work. The final expression of the convention on this subject was contained in a brief resolution to the effect that the National Union recognized in the typographical profession two classes only, viz.: compositors and pressmen.

Joint Stock Printing Plant — The proposition to estab-

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

M. C. BROWN, Philadelphia
President Third National Convention Journeymen Printers
May 3, 1852
President National Typographical Union
May 5, 1856 – May 4, 1857

lish a fund by subscription for the purpose of establishing, on a joint stock basis, a national printing plant, having in view the execution of the printing of the national government, was disposed of by the adoption of a resolution that it would be inexpedient for the National Union to act in the matter.

Official Organ — A proposition to have created, under the auspices of the National Union, a monthly journal representing the printing interests was negatived by the convention because of the opinion that the establishment of such a journal should be left to private enterprise—that it would be impolitic for the National Union to engage in any business enterprise, but that it would be proper to countenance and support such a journal when established by individuals.

National Executive Committee, 1857 — The president appointed the national executive committee, as follows: L. Graham, New Orleans; Samuel Sloan, New York; Gerard Stith, Petersburg; John S. Toof, Memphis; Eugene H. Munday, Philadelphia; M. C. Misener, Chicago; James Aikens, jr., Mobile; Charles B. Cox, Louisville; A. W. Hyatt, Baton Rouge; J. Miner, Galveston; Henry Barnes, Cincinnati; George A. Brawner, Baltimore.

Officers, 1857 — William Cuddy, of St. Louis, was elected president for the ensuing term, together with M. C. Misener, Chicago, first vice-president; Eugene H. Munday, Philadelphia, second vice-president; H. H. Whitcomb, New Orleans, secretary-treasurer; A. W. Hyatt, Baton Rouge, corresponding secretary.

Chicago was chosen as the convention city for 1858.

Convention at Chicago

[1858] — The seventh annual convention of the National Typographical Union, which opened its sessions in Chicago, May 3, 1858, in point of unions represented and

number of delegates present, was a decided improvement over the several preceding conventions. The convention was called to order by President William Cuddy, who congratulated the delegates upon the strong spirit of unity manifested during the year and the many applications for charters by newly-organized unions in all parts of the country. He called particular attention to his fears that the suspension of extensive business operations and the many blighting effects of the panic through which the country had passed would tend to lessen the attendance at the sessions, when, as a matter of fact, the convention was the largest in the history of the organization.

President's Address — In conclusion, President Cuddy said:

We meet, gentlemen, after a season of financial disaster such as the world may not see again for half a century—a crisis, springing up in the commercial center of this flourishing continent, from causes which few can explain, and spreading its devastating influences to the most remote cities of the civilized world. Though its results have been fatal to the prospects of many, yet it has tended to impress other nations with a full sense of the important position America occupies in the commercial affairs of the universe.

How consoling it is that the early spring blooms in with promises of a summer of bountiful prosperity. How cheerfully we greet the tidings that the "panic cloud," which darkened the minds and cramped the means of many in our profession, has vanished, and the half-filled composing room and idle press are again bustling forward with all their wonted activity.

It must be a source of gratification to every printer in the land that our National Union has reached its seventh annual convention under such favorable auspices; that the predictions of its early opponents—who formed false apprehensions of its real object—were groundless, and that the obstinacy which characterized their first opposition has been replaced by a hearty acquiescence in most of our progressive efforts. Let us hope that the same harmonious concert of action which has characterized every previous session may prevail with us at this time, giving additional weight to the results of our deliberations.

That, unlike some turbulent political conventions, where faction meets faction with threats of dissolution or secession—or mind grapples with mind for the accomplishment of sinister purposes—every convocation of our National Union has added a new link to the bond of unity that knits us together as a typographical brotherhood. Let us endeavor to prove that the platform of principles, on which a national union of printers was founded, is wide enough to embrace the interests of both operative and capitalist—that those interests are identical, and best promoted (as experience has taught) by conciliatory measures. Indeed, the aim of our national and all subordinate unions may be condensed into a few words: The social, intellectual and moral elevation of our profession, the maintenance of a fair and honorable standard of remuneration—in a word, to make the man a better printer, the printer a better man. To welcome every improvement or invention that renders our art more valuable or instructive—to realize and render truthful the poet's glowing idea, who regards the press as

> That mightiest of the mighty means
> On which the arm of progress leans.

The world has hailed it as such, and how important it is that all identified with that press should possess the requisite qualifications—either as thinkers, whose opinions guide the masses, or as printers, the mouthpiece through which knowledge is heralded to the world.

A great statesman of the eighteenth century very wisely observed, when speaking of national prosperity: "There are three things which make a nation great and prosperous—a fertile soil, busy workshops, and easy conveyance for man and commodities from place to place." Had that wise man lived in our day, and in this republic, how imperfect would be his idea of national greatness if he omitted to add, "knowledge and freedom of the press." Without them, no republic is safe; with them, no absolute monarchy can exist.

Secretary-Treasurer Removed—It had been found necessary during the year for the president to remove from office the secretary-treasurer, on charges of neglect of duty. Lewis Graham, of New Orleans, was appointed to fill the unexpired term. His report to the convention showed that the business of the office, when he took up the

work of secretary-treasurer, was in a deplorable condition. It was discovered that Petersburg, Va.; Providence, R. I.; Columbia, S. C.; St. Paul, Minn.; Montgomery, Ala.; Peoria, Ill.; Baltimore, Md.; Mobile, Ala., and Davenport, Iowa, had complied with the requirements and had applied for charters, but in each case no charter had been issued nor had the secretary-treasurer in any way accounted for the moneys received on account of these applications. By action of the convention, on recommendation of its finance committee, charters were ordered to be issued to the above-named unions and an investigation was ordered into the affairs of the late secretary-treasurer. A charter was also issued to Evansville, Ind.

Pressmen Organized — The first recorded effort to organize the pressmen was through a resolution adopted on the second day of the convention, recommending to subordinate unions throughout the country to encourage the pressmen to unite with them in membership, the latter being regarded at that time as "printers" by the National Union.

Country Unions — A proposition to organize country unions by districts was negatived.

Subordinate Unions Advised to be Cautious — The following resolutions, admonishing subordinate unions to exercise caution before taking any position from which they might be compelled to recede, were offered by Delegate Lynch, of Louisville:

Resolved, That we recommend all unions calmly to consider the justice of their demands and the probability of their being acceded to before they take any position, to recede from which would at least humble their pride, if it were not attended with more serious consequences.

Resolved, That it is unjust for unions to make changes and accompany them with demands for immediate compliance on the part of employers.

After considering the resolutions as in committee of

the whole, the following substitute was adopted by the convention:

Resolved, That we recommend to all subordinate unions fairly and calmly to consider the justice of their demands before they order a strike and let not too hasty legislation control their deliberations.

Rats — That the subject of "rats" and "ratting" has ever been a lively one is evidenced throughout the union's history by numerous resolutions presented at many conventions. Unique in this respect was a resolution passed at the seventh annual session to the effect that, in view of the proneness of human nature to exercise irresponsible power in too rigorous a manner, the National Union advised each union subordinate to its authority to exhaust all persuasive and mild measures previous to the ultimate resort of "ratting" any member of the craft. It was also urged upon subordinate unions to adopt a system of fines, proportioned to the acts of derelict members, which might lead to a reclamation of the offenders. It was set forth that it can not be to the interest of subordinate unions, nor to the trade at large, to act vengefully in cases where timely acts of mercy may have the doubly good effect of strengthening the organization and restoring an erring man to his proper position.

Public Printing — Although the convention at New Orleans had apparently settled the proposition suggesting the establishment of a national printing bureau, the Chicago convention took the question in hand and passed a resolution instructing the executive committee to prepare and present to congress a memorial asking that body to pass a bill for the establishment of a national printing bureau, and the executive committee was further authorized to append to said memorial the names of all members in good standing in the several subordinate unions at the time of presentation.

Protecting the Industry — Copyright Law — As an evidence that the printers have ever been alert in protecting that industry, and have always been the first craft to point out the dangers to the welfare of those engaged either as employers or as employes in the trade, the minutes of the seventh annual convention show by the adoption of a resolution demanding the passage by congress of an international copyright law; also it was pointed out at that time that, in order to secure to future generations an elevated and pure literature, some check should be devised to arrest the great influx of foreign works of an unworthy character.

Versatility of the Printer — As further evidence that the early day printer could turn from the consideration of questions of broad national importance to the little things that affected the craft, it was stated on the floor of the convention that it had become customary for steamboats on the Mississippi river to carry their own printing offices and it was thought desirable to make some provision for them, as the laws of no local union could apply to them. It was finally determined that the subordinate unions of Louisville, St. Louis, Memphis and New Orleans agree upon a uniform scale of prices for work done by printers on the steamboats running on the Ohio, Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and that the united action of these unions should be sanctioned by the National Union as full power and authority regulating all matters pertaining thereto.

Traveling Cards — More stringent regulations to secure the establishment of a uniform system in the matter of granting withdrawal certificates, and the recognition of the same, were passed at this session. The custom that prevails at the present time was established firmly upon the amended law, adopted by the seventh annual convention, which provided that no union should admit as a

member any person who came from a place where a union existed at the time of his leaving unless he could produce a duly attested certificate of membership from said union, and that any person admitted by such certificate should be exempt from the usual initiation fee.

Slawson's History — The convention, by formal resolution, deemed it advisable to have printed an abbreviated history of the organization, and directed that Mr. Sam Slawson, of Chicago, a well-known member of the union, be solicited to prepare and furnish the publishing committee with such a history. Mr. Slawson's brief monograph appears as an appendix to the proceedings of the seventh annual convention.

National Executive Committee, 1858 — The president appointed the national executive committee, as follows: William Cuddy, St. Louis, chairman; W. B. Eckert, Philadelphia; W. A. Baker, Cincinnati; Lysander B. Young, New York; Peter Baxter, Buffalo; Raymond Lynch, Louisville; J. R. McKee, Memphis; James Stites, Baltimore; H. W. Harrington, Boston; A. M. Talley, Chicago; W. R. Skelton, New Orleans; W. Graham, Detroit; J. L. Kirby, Nashville; E. M. Newcomb, Dubuque; J. M. Farquhar, Petersburg; W. T. Cocke, Mobile; J. M. Culver, St. Paul; J. S. Thompson, Providence; C. Barney, Davenport; W. B. Whiffin, Peoria.

Officers, 1858 — Robert C. Smith, of Philadelphia, was elected president for the ensuing year, together with William R. Skelton, New Orleans, first vice-president; M. Dempsey, Detroit, second vice-president; George W. Smith, New York, secretary-treasurer; E. K. Warren, Nashville, corresponding secretary.

Boston was chosen as the city to entertain the eighth annual convention, in May, 1859.

Toast: The National Typographical Union — During the progress of the convention the delegates were guests

at a banquet tendered by Chicago Typographical Union, at which President Robert C. Smith responded to the toast, "The National Typographical Union—the citadel of our strength and the source of our great prosperity." By order of the convention, President Smith's response to the toast was ordered to be printed as an appendix to the proceedings.

President Smith said, in part:

Mr. President: Many who have no association with us are prepared to say that the National Typographical Union has too much power—it is somewhat tyrannical. Let me say to all such, if they will take the trouble to examine our proceedings, from our organization to the present time, they will find that we are the great conservative element between our subordinates and all employing them. It is our only wish that the art preservative shall proceed in the even tenor of its way, and that the rights of capital as well as labor shall be properly respected. It is our wish to so legislate that strikes shall never occur. It is our hope to so soften the asperities of weak human nature that the employer as well as the employe shall so harmonize in feeling that their interests shall always be identical. But enough of this, Mr. President.

The better society becomes acquainted with us the more our efforts will be appreciated.

When I look around me, Mr. President, and see the great strides which the art preservative has taken since Dr. Faust took his first impressions upon a few wooden blocks, and compare it with "Hoe's eight-cylinder," which gives us twenty thousand impressions in an hour, I open my eyes in amazement and say, "What next?" Why, sir, if you had said to our Puritan fathers, only a few years ago, that we in Chicago tonight could have talked to them in Connecticut, and received an answer, they would have burnt you at the stake for witchcraft. And when I answer the question, "What next?" I can only answer, sir, I am prepared for almost anything within man's comprehension. And now let me, in turn, ask you what has produced these wonderful, these astounding results? And you will have to answer me, it is the "art preservative of all arts." It is, in fact, the "press"—the mighty lever which has pressed forward the march

of mind and intelligence to such perfection that we are almost prepared to believe the world will, in turn, be bound with railroads and telegraph wires. But it is not worth while to speculate. We have so much of reality to astonish us that we can only look on and wonder at the rapid strides which the march of improvement is constantly making; but all, Mr. President, through the intelligence derived from the almost magical effect of our newspaper press. It is the principal medium through which all general results are matured, and their wonder brought to light. Well might the poet exclaim:

> Glorious Art! thy children hail thee!
> Tyrants only are thy foes;
> Freedom's Day Star! naught shall pale thee;
> Dark was Earth till Printing rose!

What would have been the effect if there had been no union of the original settlers of this great republic can be more readily imagined than described. And I might refer to the many great deeds that have been accomplished only by union and harmony of action, but I will not trespass upon your time. You all know the old adage, "A house divided against itself can not stand," and allow us to adopt the maxim of the hero of New Orleans, "In union there is strength."

And now, Mr. President, one word to the ladies about union. Let me urge upon them the propriety of advocating union by all honorable means. It is the bond which man gives to society for the faithful performance of his duty as a good citizen. By drawing us into the bonds of the union, you give a guarantee that you will make of us better citizens, and, nine cases out of ten, much better men. It is your smiles, ladies, that encourage us to push forward and endeavor to do such deeds as will meet your approval. Do not let the icy chill of apathy fall upon our efforts to make ourselves good union men, but look approvingly upon all that commends itself to your good judgment and our work will have been accomplished. It is to you that society is indebted for the refinement, as well as the accomplishments of the age. The influence that you exercise over rough, uncouth man, is almost as great in your sphere as the press is in diffusing knowledge. Would that the ladies properly appreciated their sphere of action and encouraged us in all the good works we undertake; but, above all, ladies, let me ask you to look approvingly upon the efforts of our "National Typographical

Union" and it will be the citadel of our strength and the source of prosperity indeed.

Convention at Boston

[1859] — When the eighth annual session of the National Typographical Union was called to order in Boston, on Monday, May 2, 1859, the president, Robert C. Smith, of Philadelphia, addressed the delegates at length, congratulating the organization on the fact that during the year the officers of the union had succeeded in straightening out the tangled affairs of the secretary-treasurer's office. It was reported that the charters formerly ordered to be granted to Providence, Baltimore, Petersburg, Columbia (S. C.), St. Paul, Montgomery, Mobile, Peoria, Davenport and Evansville had been issued. In addition, a charter was granted to Lecompton, Kan., and also the charter of Indianapolis No. 1 was issued during the year. It appeared that the charter to which Indianapolis was originally entitled had never been received. Jackson, Miss., Savannah, Ga., and Grand Rapids, Mich., also applied for and received charters.

Critical Period — That the National Union was still passing through a critical stage in its history, however, is apparent from the fact that no returns were received at this convention from Albany, Columbus, Harrisburg, Rochester, Elmira, San Francisco, Dubuque, Milwaukee, Madison, Petersburg, Galveston, St. Paul, and Lecompton.

First President to be Re-elected — For the first time in the history of the organization, the president was re-elected for a second term, this action being taken over the vigorous protest of the incumbent, Robert C. Smith, of Philadelphia.

Pittsburgh Rechartered — Pittsburgh Typographical Union No. 7, having forfeited its charter, again made application for membership and, upon the recommendation

of President Smith, it was voted that the old charter be reissued to No. 7.

Baton Rouge Charter Surrendered — It is shown by the record that Baton Rouge Typographical Union surrendered its charter on October 10, 1858. It was reported that through the alleged treachery of a considerable number of the union's members the organization had been reduced to but a fraction more than sufficient to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and owing to the conditions then obtaining in Baton Rouge a majority of those remaining in good standing were compelled to leave the city in search of employment. The union accordingly passed a resolution dissolving the organization and ordered that the funds in the treasury be forwarded to the secretary-treasurer of the National Union. The members accused of treachery afterward entered vigorous denial of the accusation.

Official Organ — Again the question of establishing an official organ for the National Union was brought before the convention and referred to a special committee. It was reported that there was a paper in New York city, "The Printer," devoted exclusively to the interests of the craft. It was finally determined to make arrangements with this publication to print such articles or items of news as might be considered of general interest to the membership.

Pioneer Organization to Consider Tuberculosis — That the typographical union has been a pioneer in the trade union movement and has also taken an advanced position on many subjects that are now occupying the attention of the public is again evidenced by the fact that the convention of 1859 gave serious consideration to the exposure of its members to diseases of the respiratory organs. A communication was received from G. H. Snelling, dated Boston, May 5, 1859, which is reproduced herewith.

Allow me to call your attention to the paragraph which I have marked in the accompanying memorial, in which allusion is made to the exposure of letter-press printers to diseases of the respiratory organs, from the limited space of the apartments in which their work is carried on.

It would hardly be necessary to refer to any particular class of citizens for an illustration of the need of such a relief; but there is one class, perhaps the most numerous, in proportion to population, in Boston, of any city on the globe, a class, on which, more than any other, the great interests and necessities of a civilized society constantly depends; a class, too, that has furnished to society so many of its most honored guides and benefactors; that class is the letter-press printers. The nature of their avocation requires, as an indispensable condition, that they should work in numbers, and in apartments of limited area. This necessary exposure to the evil effects of confined air, makes such a place of healthful resort for relief and recreation as the Common now offers an incalculable advantage to them. To show to what degree this class is exposed, from the nature of their calling, to diseases of the respiratory organs, it may be stated that, in his testimony before a late sanitary commission in England, Dr. Guy, an eminent physician, asserted that out of 104 letter-press printers who worked in apartments in which there was less than an average of 500 cubic feet of air to each man, twelve and a half per cent were affected with spitting of blood.

I do not, of course, mean to ask your consideration to the local question, upon which this allusion is brought to bear, otherwise than by the general remark that the exposure alluded to makes such places of healthful resort as the Boston Common now is, and as New York and Philadelphia are about to secure for themselves, of imperative necessity to the class whom you represent. But it seems to me, that no subject of greater practical importance could come before the deliberation of your body than the expediency of providing more space and ventilation than is now generally allowed in printing establishments, both on the ground of health and comfort of operatives, and the efficiency of their productive agency.

In the course of the few hours which I spent in the office in which this memorial was printed, while waiting for and examining proofs, I was made to realize by personal experience, and

the testimony of several of the gentlemen at work in the establishment with whom I conversed, the deleterious effect of this confined air on the system; and I have, therefore, felt compelled to make this direct appeal to your body, in addition to that which is made through the public, in this memorial.

I have alluded in the memorial to the result of Dr. Guy's inquiry among 104 printers, who had but 500 cubic feet of air to breathe to each man, which was, that twelve and a half per cent were affected with the most decisive consumptive symptoms. I could have added that this same investigator found another group of 101 men who had more than 600 feet of air to breathe, and their liability to consumption was reduced to a little less than four per cent.

Contracts Favored — That the present day policy of the typographical union regarding contracts between the employers and the employed is based upon sound business principles and established upon precedent is disclosed by the discussion of a resolution brought before the Boston convention, in 1859, to the effect that the National Typographical Union fully appreciated the conduct of those proprietors and managers of printing establishments throughout the United States who had assisted in establishing and maintaining fair rates of compensation to journeymen printers. A delegate to the convention took occasion to read from an editorial in the Atlas and Daily Bee, referring particularly to contracts. He said that in Philadelphia there never had been a scale of prices adopted without first having invited a conference with the employers. Another delegate took occasion to voice approval of the contract system and belief in living up to the terms of such instruments.

Public Printing — Political Conditions — A committee appointed to consider the unfinished business left over from the previous convention explained that the only proposition laid before it was the executive committee's report in regard to the establishing of a national printing bureau at Washington, which they had examined, to-

gether with a large number of letters which passed between the different members. That the convention had again determined to let the subject of the government printing office alone was evidenced by a debate following the report of the committee.

That political conditions during that period of our national history were not altogether unlike some conditions complained of at the present time may be seen by a review of the discussion of the committee's report. A delegate from New York remarked that as the first memorial sent to congress by the convention which met at Baltimore in 1851 had never been heard from, he could not see the object of continuing the discussion of the subject and thought the matter had better be tabled at once, contending that nothing practical could be effected without proper men and sufficient means to back up a memorial. Another delegate said he thought it useless for any one to tap at the doors of congress for anything unless ready to do the bidding of the ruling party in whatever it might require. The project, he said, was originated at a time when men were partially honest, but that day had passed, and politicians then were intriguing all the time, not to build up any branch of industry, but to put money into their own pockets. The delegate moved that all papers relating to the matter be laid upon the table, and the motion prevailed.

Providence Union's Charter Stolen — A communication was received from Providence Typographical Union, through its delegate to the convention, to the effect that the union's charter had been stolen from their meeting hall, by some person or persons unknown, and requesting that the National Union issue another charter to Providence bearing the same number as the former one. The delegate from Providence said that the union had offered a reward for the conviction of the thief but had not suc-

ceeded in detecting him. He also said that the union in Providence was stronger than ever before and that the thief, if he expected to break up the union by stealing the charter, had probably learned by that time that he had fallen wide of the mark. It was ordered that Providence Union be furnished with a new charter, bearing the old number, upon payment of the usual charter fee.

Head of Franklin on Traveling Card — Delegate Charles W. Colburn, New York, offered a resolution to the effect that the recording secretary and treasurer be instructed to procure a new traveling card instead of the one then in use and that the head of Franklin be omitted from the card. The committee on new business, to which the resolution was referred, submitted a report, saying that it could see no reason why the traveling card should be changed, and recommended that the resolution be rejected. An inquiry having been raised as to why the head of Franklin should be omitted, the author of the resolution said that while he venerated Franklin as a philosopher, statesman and patriot, it seemed to him that as a printer he did not favor and act in accordance with the principles which the typographical union was organized to support. This statement caused an animated discussion and the ayes and noes were finally called for on the adoption of the report and the rejection of the resolution. The resolution was lost by a vote of 24 ayes, 2 noes.

Proprietor Members — Delegate Lord, of Providence, offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS in view of the fact that a more intimate association of proprietors and journeymen will tend to a better appreciation of each other's merits, ideas and opinions, and will also promote harmony between them; therefore

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the National Typographical Union that the admission of proprietors into unions is strictly in accordance with the purposes for which they are formed.

Delegate Colburn, of New York, offered an amendment inserting the words "who are practical printers" after the word "proprietors." An animated discussion ensued, participated in by many of the delegates. At the conclusion of the debate, the following substitute was adopted by a vote of 15 ayes, 10 noes:

The National Union recommends to subordinate unions the admission of such proprietors as may be practical printers and may be desirous of becoming members.

Secretary-Treasurer Resigns — It was reported to the convention by President Smith that shortly after the adjournment of the Chicago convention Secretary-Treasurer George W. Smith, New York, had resigned the office, because of leaving the country, and that Thomas J. Walsh, of New York, had been appointed by the president to fill the vacancy. Secretary Walsh, in a brief report to the convention, said that he had assumed the office of secretary-treasurer under circumstances which rendered an immediate attention to duties of vital importance to the interests of the union, that he had at once applied himself to the removal of the causes of complaint of various subordinate unions, and that, in conjunction with the president, he had issued charters to those unions that had filed complaints of neglect at the previous convention and also had furnished all subordinate unions with printed proceedings of the Chicago session.

National Executive Committee, 1859 — The president appointed the national executive committee, as follows:

J. W. Brewer, Indianapolis; W. B. Eckert, Philadelphia; George W. Colby, Cincinnati; Henry M. Failing, New York; Alexander P. Callow, Pittsburgh; John L. Bittinger, St. Louis; A. W. Hilton, Buffalo; Raymond Lynch, Louisville; Lyman B. Gill, Memphis; James Kelly, Baltimore; Charles H. Woodwell, Boston; Cyrus B. Langley, Chicago; George M. Brisbin, New Orleans; Robert Grieve, Detroit; R. H. Barry, Nashville; E. M. Newcomb, Dubuque; W. T. Cocke, Mobile; W. B. Whiffin, Peoria; J. M. Culver, St. Paul; Milo Barrett, Montgomery; C. Bonney, Davenport; Jabez Lord, Providence; J. C. Morgan, Columbia, S. C.; L. B. Smith, Evansville; J. L. Power, Jackson, Miss.; W. G. Flinn, Savannah; L. J. Bates, Grand Rapids.

ROBERT C. SMITH, PHILADELPHIA
President National Typographical Union
May 3, 1858 – May 7, 1860

Officers, 1859 — Robert C. Smith, of Philadelphia, was re-elected president, together with Milo Barrett, Montgomery, Ala., first vice-president; George W. Colby, Cincinnati, second vice-president; Thomas J. Walsh, New York, secretary-treasurer; George M. Brisbin, New Orleans, corresponding secretary.

After being in session five days the convention adjourned to meet in Nashville, Tenn., in May, 1860.

Convention at Nashville

[1860-1861] — When the ninth annual convention assembled in the State Capitol building in Nashville, Tenn., on Monday, May 7, 1860, the delegates present were privileged to listen to an address by President Robert C. Smith, of Philadelphia, together with a written report by the same officer, covering in detail the transactions of his office during the preceding twelve months. Mr. Smith's report was the first attempt by a president of the National Union to cover in a thorough and practical manner the business of the organization transacted during his term of office. It may be well to call attention to the fact that the country at that time was convulsed over the questions that finally culminated in the civil war. That those questions in no way affected the integrity of the National Union is evidenced by the fact that delegates were in attendance from all sections of the country, and that at no point throughout the sessions of the convention is it recorded that any proposition having to do with political conditions was presented for consideration.

President's Address — In his address to the convention, President Smith said, in part:

> While our great and glorious country is being convulsed by the reckless and heedless—like a ship upon the ocean, tossed to and fro by the rough waves of dissension, and the furious billows of distraction—our noble craft, by the influence of the

divine and all-powerful Goodness, again majestically glides into port upon the calm and placid waters of harmony and good will. You are again brought together—from the north, from the south, from the east, and from the west—not to agitate or distract, but to compare and examine the wants of the different sections, and to propose and carry out only such measures as will the more fully cement our union—the National Typographical Union—into one solid compact. Let prudence be your guide, and your actions be stamped with wisdom.

The past year has been one of continual agitation and distrust, thereby disturbing the channels of trade and the elements of prosperity; and, of course, the "Art Preservative," like all others, has felt their depressing effects; but it affords me great pleasure in being able to say that at the present time. the business is in a healthy condition.

You are well aware that there has been a great revulsion in the different departments of labor within the past two years, and it has tended to the elevation and bettering the condition of the working classes. One year ago I told you the eyes of every mechanic in the land were turned toward Boston, and their hopes were centered in your success. You have been the pioneers in this great moral and social reform which is being wrought in our land; and you are the instruments, in the hands of a wise and beneficent Creator, to bring about this great blessing. The intelligence which has been entrusted to you is intended for a good purpose. Do not bury the talents which have been given you, but let your light so shine that those who need it may profit thereby. You are now fulfilling a great mission; therefore, all your acts should be marked with that caution and foresight which always guide aright.

After reviewing the proceedings of the first convention of printers, held in 1850, and of the succeeding conventions till the ninth annual session of the National Union, President Smith concluded:

When I look over the past, and see the trials and difficulties which our organization has had to pass through, I stand struck with awe at the great and mighty power which has said, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"—thereby stamping labor with dignity and honor—and confess myself astonished at the rapid strides of progress which have marked its career un-

til it stands today upon as firm a basis as this magnificent structure, which it has pleased our Nashville friends to honor us by allowing our session to be held in its splendid halls; and its bonds of unity are cemented as strongly as the blocks of granite which compose its stately grandeur. Having been founded upon a solid groundwork, and anchored to the firm foundation of justice, it has not been affected by the rough waves of time and circumstances, but its course has been steadily forward, until it has reached a magnitude of which we may all well be proud. It has been the aim of the National Typographical Union, whilst laboring to elevate ourselves in the scale of society, to convince the capitalist that we have also been endeavoring to promote his interest, thereby assimilating, as far as in our power, the employer and the employed, and making their interests blend in perfect harmony. How we have succeeded in our efforts has been made manifest by the large number of employers throughout the country associating themselves with us.

Union's Lack of Authority — Charters — During this period in the history of the National Typographical Union it is apparent that the chief troubles of the organization were accountable to the lack of authority granted the parent body to enable it properly to transact the business for which it was created. The absence of a headquarters office, the fact that the officers of the organization resided at distant places and the laxity of local officers in giving attention to their official duties seem to have been the cause of much misunderstanding and friction. In spite of this condition of affairs, during the year 1859 charters were issued to St. Joseph, Mo.; Augusta, Ga.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Charleston, S. C.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Leavenworth, Kan.; Sacramento, Cal.; New Haven, Conn., and Atlanta, Ga.

Baton Rouge Charter Reissued — Through the activity of President Smith and his associates in office, charters were reissued to Milwaukee, Wis., Columbus, Ohio, and Albany, N. Y., and the unsatisfactory condition at Baton

Rouge received a thorough investigation, it developing that the National Union at its previous session had taken action in the matter without full knowledge of all the facts in the case, and upon the recommendation of the committee on subordinate unions it was ordered that the officers of the National Union be directed to recharter Baton Rouge Union and to restore all books, papers, documents, money or any other property in their hands belonging to that union.

Columbia Typographical Society Refuses Charter — An effort was made by President Smith to induce Columbia Typographical Society, at Washington, D. C., to apply for a charter from the National Union. In this he was unsuccessful, and, in reply to the communication forwarded to Columbia Society, under date of April 14, 1860, the following communication was received from the president:

Yours of the 10th instant was received, and I would state that at the last meeting of the Columbia Typographical Society the whole matter in relation to uniting with the National Typographical Union was indefinitely postponed.

I will avail myself of the present opportunity to state briefly one or two of the objections that exist against our uniting with the National Typographical Union and, in doing so, I may safely add that I believe I but reflect the sentiments of a very large majority of the resident members of the Columbia Typographical Society. We pride ourselves upon the antiquity of our organization, dating back, as we do, nearly half a century; and at the present time claim to be one of the oldest, if not the oldest, typographical society in existence in this country. Were we to unite with the national body, we would, necessarily, have to abandon our present title and organic laws, and remodel our whole structure to conform to the constitution of the National Union, and take our position in that body as Union No. —. To this yielding up of our present independence, the founders and many of the older members of the society seriously object, as they are averse, in toto, to obliterate the ancient landmarks of its early existence and institution.

Besides, we have a large free-member list who have ful-

filled their contract with the society as contributors for eleven years, and thus, by our uniting with the National Union, we would violate our part of the compact which we are bound constitutionally and in honor to fulfill, as they would of necessity again have to become contributing members—an act of injustice which could not and would not be tolerated.

It has been urged that a specific act might be passed in our favor, so that we might still preserve our present name and organization. This we do not ask; and, even were it acceded to, it would be an act of injustice toward other unions, for would they not of right be entitled to the same privileges? and would they not demand them? And what would be the consequence? I need not answer.

We shall continue to respect the National Union, only regretting that we can not, in justice to the older members of our society, become one of the great family, but sincerely hope that a reciprocity of good feeling will ever prevail for the common good of our fraternity.

Authority to Organize Dual Union in Washington — In view of the action of Columbia Typographical Society in refusing to apply for a charter under the National Union, it was ordered by the convention that the president be fully empowered to grant a charter for the organization of a subordinate union in that city independent of the old society. The committee on new business, which had the matter under consideration, submitted the following statement, which was affirmed by the convention:

In the letter received from the president of the Columbia Society your committee fail to discover any argument justifying that society in remaining outside of our national organization. The points urged are, briefly, that Columbia Society is the oldest in the country, having certain organic laws which would be obliterated by a connection with this national society; that they pride themselves upon their age; and object to being set down as Union No. —; that they have certain members who are exempt from dues, and who would or might be compelled again to become contributing members. Your committee can not see that Columbia Union, by becoming subordinate to our national organization, necessarily loses her position as the oldest

society of the character in this country, or that they need necessarily abrogate their organic laws. Certainly, if their interests are identical with those of the craft generally, and the object sought to be obtained by their organization is the moral and social elevation of the craft within their jurisdiction, their organic laws and ancient landmarks can not be so dissimilar but that the necessary modifications can be made without impairing their strength or lessening their validity. And as the National Typographical Union does not fix the amount nor the mode of raising revenue in subordinate unions, the Columbia Society, if granted a charter by the National Typographical Union, would have full jurisdiction over, and could fully protect such members as have, from the action of their union, become life members of that society. Therefore, while your committee think it advisable that all proper action should be taken to conciliate independent organizations and that it would be proper to notify all independent societies of any application for a charter of a subordinate union to be located in the same place, and to wait a reasonable time for said independent society to place themselves under the jurisdiction of this National Typographical Union, we can see no reason why a charter should not be granted upon proper application.

Jurisdiction Over Canadian Unions Proposed — In his annual report President Smith called to the attention of the delegates the difficulties that frequently occurred in regard to the admission of members by card from Canadian unions, and spoke of the bad feeling engendered in some instances through lack of perfect understanding and concerted action. Illustrating the conditions that existed at that time, the president reproduced a letter from New Orleans Typographical Union making inquiry as to the correct procedure to be followed by subordinate unions. The letter was as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, December 5, 1859.

Mr. R. C. Smith.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the New Orleans Typographical Union, yesterday, a card, issued by an association in Hamilton, and likewise one from Toronto, were tendered to this union

by the bearers, to admit them to membership. It was stated that the cards could not be accepted otherwise than as evidence of good standing, etc., and that the holders would have to go through the usual form of application, payment of initiation fee, etc. In opposition it was stated that cards issued in Canada were accepted in New York and other northern cities, and that by resolution of the Toronto Typographical Society all cards issued by the unions in the United States were accepted, and entitled the holders to become members on deposit. The cards were then referred to a committee. Being one of said committee, I am requested to write you for information on the subject of the interchange of cards; if you are cognizant of the fact of interchanges being made, and if they are consistent with the constitution? or can unions under the jurisdiction of the National Union make their own laws in regard to the matter of interchange, or if the National Union ever did anything in the premises?

Our next meeting takes place in January, when the committee will have to report. Please answer accordingly.

I am, sir, with due respect, yours,

W. H. Lewis.

Bulletin Job Office.

President Smith replied as follows:

Philadelphia, December 14, 1859.

W. H. Lewis, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 5th has just been received, and in answer to the numerous queries propounded in regard to the accepting of cards issued by the Canada societies in northern cities, I will say that I have no knowledge whatever of their being received in any other manner than as a recommendation, or, in other words, conclusive proof of the fitness of those presenting them to become members of the union upon the payment of the regular initiation fee.

When the constitution of the National Union was first adopted it was so framed as to include only those unions within the limits of the United States; and at the third annual session of the National Typographical Union the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the National Typographical Union suggest to the different subordinate unions the propriety of adopting

some plan by which an interchange of cards may be had with unions located in Canada."

Under that provision and the proviso to rule 3 of the discipline, adopted at a subsequent session, the subordinate unions could have made what arrangements they pleased in relation to cards issued by the Canada unions; but, to the best of my knowledge, the National Union never received any notice that either the subordinate unions or the Canada societies availed themselves of the advantages of those provisions; and at the fifth annual session of the National Union the constitution was so amended as to include the Canada societies within the jurisdiction of the National Typographical Union, if they desired so to associate themselves. But they did not apply for a charter from the National Union and at the subsequent session it was stricken out. My opinion is that you would violate the first great fundamental law of the National Typographical Union were you to receive the cards in any other manner than as a recommendation of honorable standing of the parties presenting them, charging your regular initiation fee, etc. If the Toronto, or any other society in Canada, receive the National Union cards, no notice of such action has ever been presented to the officers of the National Union.

Hoping that my answers may prove satisfactory, and that all will be arranged on strict union principles, I remain,

Yours, truly and fraternally,

R. C. Smith,
President National Typographical Union.

Aside from the passage of a brief resolution at a previous convention, no definite action had been taken by the National Union toward amalgamation with Canadian unions. In response to a recommendation of the president that some definite understanding be had in the matter, the convention adopted the following resolution, offered by Jacob H. Gallinger, a delegate from Cincinnati:

Resolved, That the secretary and treasurer of the National Typographical Union be instructed to open a correspondence with the unions in the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, with a view of bringing them under the jurisdiction of this National Union, and extending to them a part or

all of the privileges now extended to subordinate unions in the United States; the result of said correspondence to be laid before the next meeting of this body.

In making its report to the convention on the Gallinger resolution, the committee on new business, to which the resolution had been referred, said:

Several considerations influence this conclusion. It will, if we succeed in bringing these unions under our jurisdiction, strengthen both our numbers and our finances; it will do away with the difficulties that now exist in regard to the exchange of cards between unions in those countries and the United States, and it will be the means of strengthening the bonds of fellowship and good feeling that should exist between ourselves and our sister countries.

San Francisco Charter Preserved—That President Smith was largely instrumental in influencing San Francisco Union to retain its charter will be seen from the following excerpt from his report:

Since I have been in my present position, I have written several communications to San Francisco; and, on the 15th of September last, wrote them that if it were not that their cards come this way once in a while we would not know a union existed in California. I told them it would be a great gratification to the meeting at Nashville to have a representative present; but, if that pleasure should be denied, they could at least send a report with their percentage due the National Union; if they would do that, and elect, in their union, some person at Nashville to represent them, they would be hailed as the returned prodigal, and help to cement the links which are fast girdling this continent into one indissoluble chain of unions, working immense benefit to the printers throughout the entire country. I told them that their cards were still received and that they ought to make a strong effort to be represented by proxy, if they were not prepared to send a delegate.

Acting on the advice contained in the communication received by San Francisco from the president, that union made immediate arrangements to place itself in good standing and was represented at the Nashville convention

by two delegates. Other delinquent unions were strongly urged again to place themselves under the banner of the National Union, and no small credit is due President Smith for the fact that many of our subordinate unions today still retain their original charters through the vigorous policy pursued by that official.

Charters Revoked — Upon recommendation of the committee on subordinate unions, the charters of Harrisburg, Rochester, Elmira, Madison and Lecompton were revoked, the latter union not having paid its charter fee and the others having failed for two successive annual conventions to send representatives or reports to the National Union. Davenport Union also surrendered its charter, owing to numerous local difficulties, the most important of which were financial embarrassment, the suspension of some plants, the curtailment of others and a considerable reduction in the number of printers employed.

Per Capita Tax — On recommendation of its finance committee, the revenue laws of the National Union were amended to require a per capita tax of 25 cents a year on each member in good standing, payable on the 1st day of April.

Brooklyn's Charter — A vexed question arose in the convention over an application for a charter from Brooklyn, N. Y., which was finally determined by adopting a recommendation of the committee on subordinate unions that a charter be granted to Brooklyn whenever proper application was made, with the understanding that members working in New York should be considered as in the jurisdiction of New York, notwithstanding a residence in Brooklyn, and *vice versa.*

At the close of the sixth day's session the union adjourned to meet in the city of New York in May, 1861.

National Executive Committee, 1860-1861 — The

president appointed the national executive committee, as follows:

William Madigan, Boston; W. H. Meridith, Indianapolis; N. S. Hales, Philadelphia; John Collins, Cincinnati; H. M. Failing, New York; T. W. Wright, Pittsburgh; Sam Slawson, St. Louis; Peter Baxter, Buffalo; James R. Watts, Louisville; S. P. Bassett, Memphis; William Floyd, Baltimore; J. K. Conklin, Chicago; E. A. Patterson, New Orleans; William Graham, Detroit; W. T. T. Ott, Nashville; James Risk, Eureka (San Francisco); E. M. Newcomb, Dubuque; J. W. Barry, Petersburg; S. A. Yager, Mobile; W. B. Whiffin, Peoria; J. M. Dugan, St. Paul; A. G. Smallfield, Montgomery; Jabez Lord, Providence; I. C. Morgan, Columbia, S. C.; J. L. Power, Jackson, Miss.; W. G. Flinn, Savannah; L. J. Bates, Grand Rapids; James Tracy, St. Joseph; John T. King, Augusta; D. L. Payne, Minneapolis; R. E. Patterson, Charleston; C. R. Conway, Los Angeles; J. J. Clarkson, Leavenworth; David Norris, Sacramento; E. L. Winham, New Haven; John Henry, Atlanta.

Officers, 1860-1861 — John M. Farquhar, of Chicago, was elected president, together with William Madigan, Boston, first vice-president; S. P. Bassett, Memphis, second vice-president; Thomas J. Walsh, New York, secretary-treasurer; I. C. Morgan, Columbia, S. C., corresponding secretary.

Convention at New York

[1862] — Although the convention at Nashville, in 1860, selected the city of New York as the meeting place for the tenth annual convention, to be held in May, 1861, the outbreak of the civil war in that year prevented the annual gathering, and it was not until a year later, Monday, May 5, 1862, that the delegates to the tenth annual convention assembled in regular session. Thirty-three delegates were present from seventeen subordinate unions, all lying north of the Ohio river and west of the Mississippi.

Postponing Tenth Session — Civil War Period — In order that this history may record the exact reason for postponing the tenth session, the following excerpt from the report of President Farquhar is quoted:

I can not well, in words, communicate to you the pleasure I feel at again meeting the representatives of our subordinate

unions in national council; and the more is that pleasure heightened when, in viewing by retrospect the present troubled condition of our once happy and peaceful republic, the crippled finances and lessening in numercial strength your various local organizations have suffered during the war, and the discouraging and disorganizing influences which have, by one or more local unions, been used in attempting to prevent this assembling of the National body, I am today permitted again to welcome in convention well-filled delegations from widespread districts.

When I entered upon the honorable duties of president at the Nashville session, I found our national organization prosperous, well regulated, and in all features of its strength well sustaining the high position it had gained years before as the leading body in the ranks of skilled mechanic labor. During the succeeding year, your national officers used all laudable ambition in increasing the union's usefulness, perfecting minor details in its management, and drawing within the circle of its authority new and reliable local societies. The good success attending our efforts in this respect will be readily seen in the report your able secretary will furnish, and I am pleased to announce the fact that all these new acquisitions to our strength still remain firm in their support of national craft interests.

Toward the expected close of my term of service, and following the publication of the customary circular calling together the National Union, I was astonished and pained to learn that three of the national officers, and a committee of the New York Typographical Union, entertaining, to my mind, causeless fears that the then coming May session, if held during the existence of hostilities between the two great sections of our country, would distract the craft, destroy the union's nationality, or be too thinly attended to be "respectable," came to the conclusion that a postponement was imperatively necessary and the national secretary telegraphed to me, asking my acquiescence with such a proposition. I immediately answered that I would not accede to their request under any circumstances; that to do so would be unconstitutional on my part, and that I would respect my oath of office, come what may. Notwithstanding this positive refusal, within two days following my answer, the wires of the Associated Press carried to all parts of the country an official announcement from Secretary Walsh stating that the

session had been postponed by the "National Board of Officers." On the day following I used the same means of publicity to reaffirm the annual call, coupled with the earnestly expressed hope that all delegates desiring the upholding of our national constitution should meet in New York on the day named in the call. But, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts on my part to secure a quorum, through both postal and telegraphic appliances, I was reluctantly forced to agree to a postponement, and published the fact in time to save the great majority of unions from unnecessary expense and doubt.

It will be seen that a serious difference of opinion existed between the president and the other officers of the National Union as to the constitutionality of the action taken.

Postponement of Convention of 1861 Justified — During the consideration of the report of the special committee on the president's annual report, Secretary-Treasurer Walsh justified the action of Vice-Presidents Madigan and Bassett, and himself, by quoting the law, which said: "During the recess of this National Union, he (the president) shall, in conjunction with the vice-presidents, have a general superintendence over the interests of the craft."

Secretary Walsh maintained that owing to the intense excitement prevailing at that time in New York city, and throughout the country, from the unfortunate issues pending and the threatening friction apparent, rendered it prudent, if not essential to the welfare of the National Typographical Union, that its convention should be postponed. He held that it seemed strange that any member of the national body failed to see the impropriety of calling together delegates from all parts of the country at such a time, when it was known that many unions which desired to be represented could not be. He stated that his position as secretary-treasurer gave him opportunities to know the sentiment of the members of subordinate unions

and he claimed that the postponement was sanctioned by four-fifths of the printers of the United States. He also maintained that the best proof of this could be found in the evidence of the president himself, who was compelled to admit that, although he made every effort to have the convention take place, he did not receive sufficient encouragement from subordinate unions to warrant him in adhering to his purpose.

Postponement Criticized — That delegates to the convention were far from satisfied with the action of their officers in postponing the convention of 1861 is manifested by their adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the postponement of the National session of 1861 was an unconstitutional act, and although this body does not entertain a doubt of the good intention of the officers who caused the postponement, still we can not pass it by without this expression of our disapprobation, to the end that similar occurrences in the future may be avoided.

Resolved, That the president be and is hereby instructed to prepare for circulation among the subordinate unions in the southern states (as soon as facilities for communication with them are afforded) a circular letter, setting forth that the National body still regards them as being members thereof, and assuring them of our continued good will and fellowship, and urging upon them to maintain their former relations with the National Typographical Union.

Per Capita Tax for 1861 Remitted — In order to straighten out discrepancies in the financial affairs of the National Union, caused by the postponement of its tenth annual convention, it was ordered that the per capita tax for the year 1861 be remitted.

No General Legislation — Very few propositions were presented for the consideration of delegates at this convention and no legislation of a general character was passed worthy of record.

Charters Issued, Reissued and Surrendered — In spite of the unsettled conditions prevailing, charters were issued during the period of 1860-61 to Denver, Colo.; Burlington, Iowa; Omaha, Neb.; Troy, N. Y.; Cleveland, Ohio; Raleigh, N. C.; Syracuse, N. Y., and Stockton, Cal. Charters were reissued to Harrisburg, Pa., and Rochester, N. Y. Charters were also given to Galveston, Tex., and Madison, Wis., to which they were previously entitled. The charter issued to Troy, N. Y., on July 26, 1860, was surrendered on February 8, 1861.

Canadian Unions — At the Nashville session of 1860 the secretary-treasurer was instructed to open correspondence with the unions in the provinces of Canada, with a view of bringing them under the jurisdiction of the National Union. The secretary-treasurer, in his report, conveyed the information that during the year letters had been forwarded to all unions in the Canadian provinces where it was possible to learn of their existence, but his efforts had elicited no responses. It was thought that the organization in Toronto at that time was the only union in Canada possessing any degree of practical vitality. It was learned also that some few of the subordinate unions had adopted a rule to receive traveling cards from such unions outside the jurisdiction of the National Union as had a similar reciprocal rule.

National Executive Committee, 1862 — The minutes of the proceedings of the convention contain no reference to the appointment of a national executive committee.

Officers, 1862 — John M. Farquhar was re-elected president for the ensuing term, together with William A. Montgomery, Boston, first vice-president; James H. Walker, Detroit, second vice-president; Thomas J. Walsh, New York, secretary-treasurer; Theodore Nagle, St. Louis, corresponding secretary.

Cleveland, Ohio, was selected as the convention city for 1863.

Convention at Cleveland

[1863] — That the National Union was held together by a rather slender cord at this time is evidenced by the fact that when the eleventh convention assembled in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, on Monday, May 4, 1863, only one of the officers, the secretary-treasurer, was in attendance. President Farquhar, both vice-presidents, and the corresponding secretary were absent. The first session of the convention was called to order by the secretary-treasurer. Thirty-three delegates, representing twenty-three unions, were present, none of the southern unions being represented. The convention immediately proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing term. Eugene Vallette, Philadelphia, was elected president, Secretary-Treasurer Walsh was re-elected and the other vacancies were filled.

Resignation of President Farquhar — In submitting his report to the convention, the secretary-treasurer transmitted certain correspondence, including a letter of resignation of President Farquhar, addressed to the vice-president, under date of Nashville, Tenn., December 4, 1862. The letter is reproduced herewith in full:

Finding it impossible, under present circumstances, to attend to the duties of president of the National Typographical Union, or even attend the coming session at Cleveland, I resign to you, as my constitutional successor, the position of president, and at as early a time as I can procure leave of absence from my regiment I will transfer to your keeping all books and papers belonging to the executive office. Properly, I should have taken this step some months ago, but until lately I cherished the hope that I would gain a position in the army which would assign me to a stated locality, and leave sufficient time at my disposal to conduct the official correspondence. Defeated in that object, and seeing nothing but hard and dangerous work

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

JOHN M. FARQUHAR, Chicago
President National Typographical Union
May 7, 1860 – May 4, 1863

ahead in the battlefield for months to come, I therefore resign the high position to which I was elected three years ago in this city, and I do so with the consolation that the National gavel passes into worthy hands.

Permit me to suggest that in Secretary Walsh and Mr. Gorman, chairman of the executive committee, you will find able counselors in all craft matters, and particularly from the former you can learn, should I not be permitted again to communicate with you before the coming session, the exact condition of the national organization during the year, and mayhap he will suggest to you valuable points to be embodied in your report.

Be pleased, my dear sir, to have the fact of this resignation published as early as possible among the subordinate unions, but you can not adequately convey, however much it might be my desire, the heart pangs I feel at thus parting from old, true friends and pleasant associations. For years I have cherished the sterling principles underlying our proud and noble National structure of associated skilled labor as sacredly as I have my religious faith, and to part thus abruptly from tried and true craft associates causes a heart wound which an early return to the charmed circle alone can heal.

May you have the pleasure of meeting full delegations at the May session in Cleveland, and may God prosper all true craftsmen throughout the length and breadth of our land are the parting wishes of your obedient servant, etc.

Interesting Letter from New Orleans — Another interesting document contained in the minutes of this session was a letter received from the secretary of New Orleans Typographical Union. Although there is nothing in the minutes showing why this letter was written, the presumption is that Secretary-Treasurer Walsh had found some means of communicating with New Orleans and it is presumed that this letter was a reply to the communication ordered to be forwarded to unions of the south by the terms of the resolution passed at the New York session. The letter follows:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 6th ult., and to state, in reply, that after having submitted it

to the president, officers, and several members of our union, I was instructed to inform you that, owing to the present unhappy state of our national affairs, it is utterly impracticable, nay, impossible, to comply with the resolution referred to in your letter.

With a sincere desire and a fervent hope that better days may yet be vouchsafed to this unhappy land, I have the honor to be, etc.

Laws — No changes of consequence in the union's laws were attempted by the delegates to this convention. Aside from the routine work necessary, only one or two incidents appear in the minutes worthy of record. The services of "The Printer" as an organ for the publication of official reports, etc., was dispensed with, and it was ordered that each subordinate union should prepare, semi-annually, a list of its officers and members in good standing, together with those suspended or expelled, and the applicants rejected, and forward same to the secretary-treasurer and furnish each subordinate union with a copy.

Paper Trust — An incident unique in the early history of the organization was the passage of a resolution of protest against the action of the paper combination, so-called, of the country for raising the price of paper. That trust methods, so much complained of at the present time, were not unknown in this early period is shown by the resolution quoted herewith:

Resolved, That we, in common with others who have suffered the exorbitant and unjust rates to which the paper combination of the country has raised the price of that article, recognize for this unparalleled advance no proper cause and no just foundation, and that its results can not be other than ruinous.

Resolved, That we, as a National body, earnestly petition congress to remove from the importation of paper and the chemicals used in its manufacture the duty now charged and regulated by the laws of the United States.

Unique Communication — A communication, unique in the history of the union, a parallel to which will per-

haps never again appear in the minutes of the organization, is herewith reproduced:

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH OFFICE,
CLEVELAND, May 2, 1863.

Mr. J. A. Spencer.

Permit me to offer to the National Typographical convention, through you, the use of this company's lines for the transaction of the business of the convention and the family correspondence of the delegates during the session of the convention in this city. Respectfully yours,

G. W. VAN DUZER.

Organization Work — While no reports are available regarding activity in union affairs covering a large area of the country, it is evident that in those sections remote from the actual fighting zone organization work was carried on with vigor. Charters were issued in 1862 to Dayton, Ohio; Portland, Ore.; Quincy, Ill.; Springfield, Ill.; Cambridge, Mass., and the charter of Davenport, Iowa, reissued. At the opening of the Cleveland convention, sixty-one charters in all had been issued by the National Typographical Union.

Proprietor Membership in Portland (Ore.) Union — A communication from Albert M. Snyder, of Portland (Ore.) Union, reciting a difficulty between himself and that union, was presented to the convention in the shape of an appeal. The substance of the communication was as follows:

Mr. Snyder, who was editor and proprietor of the Portland Evening Commercial, was, at the organization of Portland Union, elected its president, but subsequently a question arose as to whether a proprietor could legally be a member of the union. A committee was appointed by Mr. Snyder, as president, to examine the constitution and report whether any such prohibitive clause existed therein. Of this committee, Mr. Bail, a printer from San Francisco, was chairman. After the committee had prepared

its report, Mr. Bail called a meeting of the union, which meeting was pronounced by Mr. Snyder as illegal, not having been called by the president of the union. At this meeting the report of the committee, which had decided that proprietors could not be members, was adopted. Mr. Snyder concluded his communication with the following paragraph:

"Bail and another printer by the name of Crowell, another San Francisco printer, combined their heads together, organized an association, ignored the old one and all former acts; elected new officers, president and all; appointed a committee to settle up the business of the old concern; took the old constitution, called it their own, and an organization under your charter. These they had in their possession and still hold. To all this I remonstrated, but to no use. They said I was in the minority and must yield."

Mr. Snyder still claimed to be president of Portland Union, and asked the convention to decide who was right in the matter. The committee on appeals, to which the communication was referred, reported to the convention that it was of the opinion that the parties holding the charter granted by the National Union had acted in accordance with the laws and were entitled to be recognized as the subordinate union existing in Portland, and the convention endorsed this opinion of its committee.

National Executive Committee, 1863.—The president appointed the national executive committee for the ensuing year, as follows:

M. H. Halpin, Indianapolis; William B. Eckert, Philadelphia; John Collins, Cincinnati; G. W. Quackenbush, Albany; Samuel Bradford, Columbus; Charles Bertrand, New York; G. M. Irwin, Pittsburgh; Nathaniel Griffin, St. Louis; A. Z. Reeves, Buffalo; A. S. Kierolf, Louisville; Frederick Young, Baltimore; James Cox, Boston; G. W. Osler, Harrisburg; William T. Kennedy, Rochester; Isaac D. George, Chicago; F. D. Ross, Detroit; John McComb, San Francisco; DeWitt C. Northrup, Milwaukee; William W. Bird, Madison; Charles H. Wright, Peoria; T. D. Eagal, Davenport; Edward A. Wilcox, Providence; G. W. Howland, Grand Rapids; A. W. Hamilton, Leavenworth; George N.

Parker, Sacramento; Henry B. Stiles, New Haven; H. W. Clendenin, Burlington; T. A. Stow, Cleveland; J. J. Walsh, Syracuse; William Harper, Stockton, Cal.; E. Lindsley, Dayton; R. D. Campbell, Springfield, Ill.; John L. Jones, Cambridge.

Officers, 1863 — Officers for the ensuing term were elected as follows: Eugene Vallette, Philadelphia, president; G. McK. Luken, St. Louis, first vice-president; J. A. Spencer, Cleveland, second vice-president; Thomas J. Walsh, New York, secretary-treasurer; William F. Moore, Detroit, corresponding secretary.

For the purpose, evidently, of placing the next convention as near to the jurisdictions of the southern unions as possible, the delegates, after a spirited contest, by a close vote selected Louisville, Ky., as the meeting place for 1864.

Convention at Louisville

[1864] — A very creditable gathering of delegates assembled at the twelfth convention, which opened in Louisville, Ky., Monday, May 2, 1864. In the absence of President Vallette, of Philadelphia, Vice-President Luken called the meeting to order.

Charters Issued and Reissued — A letter from the retiring president was received, briefly recounting the business transacted through his office during the year. It contained the information that charters had been issued to Utica, N. Y.; Toledo, Ohio; Lafayette, Ind.; Virginia City, Nev.; Oswego, N. Y.; Lockport, N. Y.; Keokuk, Iowa; Binghamton, N. Y.; Lancaster, Pa.; Trenton, N. J.; Hartford, Conn.; Lawrence, Kan.; Cairo, Ill., and Portland, Me. In addition to the above, charters were reissued to Memphis, Tenn., Troy, N. Y., and St. Joseph, Mo.

Official Organ — Reversing the action of the Cleveland convention in discontinuing "The Printer" as the official organ of the National Typographical Union, a resolution

was passed again recognizing that publication as the organ of the national body, and urging upon subordinate unions that every effort be made to give the paper liberal support. Mr. Greason, editor of "The Printer," was granted the privilege of the floor and spoke of the early inception of the paper and of its career as the organ of the printers of the United States. He gave some statistics showing the scanty fare upon which it had subsisted and suggested that from the intelligent class it represented it had been expected that its support would have been second to no respectable journal in the country. He stated that the subject matter of its columns did not, perhaps, come up to the expectations of a certain class of printers, but in very many instances these same printers, who heaped denunciations upon the devoted head of its publisher, were persons who seldom, if ever, contributed toward its support.

Interchange of Cards With Foreign Unions — The question of interchange of cards, or certificates of membership, between unions of the United States and those of Canada again occupied the time of the convention and it was ordered that the National Union recommend that all subordinate unions receive into membership persons presenting cards from typographical unions or societies in foreign countries whenever said unions would officially notify the secretary-treasurer of the National Union that they would receive cards from unions subordinate to the National Union in like manner.

Unique Letter from Portland (Ore.) Union — The corresponding secretary, William F. Moore, submitted an interesting report covering the business transacted through his office during the year. A paragraph concerning the welfare of Portland (Ore.) Union contains an excerpt from a letter from the secretary of that union. It is quoted herewith: "There is an apology due your

honorable body from this union, and perhaps something more than an apology, for our neglect in not sending a report previous to your last annual meeting. Since the organization of this union, we have been in a very unsettled condition, owing to the gold discovered in the eastern portion of this state and Washington Territory. Members have been continually leaving and we have had much difficulty in getting together a quorum, not from any lack of true union sentiment but owing entirely to the natural migratory propensities of journeymen printers generally and those on the coast particularly. We most sincerely beg of you to consider these facts and very humbly request absolution for this first neglect of duty. Publishers within this city have, without exception, complied with the regulations and scale of prices adopted by us, and printers throughout the state are governed by the action of this union."

Proofreaders — Delegate Clark, of St. Louis, offered the following preamble and resolutions concerning proofreaders and proposing to regulate their wages:

WHEREAS proofreading, an essential branch of the typographical art, having, in the growth in the publishing business, become of sufficient importance to justify the employment in many offices of one or more proofreaders, who are, or ought to be, practical printers, and

WHEREAS the neglect or omission of the National and subordinate typographical unions to recognize said class of printers and regulate their wages is resulting in evils which call for speedy correction, therefore

Be it resolved, That proofreaders, being printers, are justly entitled to the rights and privileges extended to their brethren employed in other branches of the craft.

Resolved, That all the subordinate unions within the jurisdiction of this body are recommended to include in their scales of prices the rate of compensation of proofreaders.

The committee to which the above resolutions were referred reported that it found considerable difference

of opinion and usage existing in various jurisdictions regarding the employment of proofreaders and recommended that any legislation on the subject that was necessary should be left to subordinate unions, believing that in doing so better results would be accomplished than by any action the National Typographical Union might take. This opinion was concurred in by the convention.

Associated Press Monopoly — Delegate Kierolf, Louisville, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the monopoly of the telegraphic dispatches, extended by resolution of the Associated Press of New York to certain newspapers of the country, is hurtful to the interests of the craft and acts as a direct infringement of the liberty of the press. We, therefore, appeal to the Associated Press to reconsider its action.

Uniform Constitution for Subordinate Unions — A special committee appointed for the purpose of drafting a uniform constitution for the use of all subordinate unions transmitted a document which met with the approval of the convention, and it was ordered that final consideration of same should be deferred until the next session of the National Union, for the purpose of allowing subordinate unions to instruct their delegates in relation thereto, it being understood that the membership, in voting upon the proposed uniform constitution, adopt or reject the principle involved.

Printing Proceedings of 1862 and 1863 — Several communications were received by the convention, and numerous complaints were made by the delegates, showing that much dissatisfaction existed because of the fact that the proceedings of the conventions of the National Union at New York in 1862 and in Cleveland in 1863 had not been published. The fact was brought out during a discussion of the matter that the secretary-treasurer had not published the proceedings because of a lack of funds.

EUGENE VALLETTE, PHILADELPHIA
President National Typographical Union
May 4, 1863 – May 2, 1864

It was ordered that the minutes of the two preceding conventions be abridged and published in connection with the full proceedings of the 1864 session, and that, in the event of a lack of funds in the treasury to print the delayed proceedings, the president was authorized to levy an assessment upon subordinate unions sufficient to cover the expense.

Chartering Stereotypers' Unions — A resolution presented on behalf of St. Louis Union called the attention of the National body to a desire on the part of stereotype workers to either join subordinate unions or to establish co-operative unions in order to regulate their scales of prices. The matter was disposed of by the adoption of a resolution that the National Union deem it inexpedient to charter co-operative unions, but recommending that subordinate unions admit stereotypers into their organizations in the usual manner on proper application.

Conditional Membership — The first attempt on the part of the National Union at practical organization work in country districts was the action of the Louisville convention in adopting a "conditional membership" card. While the real purpose for the promotion of the proposition is not disclosed by the minutes of the convention, it is apparent from the nature of the committee's report on the subject that the use of the country printer as a strikebreaker had impressed the union's membership with the importance of adopting some measure to arrest the practice. An elaborate system was outlined, embodying the creation of districts by states and sections of the country, and providing for the services of district canvassers.

Working Cards — The custom of issuing working cards and permits was inaugurated at the Louisville convention.

Delinquent Southern Unions — The financial report for the year showed that the unions of New Orleans, La.;

Elmira, N. Y.; Petersburg, Va.; Mobile, Ala.; Galveston, Tex.; St. Paul, Minn.; Montgomery, Ala.; Columbia, S. C.; Evansville, Ind.; Lecompton, Kan.; Jackson, Miss.; Savannah, Augusta and Atlanta, Ga.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Davenport, Iowa; Charleston, S. C., and Raleigh, N. C., had failed to report for two years or longer. In considering the delinquency of the above-named unions, it was ordered that all of the southern unions not having access to the National Union be exempted from the penalty of forfeiture of charter. The other unions enumerated were dropped.

National Executive Committee, 1864 — The president announced the national executive committee for the ensuing year, as follows:

E. W. Halford, Indianapolis; William B. Eckert, Philadelphia; E. F. Bigler, Cincinnati; G. W. Quackenbush, Albany; J. C. Coleman, Columbus, Ohio; Charles B. Smith, New York; T. W. Wright, Pittsburg; George Clark, St. Louis; Peter Baxter, Buffalo; John J. Roberts, Louisville; Charles Wilson, Memphis; W. L. Barton, Baltimore; John Gorman, Boston; G. W. Ostler, Harrisburg; Thomas Gliddon, Rochester; R. V. Shurly, Chicago; James H. Walker, Detroit; J. J. McDaniel, Nashville; David Norris, Eureka (San Francisco); J. J. Lambert, Dubuque; Joseph Endale, Milwaukee; L. O. Smith, Madison; E. M. Broughton, Peoria; Jabez Lord, Providence; L. D. Hatch, Grand Rapids; Thomas H. Hail, St. Joseph; L. W. Emery, Leavenworth; J. P. Olmstead, Sacramento; S. H. Harris, New Haven; O. G. Howland, Denver; W. E. Woodward, Burlington; Ben VanDeusen, Troy; J. A. Spencer, Cleveland; D. H. Berdine, Syracuse; W. W. Barnes, Stockton; E. Lindsley, Dayton; Tom J. Heirs, Quincy; W. S. Davis, Springfield; John L. Jones, Cambridge; Joseph Ball, Utica; F. J. Oblinger, Toledo; D. A. James, Lafayette; James W. Scott, Virginia, Nev.; George W. Blair, Oswego; L. M. Morton, Lockport; Thomas H. Westcott, Keokuk; John L. Burtis, Binghamton; William B. Strong, Lancaster; James Devine, Trenton; George L. Coburn, Hartford; C. A. Ferris, Lawrence, Kan.; H. M. Kutchin, Cairo; Daniel Hamblen, Portland, Me.

Officers, 1864 — A. M. Carver, Cincinnati, was elected president for the ensuing term, together with W. L. Fairchild, Philadelphia, first vice-president; Charles B. Smith, New York, second vice-president; William F. Moore, Detroit, secretary-treasurer; Malcolm G. Mason, St. Louis, corresponding secretary.

After passing various resolutions of thanks, the time of meeting was changed from the first Monday in May to the

first Monday in June and the convention adjourned to meet in Philadelphia the following year.

Convention at Philadelphia

[1865]—When the thirteenth convention of the National Typographical Union assembled under the liberty bell in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on Monday, June 5, 1865, it marked the most pretentious gathering of delegates in the history of the organization up to that time. Fifty-five delegates, representing thirty-seven subordinate unions, presented credentials at the opening of the first session. During the week additional delegates representing remote constituencies were seated. Twenty-two ex-delegates, members of Philadelphia Typographical Union, being duly certified by the officers, under section 2, article 11, of the constitution, were admitted as delegates to the convention, without the right to vote.

Officers, 1865—Election of officers was the first business under the rule. Robert E. Craig, of St. Louis, was elected president and William F. Moore, of Detroit, was re-elected secretary-treasurer, together with William Knollin, Boston, first vice-president; Hugh J. Durboro, Philadelphia, second vice-president; John C. Frary, Indianapolis, corresponding secretary.

The retiring president, A. M. Carver, submitted a brief but interesting report, dwelling particularly upon the "conditional membership" measure, adopted at the previous session in the hope of drawing country printers within the scope of union influence. He called attention to the fact that only five unions had applied for "conditional membership" certificates during the year. It was apparent that very few unions really understood the proposed system, and to a certain extent they seemed to look upon its workings as problematical. The cause in many instances arose from the fact that the extent of territory

embraced in the "districts" was too large. There was also a manifest hesitancy displayed by those unions having the largest number of members in a district to elect a "district canvasser," and other unions having less numbers held back for the larger and more prosperous jurisdictions to take the initiative steps. The delegates, however, were imbued with a fixed determination to make further effort in the direction of organizing country printers, and to this end the law was modified so that each subordinate union was expected to cover the territory immediately surrounding its jurisdiction, the "district" plan being done away with.

Charters Issued, Reissued and Surrendered — The secretary-treasurer reported having issued charters during the year to Terre Haute and Fort Wayne, Ind., and to Erie, Pa. The charter of Denver (Colo.) Union No. 49 was reissued on April 23, 1865, the secretary-treasurer reporting to the convention that Denver Union had encountered serious embarrassment during the year 1864, the building in which their meetings were held being swept away during a flood, carrying with it the charter, books, documents and everything, except the membership, which constituted a union. Cleveland Union surrendered its charter after a disastrous strike in that city. The secretary also reported that no word had reached him during the year from any of the southern unions mentioned in the Louisville report.

Canadian Unions — A proposition to extend the jurisdiction of the National Union to cover the several unions in Canada was received with favor and a resolution was passed directing the corresponding secretary to urge upon the existing societies of printers in Canada the expediency of sending delegates to and becoming members of the National Typographical Union; also requesting them to adopt the plan of issuing "conditional membership"

cards. Section 1, article 1, of the constitution was amended in such manner as to permit the National Union to extend its jurisdiction to cover the British provinces.

Eight-Hour Day — The first suggestion of an eight-hour workday appears in the form of a resolution offered at the Philadelphia convention, stipulating that on and after May 1, 1866, eight hours should constitute a day's work, and subordinate unions were requested to so amend their constitutions and scales of prices. Delegates were instructed to place before their respective local unions the eight-hour resolution and subordinate unions were requested to instruct their delegates as to the disposition of the matter by the next national convention.

Death of President Lincoln — Resolutions upon the death of President Lincoln were adopted, as follows:

WHEREAS in the hour of its triumph and its joy the nation has been called to mourn the violent death of its beloved chief magistrate, Abraham Lincoln; therefore,

Resolved, That in this national calamity we have lost an eminent representative of the people, whose life is an instructive and encouraging example to the workingmen of America.

Resolved, That we regard his foul and malicious murder as a traitorous and barbarous act, unparalleled in the calendar of crime, cowardly and treacherously perpetrated, and abhorrent to the feelings of every true and loyal citizen of the republic.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the bereaved family of the deceased, and would add our share of heartfelt grief to that of the sorrowing nation.

Resolved, That while we deplore and lament the loss to the nation and to the world of such a pure patriot and wise ruler as Abraham Lincoln, we rejoice that his constitutional successor is also a true representative of the people, a firm and consistent vindicator of his former position in the ranks of workingmen, and a fearless advocate of the rights of labor, which he has dignified and ennobled by his life of toil and sacrifice.

Columbia Typographical Society — A communication was received from Washington, D. C., inviting the Na-

tional Union to hold its next convention in that city. Much opposition to accepting the invitation developed among the delegates owing to the fact that the Columbia Typographical Society had refused to apply for a charter from the National Union. The invitation was not accepted.

Distinguished Visitors — Several distinguished visitors attended the sessions of the convention, among them being General Pritchard and Brigadier General Horatio Sickles, who addressed the delegates briefly.

First Fraternal Visitor — President Sylvis, of the National Iron Molders' Union, was also a visitor, being the first representative of a bona fide trade union to visit the National Union during a convention.

Boston's Per Capita Tax — Upon recommendation of the committee on returns, the per capita tax of Boston Union for the year 1864 was remitted, it being explained that Boston had been embarrassed by the treasurer of that union defaulting with its funds.

Unique Toasts — During the week, Philadelphia Typographical Union carried out an elaborate program of entertainment for the delegates, one feature of which was a banquet, an account of which appears as an appendix to the proceedings of the convention, and includes thirteen toasts and responses, unique among which are the following:

The Public Press—The bulwark of a free people, and the truest safeguard of constitutional liberty. Untrammeled, the friend of freedom; unrestrained, the foe of tyrants.

The Book Trade—The ballast of our bark. The step between mediocrity and power, leading us gently from the ordinary walks and callings of life to the higher and purer atmosphere and inspirations of the arts and sciences.

The Printing Office—The poor man's college. Its alumni are remembered with generous pride. Gutenberg, Caxton, Manutius, Robertson and Franklin in the past, and Cameron,

Colfax, Dix, Dufrees, Forney, Geary, Logan and others of the present age, have earned the plaudits of mankind, to whose advancement the labors of their lives have been earnestly and manfully dedicated.

The Ladies—The angels who guide us from the cradle to the grave. May we deserve their smiles, merit their caresses, and be followed always by their best and most blessed benedictions.

National Executive Committee, 1865—The executive committee for the ensuing year was appointed by the president, as follows:

J. C. Frary, Indianapolis; John M. Perry, Philadelphia; John Collins, Cincinnati; Franklin S. Burrell, Albany; B. F. Lincoln, Columbus; M. B. Pitts, New York; John D. Stewart, Pittsburgh; Theodore Nagel, St. Louis; Richard B. Lyon, Buffalo; Wallace D. Egbert, Louisville; B. N. Cutting, Memphis; John Cox, Baltimore; Alexander Troup, Boston; C. F. Coates, Harrisburg; G. S. C. Shellmine, Rochester; H. D. Adams, Chicago; William Buchanan, New Orleans; Mark H. Marsh, Detroit; W. A. Solomon, Nashville; David Norris, Eureka (San Francisco); J. J. Lambert, Dubuque; Joseph Endale, Milwaukee; L. O. Smith, Madison; E. M. Broughton, Peoria; Jabez Lord, Providence; L. D. Hatch, Grand Rapids; Thomas H. Hall, St. Joseph; H. A. Crowell, Leavenworth; W. J. Passett, Sacramento; W. H. Peckman, New Haven; O. G. Howland, Denver; W. E. Woodward, Burlington; Walter J. Donnelly, Troy; D. H. Berdine, Syracuse; W. W. Barnes, Stockton; E. Lindsley, Dayton; W. W. Prescott, Quincy; W. G. Kercheval, Springfield; Theodore G. Wadman, Cambridge; W. O. Vincent, Utica; C. E. Parrish, Toledo; Louis R. Thompson, Lafayette; C. M. S. Millard, Virginia City, Nev.; George W. Blair, Oswego; L. M. Morton, Lockport; Thomas H. Westcott, Keokuk; John L. Burtis, Binghamton; S. F. Shindle, Lancaster; John Briest, Trenton; G. Willis Williams, Hartford; C. A. Ferris, Lawrence, Kan.; H. N. Kutchin, Cairo; Daniel Hamlin, Portland, Me.; F. P. Spears, Terre Haute; L. R. Wentworth, Erie; Harvey Wells, Fort Wayne.

Chicago was selected as the meeting place for the convention of 1866.

Convention at Chicago

[1866]—The fourteenth convention of the National Union assembled in the rooms of the Stock Exchange, 55 Dearborn street, Chicago, Monday, June 4, 1866. Seventy-one delegates representing forty-four unions were in attendance, a number of the southern locals having again affiliated with the National body.

Officers, 1866—According to the custom prevailing at that time, the first business was the election of officers.

John H. Oberly, of Cairo, Ill., was elected president, and Alexander Troup, of Boston, succeeded to the office of secretary-treasurer. James Risk, of Mobile, was chosen first vice-president; J. T. Davis, jr., New York, second vice-president; M. J. Divine, Savannah, corresponding secretary.

President's Address — President Oberly, on assuming the responsibilities of his office, said:

I hope and have no doubt our session here will be harmonious and result in the good and benefit of our trade. We have assembled together, not for the purpose of organizing a conspiracy against any industrial interest of the country, but to protect ourselves in our just rights. Believing that labor has the right to determine its price, we insist upon the general recognition of the principle, and will legislate to that end. Our interests we recognize as identical with those of the employing classes, and all our acts will therefore look as much to their benefit as to our own.

I congratulate you, delegates, upon the prosperity of the union. Never before were we so strong as at present. Long ago a dark cloud (which I will not more particularly mention) appeared above the political horizon in the north, and another, dark and ominous, rose in the south. Gathering volume, they filled the sky with darkness, and their shadows fell upon the land, creating fear and strife, and blotting out the sunshine of prosperity which made it great and glorious. After a while they met, and a storm of war deluged the country with blood, and almost accomplished the destruction of the government. During the civil strife our organization suffered, too. In the south, one union after another absolved itself from allegiance to our constitution and seceded from the national organization. But when the sunshine of peace had dispelled the clouds of civil strife and rested upon the land, beautiful, like a smile on the face of woman, the southern unions returned. One after another the most of them knocked at the door of the National Union and expressed their willingness to submit to the conditions of our constitution. They were admitted. We imposed no conditions upon them. The door was open and the host stood on the threshold welcoming the returning prodigals. The good

A. M. CARVER, Cincinnati
President National Typographical Union
May 2, 1864 – June 6, 1865

effects of this wise policy are shown in the unity and enthusiasm manifested here today. We have delegates from many of the seceded unions present in this body, all of them more heartily devoted to the National Union than ever before. Our reconstruction is complete. United thus, never again to be sundered, let us hope, we will go on prospering and to prosper.

Ex-delegates — Under the provisions of the constitution, it was ordered that all ex-delegates desirous of participating in the proceedings of the convention leave their names with the recording secretary, with the proviso that they were in good standing in their respective unions.

President's Report — Charters — The retiring president submitted a report of the business transactions of his office during the year and referred feelingly to the fact that a number of unions located in some of the southern states that had severed their connection with the National body during the war had again affiliated and were represented in the convention by delegates.

The president also reported that a larger number of charters had been issued during the fiscal year than were ever granted before in a like period, showing a state of prosperity unprecedented in the history of the organization. Two of the charters had been issued to Canadian unions, under the authority granted by the previous convention. The complete list of charters issued follows: Wheeling, W. Va.; Kansas City, Mo.; Reading, Pa.; Wilmington, N. C.; Alexandria, Va.; Macon, Ga.; St. John, New Brunswick; Norfolk, Va.; Houston, Tex.; Hannibal, Mo.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; Richmond, Va.; Toronto, Canada. Charters were reissued to Omaha, Neb.; Columbia, S. C.; Augusta and Savannah, Ga., and Peoria, Ill.

Southern Unions — That the fourteenth convention at Chicago was instrumental in creating a spirit

of unity throughout the entire craft is manifest by the fact that the delegates at every opportunity throughout the sessions did not hesitate to emphasize that it was the desire of the National body again to embrace within its membership all of the old southern unions.

Secretary-Treasurer Moore, in his report, referred to the reconstruction of the southern unions in the following language, which is typical of the sentiment existing at the convention:

> Since our last annual meeting, also, the war, with all its dread realities, its strife and sectional differences, has closed. Peace has once more spread its balmy wings over our land. The feuds and animosities engendered through the four years' strife are fast giving way to amity and friendship in the reconstruction of the social relations which have heretofore existed between the members of our organization. North and south alike are once again imbued with the same spirit of unity. The typographical unions of the south, shattered, wrecked, and many of them almost blotted out of existence by the terrible havoc of war, through the encouragement of their more fortunate brethren of the north are gathering up the remaining fragments, and one after another taking their old positions in the ranks, while the right hand of fellowship is reached out across the bloody border in search of old-time associations and friendships. From amid the dying embers of this sectional strife of a few months since the almost unanimous expression of our southern brethren is, as they reach me from sunny Texas: "We desire to see our grand object attained, and that is, harmony and good feeling among printers, north and south."

A resolution was passed, upon a recommendation contained in the report of the committee on subordinate unions, that the per capita tax due from the southern unions for any period from 1861 to March, 1865, be remitted upon the request of any of said unions.

Conditional Membership — Referring to the "conditional membership" scheme, the secretary-treasurer reported that it was still somewhat in the background.

It did not, apparently, receive that consideration at the hands of the subordinate unions it deserved. Notwithstanding the important modifications made at the last convention permitting each union an opportunity to test the question within its own jurisdiction, the desired results had not been produced. That something was lacking to instill into the measure the vitality and usefulness which was expected from it was evident. It is apparent that the project failed because it was left to be carried out by "each member." The original scheme of financing "district canvassers" was a failure and it was strongly urged that a National fund be created to carry on the work of organization.

No Important Legislation — Very little legislation of a general character was enacted by the convention. The practice of allowing ex-delegates the right of a seat in conventions, with a voice, but without a vote, was amplified to exclude them from holding office.

Official Organ — The "Printers Circular," published at Philadelphia, Pa., by R. S. Menamin, was designated as the official organ of the craft, and recommended to subordinate unions for their use. No mention is made of the former official organ, "The Printer," and no reason given for making the change.

Original Names on Charters — A number of requests were received from subordinate unions, through their delegates, asking permission to erase from their charters the names of certain members. Philadelphia Union had taken such action in the case of one of its members. While the convention sustained the action in this instance, the chair ruled that the names on the charters should not be interfered with. The decision was not contested, and the delegates asking to erase names from charters withdrew their motions.

Charters and Membership — Ninety-one unions had

been chartered at the close of the fiscal year, according to the secretary's report, and the membership in good standing reported to the convention was 4,013.

National Executive Committee, 1866—The president appointed the national executive committee for the ensuing term, as follows:

W. F. Gilkison, Indianapolis; William Turner, Philadelphia; Jules J. Montagnier, Cincinnati; F. S. Burrell, Albany; Theodore S. Conklin, New York; T. A. Armstrong, Pittsburgh; H. J. Bockrath, St. Louis; R. B. Lyon, Buffalo; John King, Louisville; Charles Wilson, Memphis; A. H. Brooks, Boston; John M. Toe, Harrisburg; J. S. Thompson, Chicago; Gerard Stith, New Orleans; William F. Moore, Detroit; James J. McDaniel, Nashville; Arminius Kerns, Dubuque; Joseph Yewdale, Milwaukee; James Risk, Mobile; L. C. Swingle, Galveston; E. M. Broughton, Peoria; J. E. Elliott, Montgomery, Ala.; William H. Barbour, Providence; H. N. Emlyn, Columbia, S. C.; M. J. Divine, Savannah; W. S. Bittinger, St. Joseph; R. H. Boughton, Leavenworth; B. F. Huntly, Sacramento; G. W. Martin, Atlanta; F. P. Snyder, Burlington; O. B. Smith, Troy; Henry C. Thompson, Syracuse; T. J. Heirs, Quincy; N. B. Walker, Springfield; John Gorman, Cambridge; James Cooley, Utica; James A. Boyd, Toledo; L. R. Thompson, Lafayette; Edward Sheffield, Virginia City, Nev.; E. L. Chapin, Oswego; James M. Culver, Keokuk; Walter Keiffer, Lancaster; John Briest, Trenton; William Goodnough, Hartford; C. A. Ferris, Lawrence, Kan.; D. L. Barton, Cairo; Stewart A. Strout, Portland, Me.; George Whitman, Erie; I. W. Campbell, Fort Wayne; D. C. Hotchkiss, Wheeling; R. C. Gould, Kansas City; G. W. White, Alexandria; James H. Smith, Macon; John Mitchell, St. John, N. B.; H. C. Treakle, Norfolk; Will Lambert, Houston; John T. Vannerson, Richmond; Richard Coleman, Toronto.

The convention adjourned on the afternoon of the fifth day to meet in Memphis, Tenn., June 3, 1867.

Convention at Memphis

[1867]—When the fifteenth session of the National Typographical Union assembled in the rooms of the chamber of commerce at Memphis, Tenn., June 3, 1867, the delegates and visitors assembled were privileged to listen to an eloquent discourse by President John H. Oberly. Mr. Oberly so clearly defined the purposes of the trade union movement that a few paragraphs from his address are reproduced here:

You have assembled together for the purpose of legislating in the interests of the members of the trade to which you belong; and I think I only do justice to the motives that induced you to attend this session of the National Union when I assert

my belief that you have no other object in view than the laudable one of desiring to improve your own condition and that of your fellow workmen.

In pursuing this object, you must endeavor, first, to establish rules which will regulate the intercourse of members of the union with each other, and secondly, to harmonize the relations that must necessarily exist between those who buy and those who sell the labor which is employed in the printing office.

If there is among you a man who has given too much weight to the assertion, too often made, by either ignorant or designing men, that capital and labor are now engaged in a life and death struggle, in which one or the other must go down, I regret the fact, since no man who can not rise above the spirit of selfishness which teaches that our own aggrandizement is to be sought at the expense of the men to whom the labor we own is sold for wages ought to have a seat in this union. All our legislation should be based upon the broad principle that to be true to ourselves we must not be unjust to any one.

President's Report — After the conclusion of the opening ceremonies and the adoption of the report of the committee on credentials, the president presented his annual report. This document was more comprehensive than any paper of its kind ever submitted to a convention of the National Union during previous gatherings.

New Constitution, etc. — As preliminary to offering for consideration a new constitution for the National Union, a uniform constitution for subordinate unions and an act to create a National fund, the president said that his observation of the operations of the National Union had convinced him that it was not as perfect as it should be; that it failed to secure the objects for which it was instituted. He believed in the establishment of an organization from which all subordinate unions should derive their power and authority; in fact, the creation of a legislative body among the printers of North America the purpose of which should be to enact laws, defining, regulating and determining the usages and customs apper-

taining to the relations of members of the subordinate unions to each other while in the pursuance of their duties as printers and members of the typographical union; the inauguration of a tribunal having authority to decide all questions of difference between the members of a subordinate union and the union, and between subordinate unions.

Local Autonomy — President Oberly asserted that no person who had given any thought to the subject could claim that these objects had thus far been accomplished by the National Union. He pointed out that subordinate unions did not derive from the National Union all of their powers and authority. On the contrary, they permitted the National Union to exercise such functions of sovereignty as they pleased. The National Union as then constituted was not a legislature that could define customs which should obtain among union printers in their professional relations. As an appellant tribunal it did have some authority, but its decisions were not always treated with respect by subordinate unions.

Traveling Cards — The traveling card system was the only feature that in any great degree had a tendency to bind together union printers with the bonds of fraternal communion and friendly alliance. The president further asserted that the only business of importance which had been transacted by the National Union at its annual sessions was the decision of appeals from subordinate unions. In proof of this assertion, attention was directed to the proceedings of the Chicago session of 1866.

New Constitution — In order to remedy the defects in the National Union, four separate recommendations were made, as follows:

1. That a more perfect constitution be substituted for the constitution now in force.
2. That a constitution for subordinate unions be adopted.

3. That a law be enacted creating a National Union fund.
4. That a law be enacted establishing a newspaper organ for the Typographical Union.

In order to assist the convention in giving consideration to the above recommendations, President Oberly submitted an entire new constitution for the National Union, together with a proposed uniform constitution for subordinate unions and a proposition termed "An act creating a National Union fund."

The president's report, together with the documents submitted, after being duly referred and reported out of committee, were considered by the union in committee of the whole, with the result that the proposed new constitution, with a few minor amendments, was adopted by the convention.

Protest Against New Constitution — At the time the vote was announced, on the adoption of the new constitution, a protest was filed by the delegate from Savannah against the legality of the action. The point was raised that section 3, article x, of the old constitution provided that alterations or amendments could only be considered when proposed at one annual meeting and laid over until the next convention. This protest was endorsed by delegates from New Orleans, Atlanta, Cincinnati, Mobile, Quincy, Chicago, Lafayette and Philadelphia.

Uniform Constitution — National Fund — The proposed uniform constitution for subordinate unions, together with the proposition to create a National fund, received the approval of a substantial majority of the delegates and were referred to subordinate unions for ratification or rejection, with the understanding that the president, upon being notified that a majority of the local unions had ratified either or both of the propositions, should issue a proclamation declaring them in full force and effect.

For the purpose, apparently, of getting an expression of opinion from the entire membership regarding the propositions submitted, it was ordered that all subordinate unions failing to make report before a certain fixed date should be recorded in the affirmative. This action, it was thought, would arouse interest in the propositions and thus all affiliated locals would vote.

Among the important changes in the new constitution was the assumption of complete jurisdiction over all typographical unions by the National Union, with full power to control its own affairs, whether administrative, executive or financial, and reserve unto itself authority to decide all matters of general importance to the welfare of printers and to settle all questions of difference between subordinate unions and between members thereof.

Name Changed — The name of the organization was changed to "The National Typographical Union of North America."

Functions of Delegates — The new constitution clearly defined the functions of a delegate, among which was the right to appoint, with the advice and consent of the officers of the subordinate union to which he was attached, a member of that or any other union to represent him at the annual convention of the National Union, this representative to possess all the rights of a delegate except the right to hold office.

Elective Officers — The elective officers provided for by the new constitution were a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer, the office of second vice-president and corresponding secretary being dispensed with; and it was further provided that the election of officers be held on the last day of the session instead of the first day, and that any member, in good standing, of the National Union should be eligible to any office. [An inconsistency will be noticed in the provisions of the new

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

ROBERT E. CRAIG, St. Louis
President National Typographical Union
June 6, 1865 – June 4, 1866

constitution regarding eligibility of members to hold office. See preceding paragraph.]

Form of Charter — The form of charter was amplified to correspond with the added authority assumed by the National body over its subordinates and the per capita tax was increased to 5 cents per month on each member of the subordinate unions.

Columbia Union Receives Charter — In addition to covering in detail the business that had passed through his office during the fiscal year, the president reported that, through correspondence, Columbia Typographical Society of Washington, D. C., had applied for and received a charter from the National Union.

The report of the secretary-treasurer also was a very comprehensive document. The committee to which the report was referred complimented the secretary-treasurer on the thorough manner in which the business of his office had been conducted, but made a recommendation, which was adopted by the convention, that in future any suggestions regarding legislation offered by the secretary-treasurer should be communicated to the president and incorporated by the latter in his report.

Charters Issued and Reissued — Charters were issued during the year to Little Rock, Ark.; Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Allentown, Pa.; Helena, Mont.; Selma, Ala.; Montreal, Can.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Jackson, Mich.; Norwich, Conn., and Washington, D. C. The charter of Petersburg (Va.) Union was reissued on November 28, 1866.

Delegates Set Type — An incident of the convention was an announcement by the special committee, to which was referred the president's report and accompanying documents, to the effect that it was impossible to procure enough printers to set the type necessary in order that the report might appear in the minutes of the first day's proceedings, and, on motion, the convention adjourned to

allow the delegates to proceed to the different offices and set up the report.

Minor Legislation — Minor legislation by the convention included the remitting of per capita tax of several unions and the adoption of a resolution granting six months further time to certain delinquent unions. The president was instructed to open correspondence with foreign typographical unions with a view to the establishment of international regulations. A resolution favoring the eight-hour day was adopted.

Female Labor — In the matter of female labor, the convention decided that the National Union should not interfere, holding that the question was entirely of a local character and should be settled by subordinate unions.

Washington, D. C., was chosen as the city in which to hold the next convention.

Officers, 1867 — Under the terms of the new constitution, on the last day of the convention officers for the ensuing year were elected, as follows: President, John H. Oberly, Cairo, Ill., re-elected; vice-president, D. C. Morris, Memphis, re-elected, and secretary-treasurer, Alexander Troup, New York, re-elected.

National Executive Committee — Under the terms of the new constitution, the national executive committee was done away with, the functions of that committee having been turned over to the delegates, who were instructed to act in the same general capacity that previously had occupied the attention of the executive committee.

Convention at Washington

[1868] — The sixteenth convention of the National Union assembled in Washington, D. C., on the 1st day of June, 1868, under unusual conditions. The Memphis convention, having adopted the new constitution under which its sessions had been adjourned, the gath-

ering at Washington, by natural order of procedure, should have been called together under the provisions of the same constitution. It appears, however, that the protest filed at the Memphis convention by those delegates who believed that the vote by which the new constitution had been adopted was illegal had taken on such proportions after the adjournment of the convention that the officers of the National Union, fearing serious complications, and the possible disintegration of the National organization, refrained from carrying out the provisions of the new constitution, and by mutual consent it was agreed that the Washington convention should be called to order and proceed under the provisions of the old constitution. No objection was offered to this course.

The report of the committee on credentials showed delegates present at the opening session from sixty-four subordinate unions.

Rejecting New Constitution — After accepting the report of this committee and the appointment of convention officers, President Oberly submitted an exhaustive report covering all the many questions that had agitated the membership during the past year, chief among which was the new constitution and the proposed uniform constitution for subordinate unions and the act creating a National fund. President Oberly said, in part:

During the past official year the good and welfare of our organization have been seriously compromised by the controversy which grew out of the action of the last session of this union; and, to a great extent, the efforts of the officers of the national organization have been, by the still prevailing dissension, rendered almost null and void, in so far as they were directed toward securing harmony and creating a desire for united action among the members of the Typographical Union fraternity. But, in justice to myself and to Secretary Troup, I desire here to state that we both looked with regret at the strife and have endeavored with not indifferent success, I believe, to

resist all advice which counseled us not to withold our hands from the conflict. In this spirit of conciliation, I now approach the duty imposed upon me by the National Union—the duty of recommending to your consideration certain subjects which, in my opinion, relate to the good and welfare of this union and its subordinates.

How Can the Non-union Printers be Organized?—From data, reliable as any I can command, I am led to the belief that not half the journeymen printers in the United States and the Canadas are members of the union. This evil is becoming less formidable as time goes by, and I am confident that some plan may be devised by which the great majority of non-union printers within our jurisdiction may be induced to give faithful adherence to the union. I am the more confident in this belief since I have learned the important fact that during the two years of my presidency, in which the affairs of the office of secretary and treasurer were superintended with what I feel compelled to call remarkable energy and discretion by Mr. Troup, the number on the roll of our membership has been doubled, and we can now show a list of over 7,000 names. This work has, however, been done more imperfectly than it should have been, the officers of this union not having had the advice of the National body on the subject. Without suggesting a plan of organization, I, therefore, call this subject to your attention.

General Amnesty—While it is our duty to endeavor, in every possible honorable way, to secure to our organization the membership of men who have never belonged to it, but who have never worked under the scale, I believe we should, also, at all times endeavor to reclaim those printers who, in a moment of impulse or an hour when want compelled the surrender of their honor, have been unfaithful to their union obligations; and to this end I recommend the proclamation by this body of a general amnesty, to be granted upon such conditions as the union may deem necessary.

Strikes—During the past year printers' strikes have occurred in Detroit, Nashville, Galveston, Omaha, Selma and Brooklyn; and "difficulties" in New York, Memphis, Pittsburgh, and other places. All the strikes were disastrous; and all the "difficulties," except the one in Memphis, were, to the unions engaged in them, expensive luxuries. The failure of the strikes can be

traced to a lack of funds to sustain them. Brooklyn Union, for instance, while New York could give it money, sustained itself until it obtained funds from Albany and Montreal. Its appeal for aid to Philadelphia, its neighbor, resulted in a refusal, a law of that union requiring a unanimous vote to appropriate money which the friends of fellowship in the craft could not obtain. Eight weeks after the downfall of the Brooklyn union, Cincinnati and New Orleans answered the call for aid by sending money, which was refunded. Not another of the subordinates sent a cent. This "plain, unvarnished tale" proves to my mind conclusively that the establishment of a National fund is an absolute necessity; and the fact that Memphis Union secured success against a formidable combination, without money, does not weaken this conviction. Memphis Union made muscle answer all the purposes of money; but muscle is not as potent as legal-tender outside of the Bluff City.

The Legislation of the Last Session—At the Memphis session, 1867, a constitution for the subordinate unions and an act entitled "An act creating a National fund" were adopted. These instruments were to be of binding force on and after November 1st, 1867, in the event of a majority of the subordinates ratifying them before that date, it being expressly declared by this union that all those subordinates not returning their votes on or before the day named were to be counted as having ratified. On November 1, 1867, 105 unions held charters unrevoked by this body. Twenty-three of these returned votes, refusing to ratify, leaving seventy-two in favor of ratification. After the 1st of November other unions recorded their votes against the measure; but subordinates which refused to ratify, all told, numbered, so far as my information extends, only thirty-three. These statements being facts, it may be matter for surprise my determination not to make proclamation of the ratification of the measures, but to refer them to this session of the National Union for your consideration. This determination was arrived at in consequence of fear on my part that an attempt to enforce the measures would result in the disintegration of the Typographical Union organization; a fear created by the very emphatic language of protestation used by the unions which do not favor either a uniform constitution or a fund law. As these unions (among them Cincinnati, Philadelphia and New Orleans Unions) are strong and influential,

and were apparently anxious to enter the arena of controversy if their wishes were not complied with, and being unwilling to engage in the conflict to which invitation had been extended, I came to the determination that it was my duty to refer the cause of dissatisfaction in these subordinates to the calm consideration of this honorable body.

The entire matter of the new constitution, the proposed uniform constitution for subordinate unions, and the act creating a defense fund, were considered by the convention as in committee of the whole and were finally disposed of, so far as this convention was concerned, by the adoption of the following resolution, as amended:

Resolved, That the several instruments known as the constitution of the International Typographical Union of North America, and the uniform constitution for subordinate unions be considered as having been regularly offered at this session, and that the same be spread upon the minutes and lie over for action at the next annual session, in conformity with the provisions of existing laws.

Change of Name — The amendment covered the substitution of the word "International" in place of "National," so that the new instrument, if adopted, would be the "Constitution of the International Typographical Union of North America." The vote on the resolution was practically unanimous, seventy delegates being recorded in the affirmative and but three in the negative.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — The report of the secretary-treasurer dealt largely with the financial affairs of the organization and the efforts made to straighten out the affairs of delinquent unions.

Charters Issued, Reissued and Surrendered — Charters were issued during the year to Ottawa, Ont.; Newark, N. J.; New Albany, Ind.; Vicksburg, Miss.; Easton, Pa.; Hudson County, N. J.; Virginia City, Mont.; Newbern, N. C.; Newburgh, N. Y.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Scranton, Pa.; and Atchison, Kan. Charters were reissued to Cleveland,

Ohio, and Charleston, S. C. Omaha, Neb.; Selma, Ala., and Brooklyn, N. Y.. disbanded during the year.

Convict Labor — Eight Hours — Copyright Law — The action of the legislature of the state of New York in annulling an agreement giving printing contracts to state prisons, to be performed by convicts, was commended by the National Union, and a resolution demanding that eight hours should constitute a day's work in all government shops, navy yards, etc., received favorable consideration. The enactment of an international copyright law received attention at the hands of delegates, it being the prevailing opinion at the time that the passage of such a law would place the publishing business of the country in the control of a few houses, in so far as the works of foreign authors were concerned, and would be destructive of the larger interests engaged in the publication of those works in popular form and at prices that put them within the reach of the masses of the people.

High Cost of Living — Delegate A. T. Cavis, Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, appointed at the previous session to inquire into the causes of the high prices of the necessities of life, made the following report, which was adopted by the convention:

WASHINGTON, June 1, 1868.

To the National Typographical Union of North America.

At the fifteenth annual session of the National Typographical Union a resolution was adopted raising a committee to inquire into the causes of the high prices prevailing for all the necessaries of life, and the consequent unremunerative rates of wages, and asking the suggestion of a remedy therefor.

The undersigned, having been appointed said committee, respectfully reports:

At the time this subject was introduced it was thought the inquiry might not only very properly be instituted, but that its discussion could be conducted in such temper and manner as not to trench on party politics—a result most desirable if any

good to workingmen is to result or any impressive effect is designed upon the minds of the great producing classes of the country.

Closer scrutiny of the subject, however, has satisfied the undersigned that the time has not yet arrived for a full and free discussion of these matters, although the evils complained of, and everywhere existing, are still bearing with heavy hand upon every man whose daily toil supplies his daily wants.

To discharge this duty faithfully, in the judgment of the undersigned, the forms of the public debt, expanded national paper currency, taxation, direct and indirect, the banking system, and suspension of specie payments, collections of the revenues, appropriations for the public service, the land system—in short, the entire financial legislation of the country, must be brought under review.

That such a number of subjects can be discussed with hope of unity of thought and conclusion in a body like this is not to be expected, composed, as it is, of representatives from all parts of the country, and holding different opinions on all these topics.

As, therefore, no practical good can issue from the further consideration of the subject, the undersigned prefers to leave the order unexecuted, rather than, at this juncture in workingmen's affairs and national politics, risk the introduction into this body of matters on which some unity of opinion can not be secured, when so many subjects vital to each delegate and the unions here represented claim attention.

With these reasons for the non-performance of the duty, the undersigned respectfully asks to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject. Respectfully submitted,

A. T. Cavis.

Visit to United States Capitol—On the third day of the session a communication was received from Speaker Colfax of the house of representatives, enclosing a note from General Michler, custodian of the capitol building, stating that the dome of the capitol would be lighted up at 8:30 o'clock P. M., in honor of the delegates and visitors, and inviting the union as a body to visit and inspect the capitol. The invitation was accepted and a

JOHN H. OBERLY, Cairo, Ill.
President National Typographical Union
June 4, 1866 – June 1, 1868

recess was declared to permit delegates and their friends to inspect the building.

National Labor Union — Albert H. Brown, who had been chosen at the previous convention to represent the National Union at the session of the National Labor Union, held at Chicago in 1867, submitted a comprehensive report of the proceedings of that body, following which, in compliance with a written request from the National Labor Union, President McKechnie and former Secretary Troup were chosen to represent the National Typographical Union in said body at its next annual gathering.

Artemus Ward Memorial — At the previous session of the National Union a resolution had been adopted recommending that a popular subscription be raised through subordinate unions for the purpose of creating a fund to erect a monument in honor of the memory of Charles F. Browne (Artemus Ward). Approximately $1,000 was raised. It was ordered that the officers consult with the mother of Artemus Ward and with Horace Greeley, his executor, and report to the next convention some acceptable plan for the disposition of the fund.

Amnesty — A proposition to extend a general amnesty to all non-union printers, and the matter of organization work was left in the hands of the officers, with power to act.

National Executive Committee, 1868 — The president announced the national executive committee for the ensuing year, as follows:

William Bodenhamer, Indianapolis; John W. Wharton, Philadelphia; N. F. Vaughan, Cincinnati; Thomas Willard, Albany; William H. Paul, Columbus; John Vincent, New York; John Loughrey, Pittsburgh; David J. Hayden, St. Louis; W. H. Featherston, Buffalo; T. C. Tracie, Louisville; J. B. Synnott, Memphis; William H. Hitchcock, Baltimore; William O'Meara, Boston; John Ferguson, Harrisburg; Samuel E. Pinta, Chicago; William Brisbin, New Orleans; John McVicar, Detroit; J. J. McDaniel, Nashville; J. F. Brown, San Francisco; L. F. Bruner, Dubuque; Joseph Hollman, Milwaukee; T. E. Owens, Petersburg; James F. Risk, Mobile; John H. Stoner, Galveston; T. P. Snyder,

Peoria; M. T. Lamar, Montgomery, Ala.; E. A. Willcox, Providence; James T. Wells, Columbia, S. C.; H. M. Fairchild, Evansville; J. McGill, Jackson, Miss.; Thomas P. Vale, Savannah; J. N. Davis, Grand Rapids; H. C. Patchen, St. Joseph; L. P. Ashby, Augusta; J. D. Parry, Charleston, S. C.; J. W. Dickinson, Leavenworth; G. N. Parker, Sacramento; Samuel H. Harris, New Haven; T. C. Wilkinson, Atlanta; H. M. Hullett, Denver; A. Coburn, Burlington; Ezra Stillman, Troy; J. J. Smith, Cleveland; J. C. Marcom, Raleigh; Lewis H. Edgar, Syracuse; S. J. Rigler, Dayton; R. S. Russell, Quincy; William Cochran, Springfield; Edmund Miles, Cambridge; A. S. Clover, Utica; Charles Coughling, Toledo; Harry C. Smith, Lafayette; S. C. Leonard, Washoe, Nev.; George W. Blair, Oswego; G. P. Penfold, Lockport; F. Kemper, Lancaster; Charles B. Yard, Trenton; Robert Quinn, Hartford; S. H. Dodge, Lawrence, Kan.; William Morrin, Cairo; C. H. Ford, Portland, Me.; John M. Glazier, Erie; J. W. Campbell, Fort Wayne; William F. Hamilton, Wheeling; W. Lea, Kansas City; Louis E. Hough, Alexandria; Charles Pritchard, Macon; W. A. Edwards, Norfolk; James W. Golledge, Houston; J. J. Garver, Hannibal; John T. Vannerson, Richmond; Joseph Benson, Toronto; W. B. Calhoun, Little Rock; J. S. Schepmoes, Poughkeepsie; Carl B. Zander, Allentown; J. H. Morrison, Helena, Mont.; P. A. Crossby, Montreal; James S. DeLand, Jackson, Mich.; Amos B. Cranston, Norwich; John S. Judd, Washington, D. C.; C. W. Mitchell, Ottawa; Samuel Toombes, Newark; G. H. Knapp, New Albany; George W. Rodgers, Vicksburg; T. B. Strickland, Easton; William Davison, Hudson County, N. J.; D. S. Stanley, Virginia City, Nev.; G. E. Allen, Newbern, N. C.; William McIntire, Newburgh, N. Y.; J. W. Mills, Knoxville, Tenn.; Robert Holmes, Scranton.

Officers, 1868 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: Robert McKechnie, New York, president; Gerard Stith, New Orleans, first vice-president; George W. McDonald, Chicago, second vice-president; John Collins, Cincinnati, secretary-treasurer; William Turner, Philadelphia, corresponding secretary.

Albany, N. Y., was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1869.

Convention at Albany

[1869] — *Passing of the National Typographical Union — New Constitution* — The convention of 1869, held at Albany, N. Y., marked the passing of the National Typographical Union. This convention adopted the new constitution offered by former President Oberly, although the instrument as finally accepted was modified in many respects in order to comply with the sentiment prevailing at that time, which permitted subordinate unions to enjoy, practically, local autonomy.

Women's Unions — The new constitution provided that female printers might be granted charters in any city where the application was approved by the subordinate union of male members. It was provided, however, that female organizations should be subject to the same restrictions in regard to scales of prices as male unions established within the jurisdiction of their organizations, and it was also provided that women be permitted to join any subordinate union in places where female unions did not and could not exist from local and definite causes.

Proxy Delegates — By the terms of the new constitution, proxy delegates were no longer recognized. The custom of permitting ex-delegates, who, under the law, were designated as permanent members, the right to a seat in conventions was continued, it being provided, however, that ex-delegates should not be allowed to vote, or make a motion, or be elected to office.

The practice of selecting officers at the first session of the convention was also continued in spite of a vigorous effort to postpone the election until the last day of the week.

Representation — The new constitution also changed the law regulating representation in the National body, it being provided that unions having 100 members or less should be entitled to one delegate; more than 100 and less than 500 members, two delegates; more than 500 and less than 1,000, three delegates; 1,000 or any greater number of members, four delegates, each delegate being entitled to one vote.

Per Capita Tax — An effort to increase the per capita tax from 25 cents a year to 50 cents was defeated.

Birth of International Typographical Union — The by-laws of the National Typographical Union were accepted practically without change, and the new constitution and by-laws of the International Typographical

Union were adopted by a vote of 69 ayes, 16 noes, and thus, on Friday, June 11, 1869, the National Typographical Union passed out of existence, and the present organization, the International Typographical Union of North America, had its birth. One hundred and twenty unions, in all, had been chartered by the old organization and the membership in good standing, according to the secretary's report, was 7,563.

President's Report — The report of Robert McKechnie, the last president of the old organization, was a brief document. Numerous strikes occurred during the year, six of which were reported to the National president. Several subordinate unions, however, did not give official notice to the National officers of difficulties in their jurisdictions. In one or two instances the strikes were successful, but as a rule these ventures proved disastrous through lack of funds and the absence of any authority on the part of the National organization to interfere before the trouble started.

Charters Surrendered — The president reported that two unions had dissolved during the year—Knoxville No. 111, and Virginia City No. 108.

General Amnesty — Reporting on the general amnesty proposition, which was referred to the officers by the previous convention, with full power to act. President McKechnie transmitted a copy of a letter sent out to subordinate unions in which amnesty was granted to all printers, whether expelled, suspended or otherwise punished for faults committed, setting apart a period of three months—September, October and November, 1868—in which applications would be received and accepted by all subordinate unions. Apparently only a few of the subordinate unions gave serious attention to the president's proclamation of amnesty, as but 176 applications were received and acted upon throughout the entire

jurisdiction, 170 of these applications being made in the city of New York.

National Fund, etc. — The proposition to adopt a uniform constitution for subordinate unions and the act to create a national fund were apparently lost sight of in this convention, although these matters may have been discussed in committee of the whole.

Springfield (Ill.) Union Disrupted — In reviewing the condition of various subordinate unions, the president referred to an unfortunate schism that had occurred in the Springfield (Ill.) Union in which two parties claimed to be the union. It seemed that the system of sub-contracting for state printing led to the work being contracted for at a less sum than the scale, and by members of the union, among whom was the president of the organization. At the regular meeting held November 28, 1868, these members were expelled. On the other side it was claimed that sub-contracting had been carried on in Springfield for some years; that members had the right to do so at any rate they chose, provided they paid the union scale, and that the crime—if any attached to it—could be justified by the purest motives, as the object in taking the contract was simply to keep up the wages of the compositors, a demand having been made by the proprietors of the State Register on the foreman (one of the contractors) for a reduction. The parties expelled from the union on the 28th of November, having possession of the seal and charter, held a meeting and expelled those who expelled them; consequently there were two unions, or rather no union at all, in Springfield. Frank Hudson, jr., was president of the party that expelled the sub-contractors, and James M. Higgins of the other. The National president was appealed to by both for official recognition as the bona fide union; but as a recognition of either would only have resulted in an appeal to the

National Union by the other, and as a great deal of bitterness had been engendered, it was deemed best to refer the whole matter to the convention.

The committee to which this case was referred, after investigation, submitted the following report, which was concurred in by the union:

The committee believe that inasmuch as the parties were expelled without a fair trial, the charges having been made, considered, and sentence passed at the same meeting, the expulsion was not legal. Subordinate unions should be careful how they hastily brand their members with a stigma that may be difficult to remove. The practice of evading the law by taking contracts, and other subterfuges, by which men work for less than the scale of prices, is deemed reprehensible, and the parties thereto are censurable for their conduct in being identified with such a transaction. The first party, who had expelled these men, subsequently resorted to the same means which they had denounced, to undermine and defeat their opponents, by offering to take the same work at twenty-eight cents, two cents less than was received by those whom they had denounced. But to detail the case would make this report interminable. Suffice it to say that much principle and much interest was sacrificed in the war of these factions, all of which might have been avoided by a little conciliation, and the regulation of the scale to suit the locality.

The committee recommend that all the parties who have been denounced by the respective bodies claiming jurisdiction be restored to their former honorable standing, because the action by which they were severally branded was totally invalid. The committee would also recommend that the printers of Springfield be requested to cast aside their differences, unite with a patriotic desire to benefit themselves and the craft generally, and go harmoniously to work under the charter originally granted them.

The union which Mr. James Higgins claims to represent, being in possession of the charter, and in other respects legally organized, your committee recommend that he be admitted as the delegate from Springfield Union No. 60.

Unsatisfactory Conditions in Boston — Passing from the Springfield case, the president called attention to the

unsatisfactory conditions existing in Boston, which had been referred to at the previous convention. A committee appointed by the convention to investigate conditions in the eastern states, reported: "There is no such thing as awakening them to a sense of their duty. The animosity existing among the members of the union against those who so disgracefully forsook them four years ago is but little abated, and nothing but the most superhuman efforts on the part of outsiders will bring about good feeling in Boston again." It was suggested that the holding of the next convention of the National Union in Boston would have a beneficial effect in bringing about a better state of affairs. It was reported that Cambridge Union had again raised itself to its former high standard and that there were only five non-union printers in the city at that time. The union had obtained an increase in wages and prospects were good for a long career of prosperity. This state of affairs, it was reported, had been chiefly brought about by a spirit of leniency toward the erring members and of moderation in the demands of the union.

Negro Members — The question of admitting negroes as members of the International Union was brought before the convention by the delegates from Washington, D. C., by the introduction of the following resolution:

WHEREAS printers, as other workmen, should be engaged solely on account of competency, and not for the individual views, religious or political, they may entertain; therefore, be it

Resolved (as an expression of the sentiments of the National Union on the subject), That the conductor of any printing house, be it governmental or individual, who makes religious or political sentiment a test of fitness for employment, is deserving of censure, and his course in that regard should meet the united opposition of the craft.

Further resolved, That the wanton attempt of the congressional printer to force upon Columbia Typographical Union

No. 101 L. H. Douglas, an avowed rat, meets our unqualified condemnation, and that we deem it the duty of Columbia Union to resist the attempted outrage, and shall firmly sustain them in so doing.

While nothing in the resolution refers to the admission of negroes, it was a well-known fact that L. H. Douglas was a negro. After a spirited discussion and several roll call votes on proposed amendments, the resolutions were passed by a vote of 48 to 37. As a matter of record, however, Douglas was admitted to membership by Washington Union at a later period.

National Executive Committee, 1869 — The president appointed the following national executive committee:

M. H. Halpin, Indianapolis; James Beatty, Philadelphia; E. F. Bigler, Cincinnati; George W. Quackenbush, Albany; Will Eaton, Columbus; Charles H. McPherson, New York; George W. Greene, Pittsburgh; Joseph N. Barker, St. Louis; R. B. Lyon, Buffalo; John King, Louisville; Henry Moode, Memphis; Michael H. Doyle, Baltimore; Charles A. Young, Boston; George W. Osler, Harrisburg; John C. Shea, Chicago; H. H. Cowles, New Orleans; Albert H. Rayner, Detroit; John Plaxton, Nashville; J. F. Brown, San Francisco; John F. Eagan, Dubuque; John McCulloch, Milwaukee; T. E. Owens, Petersburg; James F. Risk, Mobile; John H. Stoner, Galveston; T. P. Snyder, Peoria; Frank L. Smith, Montgomery, Ala.; E. A. Wilcox, Providence; A. C. Morgan, Columbia, S. C.; A. L. Worden, Evansville; Charles Winkley, Jackson, Miss.; Thomas P. Vale, Savannah; J. N. Davis, Grand Rapids; J. P. Caylor, St. Joseph; L. P. Ashby, Augusta; Thomas J. Webb, Charleston, S. C.; A. R. Johnson, Leavenworth; G. N. Parker, Sacramento; Walter C. Wells, New Haven; T. C. Wilkinson, Atlanta; H. M. Hallett, Denver; A. Coburn, Burlington; Henry Stowell, Troy; Thomas A. Stone, Cleveland; J. C. Marcom, Raleigh; H. A. Hawes, Syracuse; S. J. Rigler, Dayton; E. M. Broughton, Quincy; Frank Hudson, jr., Springfield, Ill.; J. C. Brown, Cambridge; B. R. Ketcheson, Utica; Charles M. Berry, Toledo; Harry C. Smith, Lafayette; S. C. Leonard, Washoe, Nev.; Hiram P. Warner, Oswego; G. P. Penfold, Lockport; F. Kemper, Lancaster; Matthew S. Austin, Trenton; George N. Deway, Hartford; S. H. Dodge, Lawrence, Kan.; John H. Oberly, Cairo; C. H. Ford, Portland, Me.; James Hendricks, Erie; J. W. Campbell, Fort Wayne; William F. Hamilton, Wheeling; Royal C. Gould, Kansas City; G. T. Whittington, Alexandria; Charles Pritchard, Macon; W. A. Edwards, Norfolk; James W. Golledge, Houston; J. J. Garver, Hannibal; J. B. Renauld, Richmond; Edward Ward, Toronto; W. B. Calhoun, Little Rock; J. S. Schepmoes, Poughkeepsie; T. H. Diehl, Allentown; J. H. Morrison, Helena, Mont.; William Wilson, Montreal; James S. DeLand, Jackson, Mich.; William H. Hovey, Norwich; J. T. Halleck, Washington, D. C.; C. W. Mitchell, Ottawa; James O. Smith, Newark; G. H. Knapp, New Albany; George W. Rodgers, Vicksburg; T. B. Strickland, Easton; M. Russell, Hudson County, N. J.; D. S. Stanley, Virginia City, Nev.; G. E. Allen, Newbern, N. C.; William McIntire, Newburgh, N. Y.; J. Martin, Knoxville, Tenn.; Frank Orchard, Scranton; J. H. Van Keuren, Springfield, Mass.

ROBERT McKECHNIE, New York
President National Typographical Union
June 1, 1868 – June 8, 1869

Officers, 1869 — Isaac D. George, Nashville, Tenn., was elected first president of the International Typographical Union. Other officers chosen at the same time were P. A. Crossby, Montreal, first vice-president; W. R. Goodnough, Hartford, second vice-president; John Collins, Cincinnati, secretary-treasurer; W. A. Shields, Philadelphia, corresponding secretary.

At the close of the evening session on the fifth day the convention adjourned to meet in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the first Monday in June, 1870.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

International Typographical
Union

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

MISS AUGUSTA LEWIS, New York
(Mrs. Alexander Troup, New Haven, Conn.)
Corresponding Secretary International Typographical Union
June 6, 1870 – June 5, 1871

Conventions of the International Typographical Union from 1870 to 1888

(INCLUSIVE)

THIS chapter will include the conventions held at Cincinnati, 1870; Baltimore, 1871; Richmond, 1872; Montreal, 1873; St. Louis, 1874; Boston, 1875; Philadelphia, 1876; Louisville, 1877; Detroit, 1878; Washington, 1879; Chicago, 1880; Toronto, 1881; St. Louis, 1882; Cincinnati, 1883; New Orleans, 1884; New York, 1885; Pittsburgh, 1886; Buffalo, 1887, and Kansas City, 1888, covering the administrations of Presidents Isaac D. George, W. J. Hammond, W. R. McLean, William H. Bodwell, Walter W. Bell, John McVicar, D. R. Streeter, John Armstrong, Samuel Haldeman, William P. Atkinson, George Clark, M. L. Crawford, M. R. H. Witter and William Aimison.

This period covers the early history of the International Typographical Union, when its policies and practices were similar in nearly every respect to the policies and practices of the National Typographical Union.

The convention in Kansas City in 1888, through the plan of reorganization carried out by that body, marked the beginning of the end of the policy of almost absolute local autonomy and the commencement of the work of building up a strong, centralized union government.

Convention at Cincinnati

[1870] — *Cincinnati First Meeting Place* — On June 6, 1870, eighteen years, one month and a day after the National Typographical Union was organized in Cincinnati, the union opened its first session as an International body

in the same city. For the purposes of this history, and in order to maintain the sequence of the many conventions, this first convention of the International Typographical Union will be designated as the eighteenth session, it having followed the seventeenth session of the old organization.

Delegates representing fifty-nine unions, including Women's Typographical Union No. 1 of New York city, were present at the opening session.

Officers, 1870 — First Woman Elected to Office — After receiving the report of the committee on credentials, the delegates proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year. William J. Hammond of New Orleans was elected president; Thomas Willard, Albany, N. Y., first vice-president; John H. O'Donnell, Boston, second vice-president; John Collins, Cincinnati, secretary-treasurer, and Miss Augusta Lewis, New York, corresponding secretary. Miss Lewis was the first woman ever honored by election to an International office.

General Prosperity — Charters — The fiscal year, 1869-1870, apparently, was one of general prosperity to the craft. Charters were reissued to Rochester No. 15; St. Paul No. 30; Stockton, Cal., No. 56; Wilmington, Del., No. 82, and Knoxville, Tenn., No. 111, and 21 new unions were organized, increasing the membership to a total of 9,425.

Government Printing Office — President George, in his address, speaking of prevailing conditions in the government printing office at Washington, said that information had come to him from many honorable sources that the conduct of the government printing office was not only an outrage upon every journeyman printer in the land but a disgrace to the American people. No printer, however accomplished as a craftsman, could hold a situation in the nation's printing office if his political

views did not accord with those of the congressional printer. Many who were born within sight of the national capitol, some of whom had assisted to put in type the messages to congress of every president from General Jackson to the then honored chief magistrate, had been discharged to make room for men recommended by members of congress, many of whom were utterly incompetent as printers, their only qualification consisting in their support, as publishers of country newspapers, of the congressmen by whose recommendation they obtained the situations. The convention was strongly urged to take some action, it being held that if the congressional printer persisted in making a printer's political faith the test of his qualification for employment in the office under his control, a petition for his removal should be sent to congress signed by every workingman in the United States.

In concluding, President George said that if the question were properly represented to the vice-president of the nation, Schuyler Colfax, whose fingers were not unfamiliar with the touch of the stick and rule, his influence might be enlisted to abolish the abuse complained of.

Business in the South — Business in the south and southwest was gradually recovering from the depression consequent upon the war. Trade in all sections of the country was good, except on the Pacific coast. In the latter section each union had reduced its scale of prices, consequent upon the large influx of printers made possible by the completion of the first transcontinental railroad. San Francisco Union passed a resolution authorizing its members to accept work wherever they could find it, in fair or unfair offices, provided they received the established price. This condition of affairs was not confined to San Francisco, but extended to other jurisdictions throughout the state.

Strikes — Strikes occurred during the year in Toledo, Ohio; Leavenworth, Kan.; Pittsburgh, Evansville, Cincinnati; Kansas City, and St. Joseph, Mo., all of which were unsuccessful.

Organizing Canada — Peter A. Crossby, of Montreal, Quebec, first vice-president, submitted an interesting report, outlining in detail the work accomplished by him in the Canadian provinces. Through his efforts Ottawa Union was reorganized and charters were issued to Hamilton and London, Ont., and Halifax, Nova Scotia. The jurisdiction of the International Union was thus established in each province of the new dominion by four unions in Ontario, one in Quebec, one in New Brunswick and one in Nova Scotia.

Negro Members — In the annual report of the president considerable space was devoted to the question of admitting negro members into the union. The matter was referred to a special committee. This committee later submitted a report to the effect that it was a subject of sincere regret that the negro question was ever introduced into the International Union, it being the committee's belief that it would be assuming an arbitrary power for the International Union to legislate as to the color of printers seeking admission as members of subordinate unions. It was, therefore, decided that the question of admitting or rejecting negro printers be left entirely to the discretion of subordinate unions.

Home for Disabled Printers — A delegate representing Leavenworth Typographical Union, on behalf of his organization, submitted the following proposition:

Resolved, That our representative to the National Union be, and he is hereby, instructed to present to that body a plan for the establishment of a Home for disabled printers, and urge the adoption of some action having that object in view.

In accordance with the above resolution, which was unanimously adopted, the undersigned begs leave to submit to your

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

ISAAC D. GEORGE, Nashville
President International Typographical Union
June 8, 1869 – June 6, 1870

honorable body the following, and prays that action may be taken thereon at the present session of the International Union:

That a tax of two dollars be levied on each printer within the jurisdiction of the National Union, to raise a fund for the purpose of establishing a home for disabled printers; the money to be expended in the purchase of from three to six hundred acres of land, and the erection thereon of a suitable building or buildings, the money so raised to be placed in the hands of five trustees (responsible practical printers) until a sufficient amount accumulates to accomplish the purpose designated. The Home to be located as near as practicable in a central portion of the United States.

It is suggested that the Home should be established in the name of the National Union, and carried on by a board of trustees under the direction and control of that body, the object being to have a comfortable place to which worn-out printers could retire and spend the evening of their days instead of sending them to the county poor houses, and finally filling paupers' graves, as too frequently occurs.

This plan contemplates the employment of a resident physician, the establishment of a library, and the employment of those able to work in healthful agricultural and horticultural labor.

It is also suggested that the secretaries of the local unions be authorized, as financial agents, to collect the tax of two dollars from each member of their subordinate union, the amounts to be transmitted quarterly to the chairman of the board of trustees.

The proposition was referred to a special committee for investigation. The committee reported that the plan offered was impracticable at that time, and the convention concurred in this opinion.

Postal Abuses — A question that has been the cause of considerable agitation in recent years—the law authorizing a return request to be printed on envelopes, and ordering postmasters to return the same to the writers free of postage, developing an abuse by the postoffice department in assuming to do that printing or to have it done—is found to have been the subject of considerable interest

to the delegates in 1870. The matter came before the convention through a communication received from a committee representing the envelope manufacturers. The union at that time took a strong position in condemning the abuse complained of, and the convention protested to the committee on postal appropriations in congress against the further use of public moneys for such purposes.

Bids for Printing — The secretary-treasurer, in submitting his annual report, complained against the practice of asking for bids on work done for the union, and the finance committee in making its report to the convention recommended, and the delegates concurred in, the adoption of a resolution to the effect that inasmuch as the policy of inviting proposals for work done for the union was not in accordance with the principles of the organization, all resolutions on the books of the union tending to such a practice be repealed and that the matter be left to the discretion of the secretary-treasurer.

Apprentices — The apprentice system, or rather the lack of system governing apprentices, was a fruitful subject of debate, the question being finally disposed of by a recommendation to subordinate unions to endeavor to introduce a regular system of apprenticeship.

Divided Jurisdiction — An elaborate proposition, suggesting that the international jurisdiction be divided into several districts, was introduced, spread upon the minutes, and laid over for consideration by the delegates to the next convention.

Susan B. Anthony — The delegates to the National Labor Union submitted an interesting report, transmitting a platform adopted by that body in which there was incorporated many of the political questions that have engaged the attention of the country in recent years. One feature of the National Labor Union convention was an application by Susan B. Anthony for admission as a delegate

to that gathering from the New York Working Women's Association. Her right to a seat was promptly challenged on the ground that she was an enemy, not only to the working men, but to the working women of New York. This statement was supported by the evidence of Miss Augusta Lewis, of Women's Typographical Union No. 1. Notwithstanding, she was admitted to a seat and her credentials received. The following day, however, a delegate from New York Typographical Union demanded the return of his credentials if Miss Anthony were permitted to remain. This demand, backed by a large number of trade unionists, procured a reconsideration of the vote by which she was admitted and her ultimate rejection by a vote of 63 to 28.

Pressmen — A resolution was adopted urging subordinate unions to consider the expediency of bringing into their organizations all pressmen working within their jurisdiction, and a special committee was appointed to urge the printers in Houston and Galveston, Tex., to reorganize.

National Executive Committee, 1870 — The president appointed the national executive committee for the ensuing year, as follows:

E. H. Perkins, Indianapolis; Eugene Vallette, Philadelphia; William A. Beasley, Cincinnati; Cornelius Halloran, Albany; Thomas Flood, Columbus, Ohio; Hugh F. Dalton, New York; T. A. Armstrong, Pittsburgh; George Clark, St. Louis; G. McK. Gatchell, Buffalo; George Beatty, Louisville; H. J. McGrann, Memphis; James A. Rodgers, Baltimore; George W. Bigelow, Boston; Harry Slep, Harrisburg; A. B. McCutcheon, Chicago; T. F. Hedges, New Orleans; T. J. Finn, Detroit; William Dowling, Elmira; George M. Anthony, Nashville; Frank Smith, San Francisco; E. M. Newcomb, Dubuque; Fred Treyser, Milwaukee; T. E. Owens, Petersburg; R. E. Jones, Mobile; John H. Stoner, Galveston; T. P. Snyder, Peoria; John E. Ingles, St. Paul; A. P. Prince, Montgomery; John McDonald, Davenport; Henry B. Ladd, Providence; James H. Diseke, Columbia, S. C.; John McGill, Jackson, Miss.; E. O. Withington, Savannah; Jacob A. Smith, Grand Rapids; H. C. Patchen, St. Joseph; John M. Weigle, Augusta; T. C. Neville, Charleston; John C. Ketcheson, Leavenworth; George H. Kelly, Sacramento; John P. Tyrrell, New Haven; William H. Pittman, Atlanta; H. M. Hallett, Denver; W. C. Woodward, Burlington; Thomas Wolf, Omaha; C. C. Gillies, Troy; A. A. Pomeroy, Cleveland; J. H. Alford, Raleigh; William R. Briggs, Syracuse; William Bidlack, Dayton; E. M. Broughton, Quincy; Lafayette Fisher, Springfield, Ill.; George S. Ev-

ans, Cambridge; George Bevan, Utica; Cyrus S. Dresser, Lafayette; John Booth, Washoe, Nev.; S. D. Pierce, Oswego; G. P. Penfold, Lockport; Fred Kemper, Lancaster; Charles C. Yard, Trenton; Edwin Hutchins, Hartford; E. P. Harris, Lawrence, Kan.; John H. Oberly, Cairo; A. M. Kimball, Portland, Me.; Martin Milligan, Erie; Eugene B. Smith, Fort Wayne; James Flanagan, Wheeling; Isaac P. Moore, Kansas City; G. T. Whittington, Alexandria; S. DeF. Lines, Macon; G. A. Richardson, Hannibal; J. H. Campbell, Richmond; J. S. Williams, Toronto; W. B. Calhoun, Little Rock; C. B. Zander, Allentown; J. H. Morrison, Helena; Pierre Griffard, Montreal; James S. DeLand, Jackson, Mich.; William H. Hovey, Norwich; G. A. R. McNeir, Columbia; C. W. Mitchell, Ottawa; John T. Hastings, Newark; George W. Smith, New Albany; William Groome, Vicksburg; T. B. Strickland, Easton; William T. McCarthy, Hudson County, N. J.; G. E. Allen, Newbern; William McIntyre, Newburgh; A. V. Mortimer, Scranton; Ed S. Dubois, Annapolis; William Fuller, Deseret; Frank S. Rice, Springfield, Ohio; Edward P. Albe, Springfield, Mass.; F. B. Colver, Topeka; George Towey, Kalamazoo; W. B. Hyland, Wilmington, Del.; J. R. Flynn, Bloomington; W. H. Cliff, Hamilton, Ont.; Robert T. Murray, Halifax, N. S.; William T. Doty, Minisink, N. Y.; Daniel H. Perrine, New Brunswick; Thomas Coffey, London, Ont.; J. P. Riley, Rome, Ga.; Ferd. L. Spiegel, Schuylkill; S. I. Kenyon, Watertown, N. Y.; C. McLaughlin, Austin, Texas; Thad. Butler, Upper Wabash Valley; Miss E. B. Howard, Women's Typographical Union, New York.

Baltimore was selected as the meeting place for the next convention, in 1871.

Convention at Baltimore

[1871] — When President Hammond called the nineteenth convention to order at Baltimore, June 5, 1871, delegates were present representing seventy subordinate unions.

Officers, 1871 — The first business of the convention, the election of officers, resulted as follows: President, William J. Hammond, New Orleans; first vice-president, Michael R. Walsh, New York; second vice-president, J. A. Cushley, Baltimore; secretary-treasurer, John Collins, Cincinnati, and corresponding secretary, Fred K. Tracy, Chicago.

A review of the proceedings of this convention fails to disclose the adoption of any propositions of vital interest to the craft.

Charters Issued and Surrendered — The officers' reports show that the unions of Springfield, Ill., Lexington, Ky., and Steubenville, Ohio, had surrendered their char-

ters. Eleven charters had been issued during the year, although one of this number (Santa Fe No. 143) failed to organize.

Strikes — Three strikes were officially reported to the president during the year—one at Pittsburgh, another at Dayton, Ohio, and one at Memphis, Tenn., the latter against the Memphis Sun.

Report of Miss Lewis — The wisdom of the previous convention in selecting Miss Augusta Lewis as an International officer was justified by the report submitted by Miss Lewis to the Baltimore convention. It was the most complete document ever presented by a corresponding secretary up to that time. While the International president had only been officially notified of three strikes during the year, Miss Lewis presented detailed information of strikes in Pittsburgh, Louisville, Memphis, Savannah, Denver, Dayton, Ohio, and Macon, Ga. Her report also referred to difficulties in Kansas and California; Albany, New Haven and Toronto. It also contained a tabulated statement of a large number of subordinate unions, giving valuable information as to hours and wages and the state of trade.

Female Labor — Speaking of female labor in the printing business, Miss Lewis, in her report to the convention, said that the subject needed no introduction. It was no longer new and no longer deemed unimportant. It was a subject that should be seen clearly and one which should not be lost in mere words, but that should be solved in a practical way. Woman's education to practical labor would eventually become necessary to man's protection. Replying to the numerous inquiries seeking information how to proceed to organize female compositors, Miss Lewis laid down the following rules: (1) By explaining to women the advantages of organization; (2) by convincing them that it will not interfere

with their chances of a home; (3) by showing them that it is a course for which they could not be ridiculed by any right-thinking person. These three arguments were deemed sufficient to cover the objections of the majority of women to organization among their sex.

Referring to her efforts to organize female compositors in Boston, Miss Lewis said: "Hoping to stimulate the women into action by opening an office where none but union girls would be employed and the full price would be paid, I wrote to Mrs. Livermore, of the Women's Advocate, asking the owners of that paper to adopt such a course. Her answer was courteous but unsatisfactory, and I regret to say no practical assistance can be obtained from that 'women's rights' organ for the working women."

Regarding conditions in New York city and the progress of Women's Typographical Union No. 1, Miss Lewis said:

"A year ago last January, Typographical Union No. 6 passed a resolution 'admitting union girls in offices under control of No. 6.' Since that time we have never obtained a situation that we could not have obtained had we never heard of a 'union.' We refuse to take the men's situations when they are on 'strikes,' and when there is no strike, if we ask for work in union offices, we are told by union foremen 'that there are no conveniences for us.' We are ostracized in many offices because we are members of the union; and although the principle is right, the disadvantages are so many that we can not much longer hold together, and I trust our want of success will be attributed to the true cause. The members of the executive council for No. 1 state that no progress has been made during the past year. Women receive forty cents for all kinds of work. A 'strike' among them would prove disastrous. The Fireside Companion, of New York, is the

only office in that city which will employ none but union girls. It is the general opinion of female compositors that they are more justly treated by what is technically known as 'rat' foremen, printers, and employers than they are by union men. Although my own experience is diametrically opposite to this, I must say, with regret, that union men are throwing a power in the hands of their opponents which those do not fail to recognize and use to their own advantage. There is an office employing union men in New York; that office boasts a branch known as the 'Women's Printing Office.' I believe well-known authoresses patronize this office, intending to help female compositors; yet every injustice possible is suffered by women compositors on account of that office. In three weeks fifteen learners were taken in that office. I am informed that over one hundred girls were taught the rudiments of typesetting in that office in one year. No. 6, by letter, was informed of the injustice we were suffering, as these learners got all the fat, all the reprint, and the experienced workers got all the objectionable matter. We received no official information as to the disposition of our communication. Learning to which committee it had been referred, we sent word to them, asking their co-operation. No notice has been taken of it.

"In spite of all this, I would not have it understood that No. 6 and No. 1, of New York, are in a state of warfare; such is not the case. No. 1 is indebted to No. 6 for great assistance, but so long as we are refused work because of sex we are at the mercy of our employers, and I can see no way out of our difficulties. Hoping the advocates of 'women's rights' would place us on a 'financial equality' with men, I waited on Theodore Tilton, of the Golden Age. He promised to pay the same wages to women as men. On further inquiry, I learn men in

his office are working under price. As he has promised to do 'whatever is right,' I hope we can persuade him to see 'right' in the same light as we do. I also waited on the proprietors of the Revolution, who have solemnly promised, when their present contract expires, to have the Revolution a union office, paying the full scale alike to men and women."

National Labor Congress — The delegates to the National Labor Congress, held in Cincinnati, 1870, submitted a brief report as follows:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, May 25, 1871.

To the Officers and Members of the International Typographical Union:

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES: The undersigned, delegates from your body in the Labor Congress held in Cincinnati, August, 1870, report that we attended said Labor Congress from the opening to the close of the session, and failed to discover anything in the proceedings, with the exception of the report of the committee on obnoxious laws, that would entitle the congress to representation from a purely trade organization. The congress was made up of delegates, with few exceptions, who openly avowed the object to be the formation of a political party. Played-out politicians, lobbyists, woman-suffragans, preachers without flocks, representatives of associations in which politics are made a qualification for membership, and declaimers on the outrages perpetrated on poor Lo, formed the major part of the congress. The session was one of continuous confusion, in which personalities abounded, and charges and counter-charges were made of attempts to run it in the interest of both the old political parties. The only thing accomplished was the formation of the Labor Reform party, and the adoption of a platform announcing its principles.

JOHN COLLINS,
HARRY P. TEMPLE,
Delegates.

Fast Typesetting — The publishers of "The Printer," official organ of the International Union, having offered

prizes in a competitive contest among members of the union for fast composition, a committee was appointed to make awards. George Arensberg, of Philadelphia, won the first prize, having set 1,822 ems of solid nonpareil in one hour. W. A. Edwards, of Norfolk; James A. Butler, of Little Rock, and Richard McLean, of Philadelphia, were awarded second, third and fourth prizes. Other contestants were William Doblebower, of Lafayette; Michael Corcoran, J. Harper and William S. Humphreys, of Montreal; T. Ryan, of Cincinnati; D. T. Dailey and H. Manning, of Scranton, Pa.

Jurisdiction Over Pressmen — Among the resolutions adopted by the delegates was one to the effect that the introduction of steam power into the printing business, having divided the industry into two permanent and distinct branches, it was imperative, in order to keep abreast of the times, that subordinate unions take the most effective means within their power to bring both branches of the business under the jurisdiction of the International by admitting to membership, on equal terms, all regular pressmen. It was also ordered that the jurisdiction of each subordinate union should extend half way between its own location and the location of the nearest adjoining union.

Arbitration — Another resolution, favoring arbitration, was adopted, as follows:

WHEREAS experience has demonstrated the pernicious effects of strikes upon business generally, resulting disastrously (even when seemingly most successful) to the interests of both journeyman and employer; therefore,

Be it resolved, That this International Union urgently recommend to subordinate unions the settlement of all disputes, arising by reason of any increase or reduction in the scale of prices, by arbitration.

Traveling Printers — The custom of advancing money to traveling printers and endorsing the amount on the

backs of their cards was condemned, and subordinate unions were requested to discontinue the practice.

All Unions Furnished New I. T. U. Charters — It was also ordered that all unions chartered by the National Typographical Union be furnished with new charters, establishing their subordination to the International Union.

District Unions — The unfinished business left over from the previous convention was disposed of, including a proposed plan for district unions, which was defeated by a vote of 5 ayes, 73 noes.

Per Capita Tax Reduced — An amendment to the constitution reducing the per capita tax from 25 cents to 20 cents a year was adopted.

Membership — The report of the committee on returns showed a total of 149 charters issued and a membership of 10,210, of which 8,725 were in good standing.

Negro Question — The negro question again presented itself through resolutions passed by Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, instructing its delegates to introduce a resolution expunging from the minutes all record of the action taken in regard to L. H. Douglas at the previous convention. This proposition met with defeat, it being held that the delegates to the nineteenth session had no authority to alter the minutes of any preceding convention. Several attempts were made during the week to have the delegates reconsider the action of the previous convention, disposing of the negro question, but all attempts at reconsideration failed.

Appeal Cases — A large part of the time of the convention was consumed in the consideration of appeal cases growing out of the action of subordinate unions in summarily expelling members without trial.

National Executive Committee, 1871 — The president appointed the executive committee for the ensuing year.

H. S. Garner, Indianapolis; H. Jones Hampton, Philadelphia; Francis E. Hill, Cincinnati; John McKenna, Albany; John M. Webb, Columbus; E. B. Coggswell, New York; T. A. Armstrong, Pittsburgh; B. P. Lennox, St. Louis; P. F. Corcoran, Buffalo; W. C. Vaughan, Louisville; R. R. Catron, Memphis; James A. Rodgers, Baltimore; J. H. O'Donnell, Boston; Alex. M. Sample, Harrisburg; T. J. Vogel, Rochester; J. A. Van Duzer, Chicago; John Weaver, New Orleans; J. E. Morley, Detroit; T. E. C. Oliver, Elmira; John Plaxton, Nashville; Frank Smith, San Francisco; M. J. Cooney, Dubuque; E. C. Quiner, Milwaukee; R. E. Cain, Petersburg; J. A. Tillinghast, Mobile; George A. Lewis, Peoria; Jesse T. Lines, St. Paul; B. R. Warner, Montgomery; John McDonald, Davenport; Volney Austin, Providence; William H. Tutt, Columbia, S. C.; Samuel B. Knight, Jackson, Miss.; J. M. Harrison, Savannah; E. C. Lewis, St. Joseph; A. J. Gouley, Augusta; L. H. Jullien, Charleston; T. N. Francis, Leavenworth; Judson Grenell, New Haven; C. W. Wells, Atlanta; Robert D. Blair, Denver; W. C. Woodward, Burlington; H. A. Haskell, Omaha; Henry Coffeen, Troy; D. S. Whitehead, Cleveland; W. J. Edwards, Raleigh; Eugene M. Grover, Syracuse; P. C. Kelly, Dayton; E. M. Broughton, Quincy; George S. Evans, Cambridge; Joseph Joyce, Utica; A. D. Rowe, Lafayette; John Booth, Washoe; L. C. Harwood, Lockport; W. A. Crellish, Trenton; James S. Smith, Hartford; G. W. Bowers, Lawrence, Kan.; M. W. Higgins, Portland, Me.; Frank Seaman, Terre Haute; Abner Streeter, Erie; A. V. D. Conover, Fort Wayne; Thomas J. Carnahan, Wheeling; C. McAuliff, Kansas City; R. M. Whitman, Reading; S. G. Hall, Wilmington; J. L. Lovelace, Alexandria; Charles Pritchard, Macon; William H. Coates, St. John; Joseph E. Doughty, Norfolk; J. E. Fisher, Hannibal; Henry Myer, Richmond; J. S. Williams, Toronto; W. B. Calhoun, Little Rock; James Connolly, Montreal; William H. Wilson, Jackson, Mich.; W. H. Eggles, Norwich; W. R. McLean, Columbia; W. P. Bonsall, Ottawa; James F. Lynn, Newark; B. M. Springer, New Albany; William H. Cashman, Vicksburg; M. F. Kennedy, Hudson County, N. J.; J. W. Mills, Knoxville; Robert Holmes, Scranton; John Brewer, Annapolis; William E. Fuller, Deseret; M. Q. Jackson, Lynchburg; James L. Girton, Des Moines; J. M. Meredith, Jefferson City; E. P. Albe, Springfield, Mass.; L. H. Hascall, Topeka; R. H. Young, Wilmington, Del.; John Horsnell, Hamilton; M. A. Shaffer, Halifax; W. S. Doty, Minisink, N. Y.; F. P. Lippincott, New Brunswick; William Hooper, London; B. G. Salvage, Rome, Ga.; F. L. Spiegle, Pottsville; J. D. Vaughn, Austin; Pierre Griffard, Jacques Cartier; J. R. Gibson, St. Catharines; C. G. Figures, Huntsville; Theresa Keenan, Women's Typographical Union, New York.

Richmond, Va., was selected as the meeting place for the convention of 1872.

Convention at Richmond

[1872] — The twentieth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order in the state capitol building at Richmond, Va., June 3, 1872, delegates being present at the first session from fifty-eight subordinate unions.

Officers, 1872 — At the conclusion of the customary formalities attending the opening session, the delegates

proceeded to elect officers, with the following result: President, William J. Hammond, New Orleans; first vice-president, E. C. Crump, Richmond; second vice-president, R. G. Sleater, Salt Lake City; secretary-treasurer, John Collins, Cincinnati; corresponding secretary, Robert A. Hamilton, Philadelphia.

Unsuccessful Strikes — In the officers' reports submitted to this convention it is shown that numerous unsuccessful strikes had again retarded the progress of the organization.

Chicago Fire — One incident, which may be alluded to as an evidence of the strong bond of sympathy which held together the framework of the International in those days, was the prompt and voluntary action of the members of the organization in offering immediate and substantial relief to the members of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, sufferers from a devastating fire which swept over the city during the previous year. The president, in his annual report, referred to the matter in the following language:

> Upon the receipt of the first news of the disaster, and before even a limit could be fixed to the devastation, I caused a press dispatch to be forwarded over the country recommending subordinate unions to contribute all in their power to relieve the distress of their brother craftsmen. Notwithstanding a few mutterings of dissent and hints of having exceeded my duty reached me from discontented and isolated individuals, the great heart of the craft throughout the country responded, in common with their fellow citizens of all classes, with a generosity and promptness without a parallel, and as creditable to their humanity as their generous offerings could possibly be beneficial to the suffering. The calamity has passed into history, and on the same page is written the response—an enduring monument to the honor of our glorious brotherhood. It was so universal as to afford a sufficient approval of my action and relieve me of the necessity of asking a more formal indorsement at your hands.

Delegate Fred K. Tracy, of Chicago Typographical Union, on behalf of that organization, expressed the thanks and gratitude of No. 16's members for the prompt relief afforded. In closing his remarks, Mr. Tracy said:

As soon as possible the Typographical Union was convened and it was decided to make an appeal to our brethren for assistance in our terrible circumstances. But our wants were anticipated. That same day, while the flames were under full headway, and before our appeal had been communicated to any union, the secretary of this body, Mr. John Collins, was on his way from Cincinnati with a large donation, hastily collected and forwarded by the printers of that city. On Wednesday, Mr. Ruckle, of Indianapolis, and, shortly after, Mr. Burton, of New York, arrived, bringing substantial additions to our pecuniary resources; while, upon the re-establishment of telegraphic, postal, and express facilities, funds were forwarded from all parts of the country. I am more and more amazed as I think how promptly and how fully our brethren at a distance understood the situation and our needs, while we upon the spot could not realize our loss or circumstances. From the time of that first donation till the announcement of our committee that enough funds had been received to accomplish the glorious and humane purpose for which they were intended, remittance followed remittance so closely that I am enabled to say, what I know you will hear with deep satisfaction, that no lack of funds existed for the prosecution of the work of relief. I am also able to say that the fund was wisely and carefully distributed by the committee appointed for that purpose.

It is not easy—indeed, it is impossible—fully to tell the story of the good accomplished by that fund, but this is certain: it saved precious life; it satisfied hunger; it provided treatment for sickness resulting from the frightful exposure of the time; it made printers independent of the ordinary sources of relief and it lightened the charge of those entrusted with the distribution of the world's contributions.

I am well aware that for a beneficence like that, accomplishing what was accomplished by that fund, no compensation is possible to be made. The highest possible human remuneration of such a charity is the communication of the knowledge that, through it, suffering and death were prevented and much good

done. This knowledge I have striven to impart, as well as to express our gratitude, and we are resolved to prove ourselves grateful by reciprocal acts of fraternity and charity.

I present to the printers of the United States and Canada, through you, their representatives in the International Typographical Union, our cheerful acknowledgement of, and heartfelt gratitude for, their great and delicately bestowed kindness to the printers of Chicago. Our brethren have raised a monument to charity in our sight which shall ever stimulate us to imitate them in "doing good as we have opportunity."

Government Printing Office — A resolution condemning the practice of making political and religious sentiments the qualification or disqualification for employment was adopted, after which it was ordered that subordinate unions petition congress for the abolishment of the government printing office, where it was asserted such practices were in vogue.

Artemus Ward Fund — For some reason, unexplained, the fund raised by popular subscription for the purpose of erecting a monument, or some other suitable memorial, to the memory of Artemus Ward, was never used for that purpose, and at the Richmond convention, on recommendation of the finance committee, this fund, aggregating about $1,300, was transferred to the general fund.

Legislation — Charters — Very little legislation of a general character was accomplished at this convention. The usual number of appeal cases were decided and it was reported that charters had been reissued to unions at Toledo, Ohio, and Keokuk, Iowa. Six new charters were granted during the year. Rome (Ga.) No. 134 was suspended. The secretary-treasurer's report showed a total of 155 charters issued and a membership of 9,504, of which 8,724 were in good standing.

Female Labor — The subject of female labor in composing rooms continued to engross the attention of the International Union. The committee on female labor, to

which had been referred several matters pertaining to the question, reported having taken testimony from persons residing in various sections of the country, with the result that it was apparent that a vast majority of women engaged in the printing business were working outside the union organization and at rates of compensation below those received by men, although there had been a marked increase in the female membership of subordinate unions and a corresponding increase in the wages received by women. It was further reported by this committee that no important number of union men were opposed to the admission of women into the subordinate unions provided they were required to conform to the same regulations concerning apprenticeship, wages, etc., as were established for men. The committee was convinced that the experiment of establishing a separate union for females had resulted unsatisfactorily to members of both the male and female unions in the city where it had been tried, chiefly because of a difference between the two scales of prices. Besides being a source of constant trouble between male and female unions, the establishment of a scale of prices for the latter below that tendered by the former was conceding a fundamental principle unswervingly insisted upon by all true friends of female labor, viz., there should be no difference in compensation paid to competent workers, based upon a difference of sex.

In view of the foregoing conclusions, the committee presented the following amendment to the constitution:

Resolved, That the constitution of the International Typographical Union be and is hereby amended by striking out section 3, article 1, providing for the chartering of female unions and the word "male" in the second line of section 2 of the same article.

Following which was another resolution:

Resolved, That all subordinate unions are recommended to admit female printers to membership upon the same footing, in all respects, as males.

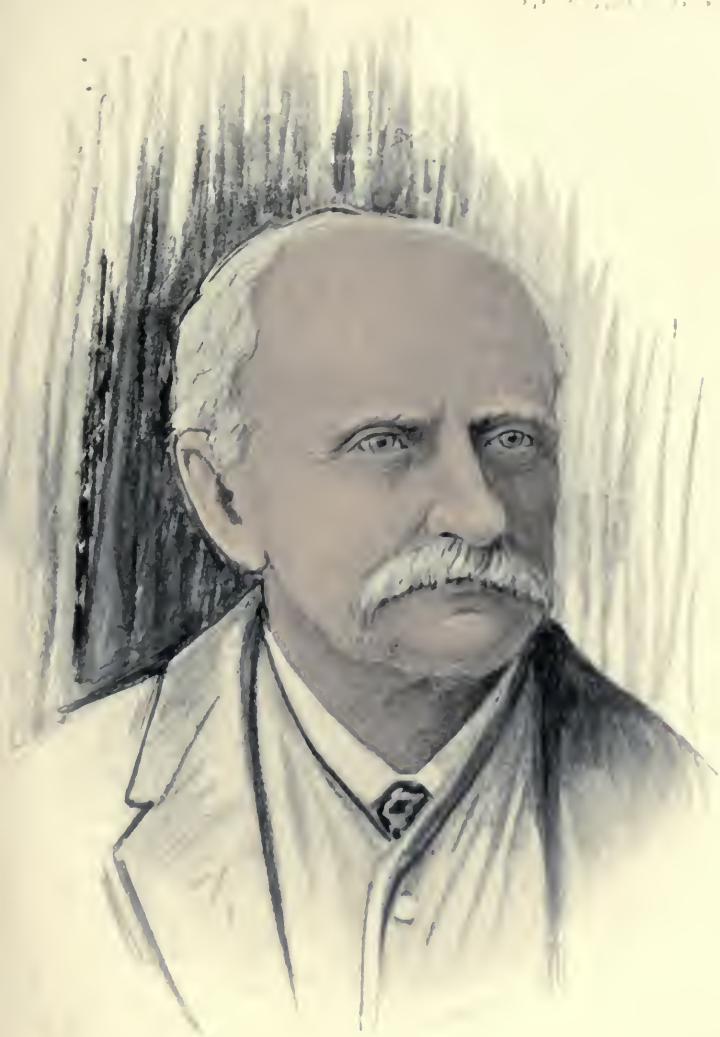
The first resolution went over under the rules. The second resolution was adopted.

English and French Unions in Montreal — Delegate Crossby, representing Jacques Cartier Union, Montreal, presented a document relative to the jurisdiction of the English and French unions in Montreal, and asked for a settlement of the matter. The document in question was referred to a special committee, which later reported that it had taken evidence in the case and recommended as a plan for settling the differences in Montreal that the French speaking and working printers be considered under the jurisdiction and control of Jacques Cartier Union No. 145 and that the English speaking and working printers be in like manner under the jurisdiction and control of No. 97 so long as they continued to be distinct unions, as it was manifest that separate charters had been granted with a view to this end. It was also recommended that members of the two unions be allowed to work in any office under the control of either union without changing their membership so long as they complied with the scale of prices and other rules and regulations of the unions and that no change be made in the scale of prices without the mutual consent of both unions. These recommendations were concurred in by the convention.

Resolutions — Among the resolutions passed by the convention were the following:

"That the conspiracy laws of the various states and localities, as at present instituted, are a disgrace; and that it is the duty of the workingmen where these laws prevail to forthwith proceed to prepare petitions to their respective legislators for their repeal or material modification."

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA



WILLIAM J. HAMMOND, New Orleans
President International Typographical Union
June 6, 1870 – June 2, 1873

"That it should be the duty of the corresponding secretary of the International Union to enter into correspondence with the various railroad companies for the purpose of securing half-rate tickets for delegates to the sessions of the International every year."

"That the International Union request the American Press Association to furnish plain copy to newspapers."

"That this union recommend to subordinate unions the propriety of incorporating in 'rat' circulars full personal descriptions of the persons so ratted, said descriptions to be couched in such language as will not lay the unions so doing liable to libel suits in their respective states."

"That we recognize in the efforts to reduce the length of a day's labor now being made by our brother workmen throughout the country a sure indication of a mental and moral advancement that will ultimately elevate the workingman to that position to which his inalienable rights as a human being so clearly entitle him, and we recommend all subordinate unions to take such action on the question of a reduction of hours of labor as may appear to them advantageous and practicable."

"That this union urgently requests all laboring men within its jurisdiction to petition their respective legislators to wipe from the statute books all laws that are designed to prevent mechanics from enjoying the same rights that are freely conceded to all other classes, and never cease the good work until the law recognizes our right to resort to the same means to procure a just price for our labor that is everywhere conceded to the lawyer, the physician, the merchant, the banker and the employing manufacturer."

President Hammond, in his address to the convention, called attention to the fact that one branch of the national congress had passed a bill reducing the tariff on books

and printed matter, a measure that would, in the president's opinion, if permitted to become a law, prove disastrous to the printing industry of the country and throw hundreds of journeymen printers out of employment. The committee to which the president's address was referred reported its approval of the president's position in the matter of the duty on books and printed matter and recommended that a special committee be appointed, with power to act, to support the interests of the craft, threatened by the proposed action of congress in reducing the tariff. The suggestion was concurred in and a committee of five was duly appointed.

National Executive Committee, 1872 — The president appointed the national executive committee for the ensuing year, as follows:

H. S. Garner, Indianapolis; John Dunn, Philadelphia; D. C. Garrison, Cincinnati; William Outwin, Albany; Walter M. Clancy, Columbus; R. W. Cox, New York; Hugh Adams, Pittsburgh; Barton P. Lennox, St. Louis; P. F. Corcoran, Buffalo; J. S. Moore, Louisville; L. D. Hammer, Memphis; F. D. Daffin, Baltimore; Irving Walker, Boston; William A. Goldsmith, Harrisburg; E. A. Stevens, Rochester; Morgan B. Mills, Chicago; William H. Bell, New Orleans; Lyman A. Brant, Detroit; John J. Cook, Elmira; Thomas Irwin, Nashville; J. A. Strong, Milwaukee; R. E. Cain, Petersburg; A. R. Seabrook, Mobile; A. A. Griest, Peoria; C. F. McDonald, St. Paul; B. R. Warner, Montgomery; William Craig, Davenport; T. E. Kelly, Providence; C. M. McJunkin, Columbia, S. C.; J. C. Rietti, Jackson, Miss.; A. J. Parr, Savannah; C. W. Bignell, Grand Rapids; Joseph H. Crane, St. Joseph; Clement C. Cary, Augusta; Ed B. Bradley, Charleston; George M. Bennington, Leavenworth; William G. Cox, New Haven; William B. Barrow, Atlanta; J. T. Stevens, Denver; Will H. Swander, Burlington; Will D. Eaton, Omaha; Joseph McLaughlin, Troy; Robert Calvert, Cleveland; W. J. Edwards, Raleigh; Ellis M. Williams, Syracuse; James R. Hamilton, Dayton; E. N. Broughton, Quincy; Charles W. McRaith, Cambridge; James E. DeForrest, Utica; William J. Olds, Lafayette; G. R. Short, Washoe; George McDonald, Lockport; W. H. Quarterman, Keokuk; Matthew S. Austin, Trenton; Andrew Smith, Hartford; Frank Seaman, Terre Haute; T. S. Gallagher, Erie; G. H. Stull, Wheeling; Isaac P. Moore, Kansas City; W. S. Warrock, Wilmington, N. C.; Luther Thompson, Alexandria; H. M. Rees, Macon; William H. Coates, St. Johns; W. A. Edwards, Norfolk; Knight M. Griswold, Hannibal; Charles Ellis, Richmond; W. B. Calhoun, Little Rock; F. G. W. Fatzinger, Allentown; John Ford, Montreal; George R. Holden, Jackson, Mich.; Ambrose Higgins, Norwich; G. A. R. McNeir, Columbia; Augustus W. Griffing, Newark; Joseph Martin, New Albany; W. J. Smith, Vicksburg; Philip Lynch, Hudson County, N. J.; J. C. Coon, Scranton; John J. Brewers, Annapolis; Henry McEwan, Deseret; W. T. Haner, Lynchburg; A. F. Paysell, Springfield, Ohio; David Walker, Des Moines; Paul Greenwood, Jefferson City; E. P. Albe, Springfield, Mass.; A. M. Stokes, Wilmington, Del.; Charles W. Parry, Hamilton; F. P.

Lippincott, New Brunswick; William Hooper, London; J. H. Dietrick, Schuylkill; Frank J. C. Ellis, Watertown; B. C. Murray, Austin; H. C. Eddy, Titusville; Gabriel Fortin, Jacques Cartier; W. P. Hoffman, Charleston; William Connolly, Saratoga; W. F. Drake, Elizabeth; John L. Baker, Oil City; William A. Diers, Natchez; C. S. Bartram, Bay City; James A. Clark, Ann Arbor; Mary A. Bartlett, New York Women's Typographical Union.

Montreal was selected as the place of meeting in June, 1873.

Convention at Montreal

[1873] — The first convention of the International Union held in the Dominion of Canada was called to order by President Hammond at the Canadian Institute in Montreal, Monday, June 2, 1873, sixty subordinate unions being represented at the opening session.

Officers, 1873 — W. R. McLean, Washington, D. C., was elected president to succeed William J. Hammond, New Orleans, who had served three consecutive terms. William Kennedy, Chicago, was chosen first vice-president; William G. Johnston, Troy, second vice-president, while John Collins of Cincinnati was retained as secretary-treasurer for his sixth consecutive term. George Hawkins, Memphis, was elected corresponding secretary.

German Printers — Among the more important propositions presented for the consideration of delegates to the Montreal convention was the establishment of relations with the German printers of the country, and also the question of issuing charters to unions composed altogether of pressmen.

The question of relationship with the German typographical unions was referred to a special committee, which, in its report, suggested that all members of the German union be entitled to the same rights and privileges granted under the jurisdiction of the International Union to the members of the same, the German Typographical Union guaranteeing to all members of the International Union the same rights and privileges accorded

to its own members. The subject was made a special order and, after considerable discussion, the matter was laid over until the next convention of the union.

Pressmen's Unions — At the nineteenth annual convention, held in Baltimore, an amendment to the constitution in reference to the subject "chartering pressmen's unions" was introduced, and, under the rule, laid over for final action at the convention held at Richmond the following year, but for some reason, not recorded, no definite action was had upon it. The proposition was referred to the committee on unfinished business, and when the matter was reported back to the convention the following amendment to the constituion was adopted:

> The International Typographical Union may also grant charters to seven or more pressmen, but not issue more than one charter to pressmen in any one town or city; *provided*, that such charters shall be granted by and with the advice and consent of the subordinate union or unions in said city or town; and, *provided further*, that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent pressmen joining any union subordinate to the International Typographical Union in cities or towns where pressmen's unions do not exist, and can not exist, from local causes.

Government Printing Office — Upon request of the delegates from Columbia Union No. 101, so much of the resolution passed at the previous convention, in reference to condemnation of the practice of making political and religious sentiments a qualification or disqualification for employment, as referred to the abolishment of the government printing office, was rescinded, after an explanation of actual conditions existing in that office.

Female Labor — The question of female labor was again presented to the convention and the practice of allowing subordinate unions to admit females to membership was approved, but it was ordered that no more charters be granted to female unions.

Artemus Ward Fund— Considerable discussion, apparently, followed the action of the previous convention in transferring the Artemus Ward fund to the general fund of the union, and it was finally ordered that the money be restored to the original fund and remain in trust until such time as it should be appropriated as the original donors designed.

Sub-lists — The practice of establishing sub-lists in newspaper chapels was strongly condemned and subordinate unions were requested to do away with such lists.

District Unions — The proposition to establish district unions, defeated at the Richmond convention, was again presented and ordered to be laid over for consideration at the next convention.

Charters, etc. — The reports of officers showed that 165 charters, altogether, had been issued at the close of the fiscal year, and four unions—San Francisco, Galveston, Minneapolis and Houston—had been rechartered. A total of 9,797 members were reported in good standing.

Resolutions — Some of the resolutions adopted by the convention were as follows:

"That the recording by printing of all deeds, mortgages, contracts and other papers required by law to be recorded in public offices, and also the printing of the journal, records, or minutes of proceedings and judgments of the principal courts can be made at less cost than the fees generally exacted upon the recording thereof by writing, and as also under such system the deposit of attested printed copies in the different public offices would prevent the great detriment often caused by fire or by the abstraction and alteration of records, and likewise as the records would be of more ready access to the public and would render unnecessary much of the expense for searches and written copies, and as otherwise such system would be of public benefit, it is recommended to the

craft to submit to the legislatures of their different states and the several provinces of Canada the expediency of adopting, under proper regulations, such system by statute to be enacted for such purpose."

"That the following portion of section 1 of discipline be added to the traveling cards issued by the union, known as union cards: 'The foreman of an office is the proper person to whom application should be made for employment.' "

"That a commission appointed by the government of the United States to initiate and supervise the centennial exposition to be held in the city of Philadelphia in 1876, has declared its intention to provide for the suitable recognition of trade unions and societies in said exposition, and will assign certain portions of the building for that purpose, it behooves the representatives of the 'Art Preservative' to take the lead in this matter, as they have in others where the interests of distinctive trades were concerned, and appoint a committee to represent this body before said commission and to ascertain and report to this union what steps should be taken and what action had in order to fully participate therein."

"That in the opinion of this body the tariff on imported printed matter in the United States is inadequate to the protection our craft needs; that we believe a tariff of 22 per cent. *ad valorem* (as at present) is so low as to cripple one of the principal industries of the country, while no benefit accrues to the government, and foreigners only are the gainers; that one great reason of the stagnation of trade in printing offices, book binderies, type foundries and press manufactories is the support afforded to foreign printers by a tariff that is almost a nullity; that this body recommends to subordinate unions the sending out of a petition to the representative in congress from their district asking his efforts in behalf of a tariff that will give

relief from these evils, which petition we would urge each union man to sign, and would also advocate the procuring of employers' names to the same; that it is the sense of this body that the system of *ad valorem* duties as applied to printed matter is erroneous, affording means of defrauding the revenues by undervaluation on the invoices, by which means a rare book or a fine work pays no more than the cheapest class of literature. We also declare our belief that a specific duty, say 25 or 30 cents per pound, would give the relief asked for and be a source of revenue to the government, while the price of American books would not be increased, but our publishing houses would once more be in active operation and thousands of workingmen have the employment they seek, but are unable to find, because of the ruinous competition with foreign labor which the present erroneous tariff imposes on the workingman."

"That the corresponding secretary open correspondence with the proper officers of the London, England, Typographical Union, with a view of obtaining information in reference to the reception of cards of members acknowledging allegiance to printers' unions in America and England, respectively."

National Executive Committee, 1873 — The president appointed the national executive committee, as follows:

John Schley, Indianapolis; Norton A. Downs, Philadelphia; G. K. Tenney, Cincinnati; Greenwood Baker, Albany; W. F. Poland, Columbus, Ohio; Thomas N. Burke, New York; George R. Dabney, Pittsburgh; Hugh T. McMurtry, St. Louis; George F. Kittredge, Buffalo; George M. Payne, Louisville; James B. Lawrence, Memphis; William H. Hitchcock, Baltimore; Charles S. Sweeney, Boston; James W. McCrory, Harrisburg; E. A. Stephens, Rochester; William A. Hutchinson, Chicago; B. F. Skidmore, New Orleans; James H. Kelley, Detroit; Daniel A. Fitzgerald, Elmira; C. R. G. McDonald, Nashville; John O'Brien, San Francisco; D. C. O'Regan, Dubuque; A. R. Seabrook, Mobile; W. I. Larash, Peoria; C. F. MacDonald, St. Paul; J. S. Perry, Montgomery; John A. Shearer, Davenport; Asahel P. Brown, Providence; H. M. Meetze, Columbia, S. C.; W. W. Bennett, Jackson, Miss.; John Nugent, Savannah; Charles E. Davis, Grand Rapids; H. P. Malcolm, St. Joseph; J. V. Johnson, Augusta; George W. McDonald, Minneapolis; C. F. H. Bremer, Charleston, S. C.; A. R. Johnson, Leavenworth; John P. Tyrrell, New Haven; W. C.

Henderson, Atlanta; Robert Higgins, Denver; W. F. Edwards, Omaha; P. H. McCormack, Troy; Robert Calvert, Cleveland; W. N. Jones, Raleigh; Pat F. Hall, Syracuse; William R. Eckley, Dayton; E. M. Broughton, Quincy; John G. Ryan, Cambridge; William H. McCann, Utica; Charles Coughling, Toledo; A. D. Rowe, Lafayette; O. W. Henning, Lockport; John Stirling, jr., Keokuk; John M. White, Lancaster; David Seary, Trenton; Adam J. Wagner, Hartford; S. M. Wingert, Lawrence, Kan.; M. W. Higgins, Portland, Me.; Lyman Archer, Terre Haute; M. A. Quinn, Erie; George H. Marr, Fort Wayne; L. N. Duffy, Kansas City; O. P. McEwen, Wilmington, N. C.; Robert McKay, Macon; G. T. Barrom, Norfolk; K. M. Griswold, Hannibal; H. P. Jones, Richmond; James Gillespie, Toronto; W. B. Calhoun, Little Rock; William J. Egan, Montreal; George R. Holden, Jackson, Mich.; William N. Andrew, Norwich; Richard M. Claxton, Columbia; Daniel J. O'Donoghue, Ottawa; M. F. Battle, Vicksburg; David Nelson, Hudson County, N. J.; George H. Bomar, Knoxville; John J. Brewer, Annapolis; E. D. Young, Deseret; Julian T. Wright, Lynchburg; George Matthews, Springfield, Ohio; Bernard Murphy, Des Moines; Paul Greenwood, Jefferson City; L. A. Roberts, Springfield, Mass.; George T. Isbell, Topeka; E. F. Jackson, Wilmington, Del.; Charles W. Parry, Hamilton; R. J. Stapleton, Halifax; F. P. Lippincott, New Brunswick; T. A. McNamara, London, Ont.; William P. Cratty, Schuylkill; G. W. Jenks, Austin; Thomas Walsh, Titusville; John Thompson, Jacques Cartier; P. Brennan, St. Catharines; C. A. Hopkins, Saratoga; R. H. Myers, Oil City; William A. Diers, Natchez; P. H. Phillips, Bay City; Thompson Wickard, Mountain City; P. Wade, jr., Bridgeport; Simeon Marcotte, Quebec; Edward Murphy, Quebec; L. B. Andrew, Jacksonville, Fla.; A. L. Roberts, Rutland; Mary A. Bartlett, New York Women's Union.

St. Louis was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1874.

Convention at St. Louis

[1874] — The first convention of the International Typographical Union ever held west of the Mississippi river was called to order by President McLean in Jones' Hall, St. Louis, on Monday, June 1, 1874, delegates representing fifty-eight subordinate unions being present at the opening session.

Officers, 1874 — William H. Bodwell of New York was elected president; Henry White, Memphis, first vice-president; W. D. Redfield, Washington, D. C., second vice-president; W. A. Hutchinson, Chicago, secretary-treasurer, and W. S. Pride, Wilmington, Del., corresponding secretary.

Election of Officers — An amendment to the constitution proposing to change the time for election of officers

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

W. R. McLEAN, Washington, D. C.
President International Typographical Union
June 2, 1873 – June 1, 1874

from the first day to the last day of the convention, having been introduced at the Montreal session, was regularly taken up for consideration by the St. Louis convention. The proposition was agreed to and the terms of officers thereby extended to the close of the session.

Charters — The reports of officers showed that eight unions had been chartered during the year, including two pressmen's unions—Washington, D. C., and Detroit, Mich. Charters had been reissued to Evansville, Ind.; Atchison, Kan., and Milwaukee, Wis.

Unsuccessful Strikes — Strikes occurred during the year at Indianapolis, New Orleans, Peoria, Montgomery, Omaha, Little Rock, Norwich, Salt Lake City and Titusville, Pa., most of which were unsuccessful.

Women's Typographical Union — Most of the important questions coming before the convention were considered in secret session. One subject that was freely discussed was the scale of the Women's Typographical Union in New York city. Strong protest was made by members of No. 6 against allowing this organization to retain its charter. The matter was finally referred to a special committee, with instructions fully to investigate conditions and report at the next convention. The women's union was also instructed to submit its scale of prices to No. 6 for approval.

Brooklyn Union — Brooklyn Union No. 98 having surrendered its charter, a protest was entered by members of No. 6 against it being reissued. This protest was also made a subject for special investigation.

Uniform Constitution — Another attempt was made to establish a uniform constitution for subordinate unions. The matter was referred to a special committee with directions to prepare an instrument, subject to approval.

Per Capita Tax — A proposition to increase the per capita tax from 20 cents a year to $1.25 was defeated.

The purpose of this amendment was to create a fund out of which the International Union was to pay the expenses of all delegates attending conventions.

District Unions — The plan proposing the organizing of district unions again met defeat, upon recommendation of the committee on unfinished business.

Monthly Journal — A proposition to establish a monthly journal under the auspices of the International Union was rejected.

Interchange of Membership Cards — The corresponding secretary, in obedience to the resolution passed by the Montreal convention directing him to open a correspondence with the "officers of London, England, Typographical Union," reported that he had found that two typographical organizations existed in England: The London Society of Compositors, embracing the union printers of London, and the Provincial Typographical Association, having jurisdiction over the typographical unions outside of London, except those known as non-conforming. The secretary reported that he had addressed a letter to the secretary of each of these bodies and had received replies from both, together with some valuable documents, including the rules of each body, and reports of their condition. Each of them gave assurance that it was customary for their societies to receive the cards of typographical societies everywhere that reciprocated the favor. They also promised to place the correspondence before their board of managers for official action. One of the rules of the Provincial Typographical Association was as follows: "Persons holding the documents of the Relief Association or the cards of reciprocating non-conforming societies shall be admitted without entrance fees, etc." In the rules of the London Society of Compositors was the following: "That every compositor of fair character now working as a journeyman, or who may

hereafter prove his right to work as a journeyman, either by privilege, indenture or clear card of membership from a recognized society, shall be eligible as a member."

German Union — A representative of the German Typographical Union was granted the privilege of the floor. He gave a sketch of the progress of German typography in this country and urged the mutual exchange of cards between unions under the jurisdiction of the International Union and the German unions. The question was referred to the committee on subordinate unions, which, in turn, reported the proposition back to the union without recommendation. This committee's report was accepted without opposition, thus leaving the question practically on the table, no definite action having been taken.

Centennial Exposition — A committee was appointed to consider and recommend some suitable manner in which the International Union could be represented at the centennial exposition to be held in Philadelphia in 1876.

Secretary-Treasurer Collins Defaults — The committee on returns, after investigating the financial accounts of the secretary-treasurer, reported that the ex-secretary-treasurer, Mr. Collins, was a defaulter in the sum of $3,731.56. A special committee was appointed by the president to make a careful examination of the accounts of the secretary-treasurer and report to the next convention.

Membership — The total membership of the International was reported to be 10,748, of which 9,819 were in good standing.

The city of Boston was chosen as the meeting place for the convention in June, 1875.

Resolutions — Among the resolutions adopted by the convention were the following:

"That the conspiracy law which exists at the present

time in the state of Pennsylvania is proving to be dangerous to workingmen united together for lawful purposes, completely depriving them of their rights as American citizens; that we recommend all trade unions throughout the state of Pennsylvania to petition the legislature either to abolish or amend the present conspiracy law in order that society men may have and claim their rights as well as other American citizens; that the corresponding secretary forward a copy of these resolutions to the president of the Industrial Congress and that they be published in the National Labor Tribune of Pittsburgh."

"That New York Typographical Union, having made an appeal to members of the craft all over the country for a subscription to erect a monument over the grave of Horace Greeley, and a sufficient sum not having been received to undertake the work, a special committee of thirteen be appointed by the International Union to receive contributions for the furtherance of the proposed monument to the late Horace Greeley."

National Executive Committee, 1874 — The president appointed the national executive committee for the ensuing year, as follows:

John Schley, Indianapolis; William A. Hand, Philadelphia; James Scully, Cincinnati; Greenwood Baker, Albany; W. T. Poland, Columbus, Ohio; T. J. R. Fair, New York; Thomas Brennan, Pittsburgh; William Cochran, St. Louis; George F. Kittridge, Buffalo; George M. Payne, Louisville; J. J. Booth, Memphis; George G. Graham, Baltimore; Charles S. Sweeney, Boston; Thomas M. Jones, Harrisburg; E. A. Stephens, Rochester; James Leary, Chicago; M. M. Wooten, New Orleans; M. H. Marsh, Detroit; Daniel A. Fitzgerald, Elmira; C. R. G. McDonald, Nashville; John O'Brien, San Francisco; J. C. Armstrong, Dubuque; R. E. Hawks, Petersburg; A. R. Seabrook, Mobile; L. C. Swingle, Galveston; William Drysdale, Peoria; C. F. McDonald, St. Paul; J. S. Perry, Montgomery; Patterson McGlynn, Davenport; Asahel P. Brown, Providence; H. M. Meetze, Columbia, S. C.; William Hays, Evansville; John S. Zo, Jackson, Miss.; John Nugent, Savannah; John H. Randall, Grand Rapids; Michael Lawson, St. Joseph; J. V. Johnston, Augusta; George W. McDonald, Minneapolis; C. F. B. Bremer, Charleston; A. R. Johnson, Leavenworth; John P. Tyrrell, New Haven; W. C. Henderson, Atlanta; William H. Kribs, Denver; M. A. James, Burlington; W. F. Edwards, Omaha; John Farmer, Troy; Robert Calvert, Cleveland; J. B. Whitaker, jr., Raleigh; Thomas Bailey, Syracuse; William R. Eckley, Dayton; E. M. Broughton, Quincy; John G. Ryan, Cam-

bridge; William H. McCann, Utica; Charles Coughling, Toledo; C. W. Reynolds, Lafayette; O. W. Henning, Lockport; R. M. Hanna, Keokuk; George Rotharnel, Lancaster; Charles W. Ale, Trenton; H. C. Buchanan, Hartford; S. M. Wingert, Lawrence, Kan.; M. W. Higgins, Portland, Me.; C. W. Brown, Terre Haute; M. A. Quinn, Erie; O. T. Thomas, Fort Wayne; J. C. Coulson, Kansas City; O. P. McEwen, Wilmington, N. C.; P. Woolls, Alexandria; Edgar Guthrie, Macon; G. T. Barrom, Norfolk; Charles Waelder, Hannibal; William E. Woody, Richmond; James Gillespie, Toronto; R. S. Woolford, Little Rock; William J. Eagan, Montreal; George R. Holden, Jackson, Mich.; A. S. Curtis, Norwich; A. R. Randolph, Columbia; Daniel J. O'Donohue, Ottawa; Harvey Martin, Vicksburg; David Nelson, Hudson County, N. J.; George H. Bomar, Knoxville; John J. Brewer, Annapolis; E. D. Young, Deseret; Julian T. Wright, Lynchburg; George Matthews, Springfield, Ohio; H. W. Robinson, Des Moines; Paul Greenwood, Jefferson City; L. A. Roberts, Springfield, Mass.; E. F. Jackson, Wilmington, Del.; Charles W. Parry, Hamilton; R. J. Stappleton, Halifax; F. P. Lippincott, New Brunswick; Thomas Orr, London, Ont.; Joseph E. Protheroe, Schuylkill; Ad. Dohme, Austin; Frank Ottnat, Titusville; John Thompson, Jacques Cartier; P. Brennan, St. Catharines; C. A. Hopkins, Saratoga; R. H. Myers, Oil City; William A. Diers, Natchez; P. H. Phillips, Bay City; Thompson Wickard, Mountain City; George B. Whitney, Bridgeport; Simeon Marcotte, Quebec (French); Edward Murphy, Quebec (English); L. B. Andrew, Jacksonville, Fla.; A. L. Roberts, Rutland; Mary A. Bartlett, Women's Typographical Union, New York; John F. Clarkson, Washington (D. C.) Pressmen's Union; Charles M. Rousseau, Detroit Pressmen's Union.

Convention at Boston

[1875]—When the twenty-third convention of the International Union was called to order in Boston, June 7, 1875, sixty-nine delegates were present, representing fifty-five unions.

Inharmonious Laws—President Bodwell, in his annual report, said that he had become satisfied that the International organization was not as complete and harmonious in the details of its working as it should be in order to secure the beneficial results desired. This was especially true, he said, of the laws governing subordinate unions. It was pointed out that the organic laws covering the affiliated local bodies conflicted with each other in important points in many instances. Each union, in drafting laws for the government of its members, was usually guided by the results and experiences of its own locality, and it was frequently the result that what in one jurisdiction might be regarded as a violation of craft law, in

another place was tolerated and approved. He strongly urged the adoption of a uniform constitution for the government of subordinate unions. The convention, however, failed to come to any satisfactory understanding upon this recommendation. President Bodwell congratulated the organization upon the disposition generally manifested, in cases where trouble had arisen or had been threatened, to arbitrate and argue the points of difference with the employers, rather than immediately to resort to strikes or intimidation. It was apparent that the recommendations of the International to subordinate unions that "all honorable means should be used to avoid a strike" was receiving more attention, and in such degree as it did receive attention the prosperity and strength of the organization increased. That the argument of the bludgeon, or intimidation of any kind, was becoming repugnant to the membership of the union at large was evident.

Other subjects of importance, at the time, elaborated upon in the president's annual report included "trade unionism and politics," "female labor," "standard of type," "the apprentice question," and the "defalcation of Secretary-Treasurer Collins."

New Constitution — A committee, appointed at the St. Louis convention to draft a new constitution for the government of the International Union, presented its report, which was ordered to be made a part of the minutes and laid over for final action at the next annual session.

National Labor Congress — Owing to the disfavor in which the members at large regarded the National Labor Congress, a resolution was passed instructing the secretary to pay the per capita tax of the International Union then due, and notify the congress that the Typographical Union would no longer affiliate.

Greeley Monument — At the previous convention of the union a special committee had been appointed for the purpose of raising a fund to be used in erecting a memorial over the grave of the late Horace Greeley. This committee invited the employing printers of New York city to co-operate in the undertaking. Through the joint efforts of the committee appointed by the union and a committee representing the employers about $5,000 was raised. This sum being deemed insufficient, the committee was continued.

Executive Committee Discontinued — The custom of requiring the president of the International to appoint one member of each subordinate union as a member of the executive committee of the International was changed, and it was ordered that the corresponding secretaries of the different subordinate unions should, by virtue of their office, perform the duties previously assigned to members of the national executive committee.

Membership — The statement of the secretary-treasurer showed a total of 175 unions chartered, including New York Women's Union and three pressmen's unions, the membership being 10,295, of which 9,245 were in good standing.

Defalcation of Secretary-Treasurer — Perhaps the most interesting event of this convention was the report of the special committee appointed the year previous at St. Louis to investigate the affairs of the defaulting secretary-treasurer, John Collins, of Cincinnati. In addition to submitting a report of its examination of the books of the secretary-treasurer, the committee transmitted a report of a sub-committee appointed to visit Mr. Collins and gain such information as was possible in regard to the cause of the deficit, and the prospect of its being refunded. Following is a part of the report of the sub-committee.

To the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Accounts of John Collins.

Having been appointed as a sub-committee to visit Mr. Collins and ascertain, if possible, the state of his accounts with the union at different periods previous to the last convention, I proceeded to Cincinnati, and beg to make the following report as the result of my visit:

1. That during the whole time he was an officer of the union he never kept a bank account, but has been in the habit of keeping the union funds in an envelope, or loose in his pocket, and using from them as occasion required. He informed me that he had never but once had any money in the bank, and then only a small amount.

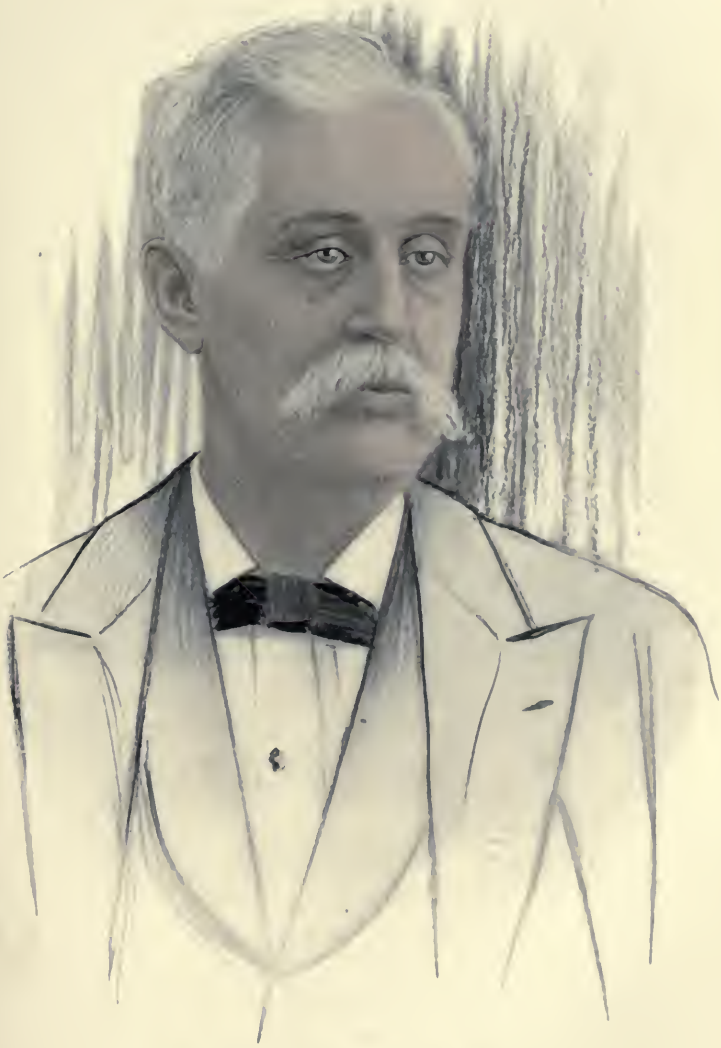
2. In answer to a question as to how much money he had belonging to the union when he went to Montreal, his reply was that all the money he had at the time was the Artemus Ward fund, about $1,500, and that was in government bonds, which he had in an envelope in his vest pocket.

3. In answer to the next question, what he had done with the bonds between that time and the St. Louis session, he replied that while at Montreal he had gotten on a big spree, and while on that spree he visited some houses of ill-fame and either squandered it or was robbed, he didn't know which. He also stated in this connection that he was on a spree some time after leaving Montreal and after he got home.

4. I asked him how it was that the moneys that were due the session held at St. Louis were $400 short, and his reply was that he had to borrow money during the year to pay current expenses of the union, and when the per capita began to come in for the St. Louis session he took it to repay the loans he had made, preferring to have his indebtedness all in one sum, and that to the union, instead of having it in small sums, owing to different ones.

Following the report of the sub-committee, as submitted above, the special committee said:

In addition to the amounts allowed by the committee for sums expended for the union at St. Louis, Mr. Collins claims that he should be allowed traveling expenses to and from the conventions of 1873 and 1874, as provided in the constitution; also the interest on the Artemus Ward fund, which he charged



WILLIAM H. BODWELL, New York
President International Typographical Union
June 1, 1874 – June 11, 1875

against himself. In regard to compensation for traveling expenses to the convention, your committee is of the opinion that the action of the union at both these conventions precludes such a claim, as a certain sum was in each case voted him "as full compensation for said office." Your committee is also of the opinion that the interest on the Artemus Ward bonds is justly due the union, particularly as he charged it to himself before his deficit was known.

The report showed that Mr. Collins' indebtedness to the International Union amounted to $3,099.81. It does not appear from the report of Mr. Mills (the member of the committee of the previous session who visited Mr. Collins) that any effort had been made by the late secretary-treasurer to settle his indebtedness to the International, nor did he apparently offer any reasonable excuse for the misappropriation of the funds of the body. The committee, therefore, recommended: (1) That the name of John Collins be stricken from the roll of the International Union; (2) that a statement of Mr. Collins' indebtedness to the International be published with the annual proceedings of the union until such indebtedness was paid; (3) that the secretary notify subordinate unions by circular of the action of the International Union in reference to Mr. Collins' indebtedness. The report and recommendations accompanying it were adopted by the convention, after having been amended at the suggestion of Delegate John McVicar so that Mr. Collins' name be placed on the minutes as expelled for stealing the union's funds. A further amendment was offered—that the convention, while censuring Mr. Collins to the fullest extreme and branding him as a dishonorable man, also condemn the various financial committees which, by their slack way of examining the secretary's accounts, made it possible for Collins to defraud the union. This amendment, however, was defeated.

Delinquent Unions — By a resolution of the Interna-

tional body all subordinate unions delinquent for a period of two years were dropped, and it was further ordered that such delinquent unions be published in the appendix to the annual proceedings. Those unions published in the proceedings of 1875 as delinquent were Sacramento, Cal.; Bloomington, Jacksonville and Springfield, Ill.; Williamsport, Easton and Allentown, Pa.; Newbern, N. C.; Watertown and Newburgh, N. Y.; Rome, Ga.; Nebraska City, Neb.; Charleston, W. Va., and Elizabeth, N. J.

Resolutions — Among the resolutions passed at this session of the International Union were the following:

"That the International Union recommends the adoption by subordinate unions of a law providing that every person voting on the question of a strike shall be a member in good standing of the union under whose jurisdiction he is working for at least six months previous to the date of said meeting."

"That while a majority of the delegates attending this session of the International Union are seemingly in favor of the establishment of an International Typographical Union fund, the delegates feel that they would prefer laying the draft presented before subordinate unions for their action thereon; that the draft of the International Typographical Union fund act presented at this convention be spread upon the minutes and referred to the various subordinate unions, who are hereby ordered to instruct their delegates to the next session to vote for or against the adoption of such act, subject to amendment; that the secretary-treasurer of this International Union have printed ten thousand copies of such act for distribution among the various subordinate unions."

"That while this International Union enacts four years as the minimum time in which an apprenticeship can be served, it does not deny the right to fix a longer period if the exigencies of any union demand it."

Officers, 1875 — The election of officers, held on the last day of the convention, resulted as follows: Walter W. Bell, Philadelphia, president; James Harper, Montreal, first vice-president; C. F. Sheldon, Kansas City, second vice-president; W. A. Hutchinson, Chicago, secretary-treasurer, and W. S. Pride, Wilmington, Del., corresponding secretary.

The union adjourned to meet in Philadelphia in July, 1876, the time of meeting having been changed from June to July because of the centennial exposition held in Philadelphia that year.

Convention at Philadelphia

[1876] — The twenty-fourth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order by President Bell in Philadelphia, Monday, July 3, 1876.

This convention was the largest gathering of delegates in the history of the organization from 1850 to 1885, eighty unions being represented by ninety-eight delegates, according to the report of the committee on credentials. Notwithstanding the large attendance and the many important questions presented for consideration, including a new constitution, an International fund law, and a uniform constitution for subordinate unions, the results of the week's sessions failed to disclose any important measures enacted into law.

General Amnesty Refused — Owing to the depressed condition of trade throughout the country, the proposition of extending a general amnesty was presented for consideration and referred to a special committee. This committee, after due deliberation over the proposition, reported that: "As much as we desire to be merciful to all who have done wrong among us, and as this, the centennial year, would seem a fitting time for that purpose, yet we doubt the propriety of giving unlimited amnesty to

every one derelict in their duty to the craft, and especially to their own subordinate unions; therefore

"*Resolved,* That it is detrimental to the best interests of the craft, generally, that those who have proved recreant to their obligations as members of the union should again be admitted into full fellowship with the fraternity. We therefore deem it inexpedient to resort to a general amnesty."

This recommendation of the special committee was concurred in by the delegates, but in another place in the minutes of this convention we find favorable action taken on the following proposition: "That we deem it to be the true policy of subordinate unions to go to the utmost limit consistent with safety and honor in receiving into their membership all unfair printers who make application to that effect and who evince a desire to again become fair men."

Jurisdiction Limited — The question of jurisdiction received considerable attention, owing to the disputes arising in some sections of the country. The convention finally adopted a resolution to the effect that the jurisdiction of all unions chartered by the International Typographical Union of North America should extend only within the corporate limits of the city or town named in the charter.

Erasing Names from Charters — A practice that had become prevalent in subordinate unions, that of erasing names of charter members from the original instrument, was a subject of general interest and brought about much discussion. It was finally ordered that all subordinate unions that had erased names of charter members from their charters, and substituted others in their places, be required to replace those charters in the same condition in which they were issued by the International Union.

Only three unions were organized during the year, ow-

ing to the deplorable state of trade, and the charters of the following named unions were surrendered: Evansville, Ind.; St. Catharines, Ont.; Knoxville, Tenn., and Atchison, Kan.

Membership — A decided falling off in the total membership was reported by the secretary-treasurer. From a total of more than 10,000 the year previous, the membership had dropped to 8,688 at the close of the fiscal year.

Defense Fund — The previous convention having considered a proposition submitted by Delegate McVicar, of Detroit, to enact an International fund law, and having ordered that copies of the law be printed and submitted to subordinate unions for their consideration, and inviting definite action thereon through instructions to delegates to the Philadelphia convention, the matter was taken up for consideration under the report of the committee on unfinished business. This committee in its report said that the draft of the proposed fund law seemed to be as nearly a correct starting point as could well be defined and in its opinion a full and free discussion of the proposition should be had, and if the fund law was to be adopted the time had arrived for action. During the discussion it developed that many delegates to the convention favored the adoption of the fund law but had been instructed to vote against it. After fully considering the proposition it was finally rejected by a vote of 52 noes, 7 ayes.

Uniform Constitution for Subordinate Unions — The previous convention, held in Boston, had also authorized the appointment of a special committee to prepare a uniform constitution for subordinate unions. This committee had prepared an instrument for consideration by the delegates to the Philadelphia convention, but, while the document was based upon the general laws of the International and upon well-established precedents, the delegates

evinced a hesitancy to enact it into law and it was finally determined that consideration of the subject be postponed until the next session of the International, with the understanding that the document be spread upon the minutes and that subordinate unions be requested to instruct their delegates to vote "yea" or "nay" upon its adoption.

Greeley Monument — The Greeley monument committee submitted a report of the work accomplished during the year, in conjunction with a committee of employing printers of New York city. The work of construction had been proceeded with and it was hoped that the bronze figure of the great editor and printer, the cast for which was being made in Philadelphia, would be ready for inspection by the delegates at the convention, but in this matter the committee had been disappointed. The committee reported that the first proposition considered was to make a type-metal statue, but later, upon the advice of men of experience with metals, the committee learned that type-metal would not stand exposure to the weather for any length of time. About one thousand pounds of old type had been received by the committee, which would have to be put into the monument in some way. Arrangements for the unveiling of the monument had been completed, and a detailed report of the receipts and expenditures was promised for the next convention of the International Union.

Decisions — In the annual report submitted by President Bell was included a summary of decisions rendered during the year, some of which are quoted herewith:

"A chapel has no right to set aside, review or construe the action of the union in regular meeting."

"A subordinate union can not be made an agency for the collection of debts due private parties. A card can not be refused on such grounds."

"A subordinate union has no control over men regularly enlisted in the United States service and who may be detailed in the signal service, or to work at the business at military headquarters or posts."

"The scale of prices of a subordinate union must be regarded as the minimum rate at which its members can be employed and in no way can be construed to prevent any member from receiving a higher rate, if it can be obtained with the free consent of the employer."

"While every union has an undoubted right to levy and collect assessments from its members for all legitimate purposes of its organization, as set forth in its constitution and by-laws, for its own support or that of the International, or in defense of union principles, it exceeds its authority when it obliges its members to contribute against their will to any undertaking of a festive character or one which is not necessary for the furtherance of the purposes for which it was chartered."

Sub-Lists — The question of abolishing sub-lists was brought before the convention by a resolution introduced by Delegate McVicar, of Detroit, as follows:

"*Resolved,* That this International Typographical Union recommend to every subordinate union that it earnestly discourage, and kill, if possible, what is known as the sub-list system."

The committee on subordinate unions, to which the resolution was referred, reported adversely on the resolution, giving as its reason that it was antagonistic to section 13 of the general laws, which read: "It is the opinion of the International Union that it is neither wise in policy nor correct in principle that anything should be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices." A minority report was submitted, recommending the adoption of the resolution, and the repeal of section 13 of the gen-

eral laws. Delegate O'Rourke, of New York, offered the following substitute:

"*Resolved,* That all subordinate unions be directed to take such action as may to them seem best calculated to abolish what is known as the sub-list system."

The substitute was adopted.

Amendments and Resolutions — Among amendments to the laws and resolutions adopted were the following:

"That any alteration or amendment receiving a unanimous vote shall become a part of the constitution without being laid over for one year."

The general laws were amended by the adoption of the following paragraph: "The practice of loaning and borrowing matter by morning and evening papers printed in separate and distinct establishments, no matter by whom owned, is repugnant to the principles of our organization, and subordinate unions are enjoined to put forth every effort consistent with the best interests of such unions in order that such practice may be abolished."

"That the action of the previous convention in passing a resolution to the effect that the International Union no longer affiliate with the National Labor Congress be rescinded."

"That this body, recognizing strikes as detrimental to the best interests of our craft, direct subordinate unions that no strikes shall be ordered without at least a three-fourths vote of the union, and no man shall vote on such a question until he shall have belonged to the union at least six months."

Louisville, Ky., was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1877.

Officers, 1876 — The following officers were elected for the ensuing term: President, John McVicar, Detroit, Mich.; first vice-president, Henry Z. Osborne, New Orleans, La.; second vice-president, William P. Atkinson,

WALTER W. BELL, Philadelphia
President International Typographical Union
June 11, 1875 – July 7, 1876

Erie, Pa.; secretary-treasurer, John H. O'Donnell, Boston, Mass., and corresponding secretary, John Armstrong, Toronto, Ont.

Convention at Louisville

[1877] — When the twenty-fifth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order by President McVicar at Louisville, Ky., June 4, 1877, the delegates were welcomed to the city by Mr. J. D. Barfield, president of Louisville Union, who read a poem entitled "A Welcome," by S. K. Bangs, the famous printer-poet. The poem follows:

With a hearty grasp we meet you—aye, with arms extended wide
We receive you, fellow craftsmen, as the shore receives the tide—
As the south winds greet the billows in their coming to the strand
With the sweetest salutation of a flower-scented land.

Like alluring airs from meadows and from woodlands green and gay
(Where the wild rose and the violet spend the summer holiday)
We would lure you on and upward to the vine-embowered hills
Where our merry wine is nurtured by a myriad laughing rills.

Meet it is, O honored brothers! that you gather here in June,
When the hand of gentle Flora decks the sunny land of Boone;
When our generous boards are groaning 'neath the weight of goodly cheer,
And there comes a glowing promise of a glad and grateful year.

May the wisdom of your counsels guide us well upon our way,
Giving strength and hope and courage for the coming of a day
When the equal law of justice shall o'ercome the rule of greed,
And employer and employe will regard each other's need.

And we'll pass the flagon gayly when your graver work is through,
Since your visits, like the angels', are so fleeting and so few;
And we'll not forget the counsel of the jolly old Sir Jack,—
"There's a twofold operation in a little sherrie-sack."

President McVicar, on behalf of the assembled delegates and visitors, returned the thanks of the union for the welcome extended.

Depressed Trade Conditions — A marked decrease in the number of delegates present and of unions represented was apparent, compared with the large attendance at the Philadelphia convention the year previous. Only forty delegates presented credentials, representing thirty-one subordinate unions. The extremely dull condition of

trade at this period was largely responsible for the small attendance. The financial statement submitted by the secretary-treasurer showed a decrease in the total membership from the year before, the number in good standing having fallen to 6,900. Reductions in wages had been general throughout the country, strikes had been numerous, suspensions and consolidations of newspaper enterprises and a loose system of apprenticeship had crowded the labor market and contributed as much toward reduction in wages as the dull times. Unsuccessful strikes had occurred in Jackson, Mich.; Baltimore, Md.; Macon, Ga.; New Orleans, La.; Nashville, Tenn.; New York city; Chicago, Ill., and Syracuse, N. Y. In the latter city the union was worsted and almost wiped out of existence.

For the purpose of relieving conditions as much as possible, the corresponding secretary, during the year, by the advice and consent of the president and secretary-treasurer, had written to the typographical societies of Great Britain and Ireland, acquainting them of the great depression in the printing business on this continent for the purpose, if possible, of preventing printers from coming here in quest of employment. The following circular letter was sent to London, Liverpool, Manchester, Oxford, Derby, Durham, Bristol, Dublin, Cork, Londonderry, Belfast, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and Stirling:

TORONTO, ONT., January, 25, 1877.

To Secretaries Typographical Societies of Great Britain and Ireland.

I deem it advisable and expedient to inform your society of the depressed state of trade in the United States and Dominion of Canada, trusting you will give said information the widest possible publicity throughout your jurisdiction.

Financial depression, coupled with a general dullness in all lines of business, has made the past year one of unprecedented hardship to the craft, to such an extent that our subordinate

unions in both countries, with scarcely an exception, have been compelled to accept reductions in their newspaper scale of prices of from ten to twenty-five per cent, with no prospect of an early return to former rates. Similiar reductions have taken place in the book and job offices. Once large and thriving establishments in this important branch of our trade are now, through the exigencies of the times, either running on three-quarters time, or have reduced the number of their employes one-half their usual quota. Therefore, the executive adopts this method of communicating, through you, to our fellow-craftsmen of Great Britain and Ireland, the stagnant state of our business prevalent in the United States and the Dominion, and would impress upon them the injudiciousness of coming (for the present) to either country in quest of employment at the printing business.

I would also acquaint you of the fact that Canadian emigration agents, in their lecturing tours throughout the old country, have been in the habit of holding out dazzling inducements to come to the Province of Ontario, recommending certain establishments which do not conform to the principles of unionism. Upon arrival, they find out their mistake, and that their seductive advisers must be in league with union-opposing proprietors. Rather than sacrifice union principles, they either seek other means of subsistence, or exchange their British cards for ours, and leave for the States, thus increasing an already overstocked market of unemployed printers. Several distressing cases of this kind have come within my personal knowledge.

Considering the above facts, it is to be hoped you will see the necessity of placing the contents of this circular fully and explicitly before your society, so that our brother craftsmen across the Atlantic may understand the true state of affairs, as they unfortunately exist with us.

Fraternally, JOHN ARMSTRONG,
Corresponding Secretary.

The secretary reported that he had received from Mr. Self, secretary of the London Society of Compositors, copies of the rules of that society and its newspaper scale of prices; also a communication replete with information. A paragraph from Mr. Self's letter said: "You may rest assured that the contents of your communication will

be made known to all whom it may concern. Indeed, we are thoroughly acquainted with the terrible depression of trade, both in Canada and the United States, from various sources, and we do not think that you will be troubled with any printers from this side of the Atlantic until things show a very different aspect to that which they at present exhibit."

Lack of Discipline — In the annual report of President McVicar it was pointed out that, with few exceptions, subordinate unions were lamentably lacking in discipline. The most discouraging fact in this connection was the disposition of local organizations to refuse to recognize the International Union as the highest authority, and their failure to enforce its laws. President McVicar, who had introduced, two years previously, a proposed International fund law, which was so decisively rejected at the following convention, again referred to the matter and expressed a firm conviction that until some such law was enacted, and a fund created, thereby placing the International in a position to support satisfactorily members of subordinate unions out on strike, no relief from the unsatisfactory conditions prevalent could be expected.

Greeley Memorial — The final report of the Greeley memorial committee was presented to the convention. It showed that the efforts to erect a monument had been successful and that on the 4th day of December, 1876, a bronze bust of the departed printer-philosopher was unveiled, with proper ceremonies, over Greeley's grave in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Delegate to Paris — For the purpose of extending fraternal greetings to the printers of Europe, the convention determined to send a delegate to represent the body at the World's International Exposition held in Paris in 1878. J. H. Ralston, of Washington, D. C., was selected.

French-Canadians — A matter that had caused wide

discussion, and which had taken up considerable of the time of previous conventions, was the many disputes and constant friction between the French-Canadian union and the English speaking union in Montreal, Can. At the Philadelphia convention charges were preferred against the French-Canadian union by the English union, which were referred to the committee on appeals. This committee submitted a report providing for the appointment of a referee, to visit Montreal and make a thorough investigation of the differences existing between the two bodies, it being understood that both unions would abide by whatever decision the referee should arrive at, and that such decision should be final and binding on all parties concerned. Eugene O'Rourke, of New York, was selected as referee, and proceeded to Montreal, where he remained for several weeks, making an investigation preliminary to a decision. Mr. O'Rourke's decision was a drastic document, which required that the French-Canadian union should surrender its charter and that its members should be taken into the English speaking union. When a copy of the decision reached President McVicar that official instructed the French-Canadian union to pay no attention to the order to disband, instructing the members to continue to work in full fellowship with other subordinate unions, it being the opinion of the president that the referee had exceeded his authority in directing that the union surrender its charter, as that authority was vested only in the International body itself. The matter again came up on appeal to the Louisville convention, which sustained the action of the president, but, upon the strength of the reasons set forth in the report of the referee, the convention ordered that the charter of the French-Canadian union be surrendered, but upon modified conditions which were agreeable to the members of that union. The agreement reached by which the French-

Canadians were satisfied to surrender their charter and become members of No. 97 is contained in a resolution so unique in character that it is herewith reproduced:

The Jacques Cartier Typographical Union No. 145, being dissolved, the undersigned pledge themselves to join Union No. 97 on the following conditions, viz.:

That their constitution and by-laws be printed in both languages.

That all motions, reports, documents, etc., be also printed and laid before meetings in both languages.

That if the president is English, the French-Canadians will be entitled to the offices of vice-president, recording secretary and secretary-treasurer, the English being entitled to the other charges (excepting the board of directors, which will be composed of an equal number of Frenchmen and Englishmen); *vice versa* if the president is French. When it will be necessary to appoint delegates, the French will have the privilege of being represented by the same number of their countrymen as the English.

That at each annual election the English office-bearers will be replaced by French-Canadian officers, and French-Canadians by the English.

That a committee of Englishmen and Frenchmen be appointed immediately to amend the constitution and by-laws of Union No. 97 according to the foregoing resolution.

That assistant secretaries shall be appointed to assist the financial and recording secretaries in their duties.

Gift of Italian Printers — During the progress of the convention, the president announced that he had received, through the secretary of New York Union, a medal and an address presented to the printers of this country by the Italian printers. The address was referred to a special committee, which recommended to the convention that the delegate to Paris be requested to draft suitable resolutions expressing the thanks of the printers of the United States and Canada, through their representatives, to the printers of Italy for their beautiful memorial medal and expressions of fraternal friendship. It was ordered that

such resolutions be printed upon parchment, in the highest style of the art, bearing the seal of the International Union, with the signatures of the officers attached. The delegate was further instructed to recognize in proper manner the compliment paid the printers of the United States, in 1876, by the printers of France, and to investigate the state of trade in that country, inquiring into the prices of labor, and report upon the general conditions of French printers in comparison with conditions in this country.

Digest of Laws — A committee composed of five members of Detroit Typographical Union was appointed for the purpose of preparing and presenting a digest of the laws of the International Union, with instructions to have printed 500 copies for distribution among subordinate unions.

Union Printers Home — A proposition, submitted by Delegate Pool, of New Orleans, that a committee of five be appointed to inquire into the advisability and practicability of establishing a home for needy and infirm members of subordinate unions was referred to the committee on new business. This committee reported that the project was impracticable at that time, and the matter was indefinitely postponed.

Uniform Constitution — The committee on unfinished business, having under consideration the proposition for a uniform constitution for subordinate unions, laid over from the previous convention, submitted the matter with an unfavorable recommendation, which was concurred in.

Representation — Another proposition to amend the constitution, left over from the previous convention, proposing to change the representation of subordinate unions, allowing one delegate for each one hundred members, was defeated.

Date of Meeting — A further proposition, to change

the date of the annual meeting from June to September, was rejected, and Detroit, Mich., was selected as the next convention city.

Officers, 1877 — The following officers were elected for the ensuing term: President, Darwin R. Streeter, St. Louis, Mo.; first vice-president, Edward Griffin, Baltimore, Md.; second vice-president, Edwin Fitzgeorge, Trenton, N. J.; secretary-treasurer, John H. O'Donnell, Boston, Mass., and corresponding secretary, John Armstrong, Toronto, Ont.

Convention at Detroit

[1878] — *Lowest Membership* — When the twenty-sixth convention of the International Union opened its sessions in Detroit, on June 3, 1878, the organization had reached its lowest point in membership and the highest point in number of suspended unions. Only 4,260 members were reported in good standing. Charters had been surrendered by Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Providence, Evansville, Savannah, Omaha, Alexandria, Va.; Jackson, Mich.; Atchison, Kan.; Springfield, Mass.; Topeka, Kan.; St. Catharines, Ont.; Bay City, Mich.; Rutland, Vt.; Madison, Wis., and New York Women's Union. Charters of the following unions had been revoked for non-payment of dues: Petersburg and Lynchburg, Va.; Augusta and Atlanta, Ga.; Burlington and Keokuk, Iowa; Lawrence, Kan.; Terre Haute, Ind.; St. John, N. B.; Jersey City, N. J.; Springfield, Ohio; Jefferson City, Mo.; Kalamazoo, Mich.; Schuylkill and Titusville, Pa.; Natchez, Miss.; Cumberland, Md.; Opelika, Ala.; Tioga, Pa.; Burlington, Vt., and San Antonio, Tex.

Organization and Discipline — President Streeter submitted his annual report, covering the transactions of his administration, together with numerous recommendations

JOHN McVICAR, Detroit
President International Typographical Union
July 7, 1876 – June 8, 1877

for legislation which he believed to be for the best interests of the organization. Speaking of organization and discipline, the president said that he entirely agreed with his predecessor as to the sad lack of proper attention paid by subordinate unions to matters of discipline. He pointed out many instances of non-observance of International laws and suggested the necessity for more stringent rules for the government of subordinate unions. While, in his opinion, it was desirable that matters pertaining to local affairs should be left in the hands of local unions, it was proper, in fact absolutely necessary, that stronger laws should be enacted and enforced for the purpose of obtaining a more definite understanding and honest observance of the duties of one union to another, and of all subordinate unions to the International Union. It was pointed out that notwithstanding the fact that, at a great expense of time and money, annual sessions of the body were held in different sections of the jurisdiction, at which many just and good laws were passed for the government of the membership, no particular punishment had been provided for those unions and individual printers who saw fit to ignore and disobey these laws. The only punishment provided for violation of law was expulsion. This punishment had been considered too severe to inflict except in extreme cases and the result had been that conventions had allowed some of their requirements to be treated with contempt rather than revoke the charter of the offending union. It was suggested that a system of fines be provided, to be imposed on subordinate unions wilfully disobeying the International laws or disregarding the rights of sister societies.

Referring to section 1 of the general laws, which forbade local unions admitting to membership persons coming from another jurisdiction, without the consent of the union in that jurisdiction, the president said that

complaints of violations of this section were of frequent occurrence. While admitting that in some instances undesirable members were admitted to membership because nothing was known of their antecedents, nor of their past affiliation with the union, it could not be denied that in many cases the violation of a fundamental law was wilful in the highest degree. Persons expelled by subordinate unions had been admitted elsewhere with the full knowledge of such expulsion and with a total disregard of the principles on which the system was based. The president recommended amplification of the law, so that when an applicant's name was taken and a statement obtained from him as to the city or cities in which he had previously worked, as apprentice or journeyman, correspondence should be had with the parties for whom applicant had worked, and the investigation of any references he might be able to furnish. Should objection be made to the admission of an applicant, and the reasons given not deemed valid by the union to which application was made for membership, an appeal should be lodged with the International president. A fine was recommended for a violation of this law for the first offense and for a second offense of like character the charter of the union so offending revoked.

"Permits" — The custom of issuing "permits" was discussed and the abuse of the practice called to the attention of delegates. It appears that under the system of issuing permits, many traveling printers had come to pay little, if any, attention to the necessity of procuring an International traveling card when about to leave a city, knowing that they could obtain a permit to work from the union within whose jurisdiction they sought employment. This abuse had grown to such an extent that all that was required in many cases was an affirmation by some friend that the newcomer was "a good union

man." As time went on these members found themselves getting deeper and deeper in debt to the union from whence they came, with the result that expulsions often followed. In this way the subordinate unions were beaten out of their just dues and many careless printers found themselves without membership in any union, and interminable disputes followed in the wake of this practice. An amendment to the law was suggested by the president to correct this abuse.

Female Compositors — On the question of female compositors President Streeter took a strong position against admitting them to membership in the union, but did not seek to press his personal ideas on the subject on the delegates, except to say that it was his belief that this question was one that should engage the serious attention of the convention, and a free discussion of the matter was invited. It was finally ordered by the convention that no further charters be granted to women for the formation of separate unions—that such women as held membership in subordinate unions be not interfered with in any of the privileges they enjoyed and that the question of the admission of women to membership be left entirely to the discretion of subordinate unions.

International Strike Fund — At previous conventions of the International Union the subject of an International strike fund had been brought up and discussed and invariably the action taken had been adverse to the creation of such a fund. It appears that the objection to such a fund was lodged in the belief by the delegates that it was an unsafe venture to place large sums of money in the hands of one man, but the condition of the union was such at that time that the delegates evidently realized that some action was absolutely necessary in order that the International Union might be preserved, and a fund law, so long discussed and so often defeated, was finally

passed at this session. That the delegates endeavored to surround this fund with every protection possible will be observed by reading the law, which follows:

WHEREAS the disastrous ending of nearly all the strikes (from any cause arising) entered into by various subordinate unions under the jurisdiction of this International Typographical Union is invariably attributed to a lack of the proper sinews of war in such cases, viz., money with which to prosecute them to a successful issue; and

WHEREAS as one great secret of success lies in the maxim, "In time of peace prepare for war," it is eminently proper that this body should adopt some measure calculated to bring material aid to the treasury of a subordinate union struggling for the maintenance of the principles enunciated by this International Typographical Union; therefore

Resolved, That the International Typographical Union of North America, in twenty-sixth annual session assembled, in the city of Detroit, Michigan, adopt the following, to be known as "An Act for the Creation of an International Typographical Union Fund for Extraordinary Expenses:"

SECTION 1. At the stated meeting of each subordinate union held in the month of January, in the year A. D. 1879, and in the month of January of each and every year thereafter, the members of such subordinate union shall each pay into the treasury thereof the sum of one dollar, in addition to all dues, etc., levied for subordinate union purposes.

SEC. 2. The money thus paid into the treasuries of the various subordinate unions shall be known as "The International Typographical Union Fund," and shall be controlled in the manner hereinafter prescribed.

SEC. 3. All traveling cards drawn from a subordinate union during and after January in each year shall have endorsed thereon the words, "International Typographical Union fund dues for .... (the current year) have been paid," and no card shall issue unless such dues have been paid by the member applying for it.

SEC. 4. Should a card be drawn during one year, and not deposited in any union until during or after January of the following year, upon such deposit in any subordinate union (at any date whatsoever) the financial secretary of such subor-

dinate union shall charge the International fund dues against the depositor of such card for the current year, and collect them, in addition to the local dues, etc., at his next regular quarterly collection, or at the time of drawing such card from his hands, should its depositor decide upon leaving his jurisdiction previous to such quarterly collection.

SEC. 5. Against all new members admitted to any subordinate union by initiation the International fund dues for the current year shall be charged, in addition to all subordinate union dues, etc., and collected as prescribed in section 4 of this act.

SEC. 6. It is hereby made the duty of the treasurer of each subordinate union to deposit the moneys collected by him under the foregoing sections of this act in some reliable bank, situated in the city or town in which the subordinate union of which he is a member is located, conjointly in his own name and those of the president and financial secretary of such subordinate union, in an account separate and apart from his deposit of subordinate union funds, to lie therein, at interest, subject to call under orders of the proper officers of this International Typographical Union, as hereinafter provided for; and such deposit of International fund moneys shall be made by such treasurer in full of all amounts in his hands within forty-eight hours after three dollars, or more, of such funds have been received by him; and the president, financial secretary, and treasurer of each subordinate union are hereby constituted a board of local trustees of the International Union fund moneys collected in their respective jurisdictions.

SEC. 7. It is hereby made the duty of the treasurer of each subordinate union to notify the secretary-treasurer of this International Typographical Union, on the first day of each and every calendar month, of the amount and date of each and every deposit made by him under the provisions of section 6 of this act during the month immediately preceding, together with the amount of interest, if any, credited to such fund by the bank in which it is deposited.

SEC. 8. It is hereby made the duty of the secretary-treasurer of this International Typographical Union to open an account with the treasurer of each subordinate union, in a book to be procured and kept for that purpose, charging such treasurer with all deposits made under the provisions of sections 6 and 7

of this act, and with such interest thereon as may be, from time to time, allowed by the banks in which said funds are deposited, and crediting them with such sums as may, from time to time, be drawn from such fund under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 9. The principal and interest of the International fund shall remain on deposit, in trust of the local trustees of the International Typographical Union fund in each subordinate union, to be used to aid subordinate unions in attempts to make successful any strikes that may be ordered (subject to the restrictions hereinafter named) within their jurisdiction for the purpose of securing an increase or resisting a reduction of wages, or for the purpose of reinstating union men as a whole in any office in which the employer or employers may have determined upon or caused a lockout, or for any other strike purpose decided upon by a three-fourths vote of all its members present at a regular or special meeting; always provided, that in each and every instance good and sufficient notice of the special subject to be considered at such meeting shall have been given every member of said union (in the usual manner of notification of members provided by the constitution of said union) at least twelve hours before such meeting; provided, further, that it shall also be necessary, in all cases, except a strike against a reduction of wages, to obtain the sanction of the president of this International Typographical Union to such strike, in order to receive benefits from the International Typographical Union fund.

SEC. 10. It shall be necessary, in order for the local trustees to draw money from the bank, once it has been deposited, to have the warrant of the president of the International Typographical Union, countersigned by the secretary-treasurer; and no bank in which this fund is deposited shall pay any check of said trustees without the presentation of such warrant in addition to their duly signed check.

SEC. 11. When a strike is ordered by a subordinate union, in accordance with the provisions of section 9 of this act, the local trustees of the International fund shall immediately notify the president and the secretary-treasurer of the International Union of such fact, giving them the number of men to receive benefits owing to such strike, and also such other information in reference thereto as seems proper to such trustees the International officers named should possess. After such strike has

been going on for at least one week the local trustees may be ordered (by a three-fourths vote of the members present at a called meeting of the subordinate union under whose jurisdiction said strike is in progress) to make requisition upon the president of the International Typographical Union for a sum not to exceed seven dollars per week per man on strike, which requisition shall be in form as follows:

To the President of the International Typographical Union of North America.

On the —— day of ——, 18——, Typographical Union No. —— ordered a strike in (newspaper, book, job or press office, as the case may be) of (the employer or employers or corporation name) to (purpose of strike), and a requisition is hereby made upon the International Typographical Union fund, in accordance with its provisions. The number of men to receive benefits under this strike is ——.

In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed our hands and the seal of Typographical Union No. ——.

——————, *President,*
——————, *Financial Secretary,*
——————, *Treasurer,*
[SEAL.] Local Trustees, ———— Union No. —.
——————, *Recording Secretary,*
———— Union No. —.

Attest:

SEC. 12. Immediately upon receipt of (by the president of the International Typographical Union) a properly attested requisition, in due form, as above, he shall issue his warrant upon the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union for the sum of seven dollars for each man on strike, for one week's benefit, and said secretary-treasurer shall draw upon such local trustees as may be most convenient (according to their location, in reference to striking point, and to the standing of their accounts upon his books) for a sufficient sum in all to cover the amount specified in the president's warrant, ordering such local trustees to forward the sum so drawn upon them to the local trustees of the striking union, by express, telegram, or postoffice money order, as deemed best, within twelve hours after receipt of such order; provided, that in making his draft upon such local trustees, he shall attach to it the seal of the International Typographical Union, and accompany it with a statement of when the strike began and why it was entered into; provided further, that the local trustees shall be required to present such warrant, together with their check, to the bank having such fund on deposit for payment, and said bank shall pay no check of said trustees without the presentation of such warrant, in addition to their duly signed check.

SEC. 13. The secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union shall keep a just and true account of all moneys entered into, or drawn from, the International fund, as provided in section 8 of this act, and present the same, together with all papers, notifications, etc., in reference to said fund, which have accumulated in his possession during the fiscal year preceding, to each session of the International Typographical Union.

SEC. 14. The local trustees of the International Typographical Union fund in each subordinate union shall send a just and true account of all moneys received and deposited and paid out from that portion of the International fund in their charge, for the preceding fiscal year, to each session of the International Union, which account must be accompanied by their bank book, posted to the close of said year at least, as a voucher.

SEC. 15. The reports of the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union and of the local trustees of the International fund in each subordinate union shall; each year, at the annual session thereof, be referred to a special committee of the International Typographical Union for examination and audit; after such examination, and finding the reports correct, all papers unnecessary to keep on file may be destroyed or returned to the parties presenting them, the local trustees' bank books to be returned them through their respective delegates or by express, in case of their not being represented by a delegate.

SEC. 16. After a regularly ordered strike has continued six weeks beyond the time of the first draft upon the International fund, the weekly instalments or benefits forwarded from said fund may be discontinued, in the discretion of the president of this International Union; always provided, that the condition of affairs at the striking point must be reported to him at least once in forty-eight hours by the local trustees of the International fund at such point.

SEC. 17. For all strike purposes, with the exception of that mentioned in section 9 of this act, the president of this International Typographical Union must first be consulted (and a three-fourths vote of the subordinate union, as provided in section 9 of this act, shall be necessary to order such consultation) and a detailed statement of grievances and proposed

DARWIN R. STREETER, St. Louis
President International Typographical Union
June 8, 1877 – June 7, 1878

remedies submitted to them, when, if they sanction it, the strike may take place and support be given from the International fund. Should such a strike otherwise take place, the local union must stand on its own bottom.

SEC. 18. No moneys shall be drawn from this International fund for any strike purpose until it shall have been in process of collection for at least one year.

Vice-President Griffin Expelled — Edward Griffin, of Baltimore, who had been elected first vice-president of the International Union in Louisville, in 1877, violated his obligation to the union upon his return to Baltimore, almost immediately after the adjournment of the convention that had honored him by election to office. President Streeter, in reporting the matter to the convention, said: "In view of the peculiar meanness shown by this man, I respectfully recommend that some action be taken by the convention expressive of its feelings in the matter, to the end that his name and conduct be held up to the scorn and contempt of every fair-minded printer in the United States and British Provinces." A special committee was appointed to which the recommendation of the president was referred. This committee, after investigating the charge against Griffin, submitted the following, which was endorsed by the convention:

"Edward Griffin, of Baltimore, having been elected first vice-president of this body at the Louisville session of 1877, and having violated the obligation required of an officer of this body, as well as betrayed his constituency of Baltimore Union No. 12, is entitled to the contempt and scorn of all honorable craftsmen. Edward Griffin affords an unexampled instance of an officer of this union betraying his trust while in office, and we hope that subordinate unions will make his name and crime as odious as possible throughout their jurisdictions. With his oath of office fresh upon his lips, he betrayed the con-

fidence of those who elevated and honored him with the highest position within their gift, and deliberately ratted."

Jurisdiction of Subordinate Unions — The law defining limits of jurisdiction for subordinate unions was amplified by the following amendment: "That a subordinate union may consider any place within a radius of fifty miles of its location in which place no union exists, as within its jurisdiction, for the purpose of admitting non-union printers in such place to its membership."

Insurance Plan — A proposition to create a plan of insurance for members of the International Union received favorable consideration at the hands of the delegates, and it was ordered that the plan be printed in detail in the convention proceedings and referred for further action to the next convention.

Minor Legislation — Minor legislation included extension of apprenticeships from four to five years, and the law directing a secret ballot on calling a strike.

Washington, D. C., was selected as the convention city for 1879.

Officers, 1878 — John Armstrong, Toronto, was elected president; O. P. Martin, Chicago, first vice-president; T. J. Vaughan, Richmond, Va., second vice-president; William White, New York, secretary-treasurer, and Charles Wright, Cincinnati, corresponding secretary.

Convention at Washington

[1879] — When the delegates to the twenty-seventh convention assembled in Washington, D. C., June 2, 1879, only twenty-seven unions were represented.

Discouraging Conditions — While President Armstrong, in his annual report, spoke encouragingly of his belief that the hard times were passing, and predicted a return to prosperity, the actual conditions then existing

were perhaps the most discouraging in the history of the organization. Many subordinate unions located in the south had suffered through general suspension of industry, brought about by quarantine regulations because of a scourge of yellow fever. The fixed policy of local autonomy and the absence of a strong box from which to finance the numerous strikes had depleted the membership to such an extent that the secretary-treasurer omitted from his annual report any figures showing the actual number in good standing, although the aggregate was given as 5,968. The union was without funds and apparently without power to enact and enforce any laws that denied to subordinate unions the right to do practically as they pleased.

Negro Members — For the second time in the history of the craft the question of the recognition of colored printers was brought before the International Union. At the convention held in Cincinnati in 1869 President George, in his report, made mention of a difficulty in Columbia Union over acceptance of one L. H. Douglas, a colored printer. A special committee was appointed, to whom the matter was referred, and this committee recommended that the question of admitting or rejecting colored printers be left to the discretion of subordinate unions. The recommendation was concurred in. This action on the part of the convention left the acceptance of an application and the initiation of a colored printer optional with subordinate unions, while his recognition by traveling card remained unsettled. Attention was called to another case of a colored man who had been refused admission in Memphis, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark., on account of his color, having presented a traveling card from Columbia Union No. 101. It was finally determined by the convention that no subordinate unions be allowed to refuse to accept a properly accredited traveling card,

which was clear and within date, provided no charges were pending against the holder thereof.

Limitation of Foreman's Authority — During the year the president had been called upon to interpret the law which said: "The foreman is the proper person to whom application should be made for employment." A foreman in a western city had posted a sub-list in his office. This action met with disfavor in the union; the list was removed and a notice put up in its place to the effect that any regular hand wishing to be relieved from work temporarily must apply to the foreman the day previous, and the latter would procure a substitute. This, in the opinion of the foreman, was the true interpretation of the law. Quite a feeling was created in the union by this action. Finally the matter was referred to the International president for a decision. The president, after careful consideration of the question and of the motive which prompted those who framed the act, made the following interpretation of the law: "The law laid down that a foreman is the proper person to whom application should be made for employment was intended to protect the foreman and make his position, as such, independent from outside influence and the tampering of proprietors. He has the right to employ and discharge the regular hands under him and it naturally follows that he has also the right to say who shall 'sub' and who shall not 'sub' in his office. I, therefore, look upon the putting up of a sub-list in an office as optional with the foreman of that office; but, when a certain number of 'subs' are allowed and recognized in an office, it is the right and privilege of any regular hand to choose from this recognized number who shall temporarily work for him, and such right and privilege does not belong to the foreman."

Defense Fund — The International fund law, passed by the previous convention, had been generally ignored

by subordinate unions. With a few exceptions, the membership had refused to contribute toward establishing such a fund. Speaking of this law, the president said: "More than a quarter of a century has rolled by since the formation of a general fund, to sustain subordinate unions in times of trouble, was first mooted in our craft. Often has this question been brought up at annual conventions, both under the old National Typographical Union and under the régime of the International, and each time with such alterations and amendments as seemed best suited to control the modus operandi of such a fund. Within these latter years a scheme of this kind has been brought prominently before the craft. Ex-President McVicar's International fund act seems to be the most perfect. Its provisions you are all, no doubt, familiar with. This measure was defeated at the Philadelphia convention. The same gentleman mentioned it in his annual address at the Louisville convention as one which the craft should adopt, and made favorable comments upon it. Mr. McVicar's suggestions were approved of by that convention, thereby virtually committing the International Union to the principles which the scheme embraced. Last year President Streeter, in his address to the Detroit session, laid the entire measure before the convention for adoption or rejection. As you are aware, the measure was then legalized as a general law, and subordinate unions were expected to enforce the same. I regret to state that the law has not met with that hearty concurrence at the hands of subordinate unions which, in my opinion, it deserves. Several unions complied with its provisions and have placed the necessary fund in the bank; others acknowledge the beneficial results that will emanate from such a fund, but are unable to carry out its provisions owing to a want of unanimity; and others again protest against this law in circulars couched

in language more forcible than discreet, and in direct violation or section 1, article 1, of the constitution of this supreme body, which states: 'The International Typographical Union of North America shall be acknowledged, respected and obeyed by each subordinate union in its jurisdiction.' Many of the circulars express the opinion that the law was an amendment to the constitution of this body and therefore required a year's notice of motion to make it legal. Certainly subordinate unions have a perfect right to an opinion. But I require more than this. Proof and precedent are wanted to show wherein the measure is an amendment to our constitution. The law governing strikes, most arbitrary in one sense, yet one of the best laws ever framed by this International body, was passed at a single session. Presidents Bodwell, McVicar and Streeter decided that the measure was a general law, and therefore competent to be disposed of at one session. These decisions met with the approval of the conventions over which they had the honor of presiding. I am acquainted with more than one union the members of which strongly objected to the payment of the requisite dollar on the sound metallic basis that such a fund would be a most prolific parent of innumerable strikes; yet a motion to draw the full amount, per head, from the treasury was almost unanimously agreed to. I am convinced that, until such time as the printers of this continent are educated to bear a general taxation for legitimate purposes with good grace, we have yet to learn something of the principles of permanent unionism. Those who make objections to the establishment of such a fund should not overlook the fact that similar reserves have been raised by the craft in Europe; and the beneficial results which have been obtained therefrom should certainly incite us to make an honest effort to carry out the wish of the International Union in this matter. I believe

that the establishment of this fund will discourage strikes, will place the International and subordinate unions on a sounder footing, and will in many ways be productive of great good to the entire craft. I leave this subject with you, invoking for it a careful and impartial consideration."

That the delegates were not in sympathy with the International fund law was evidenced by the adoption of a resolution offered by Delegate Chance of Philadelphia, as follows:

Resolved, That the "Act for the creation of an International fund for extraordinary expenses" be stricken from our general laws, and that all moneys appropriated or collected under its provisions be covered back into the treasuries of the various subordinate unions so appropriating or collecting.

St. Louis Charter — In the proceedings of the convention held at Detroit, Mich., in 1878, and in the reports of officers submitted for the year ended at that time, no mention is made of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8. At the convention in Washington in June, 1879, the committee on credentials incorporated the following paragraph in its report:

"In connection with our report, we must state that we have documents from the charter committee of No. 8 (St. Louis) as well as from the St. Louis Typographical Protective Association, presented by representative delegates, Messrs. Guiheen and Cochran, and, as a disposition of this matter involves fundamental principles governing the craft, we respectfully recommend that the subject be relegated to the union for consideration in committee of the whole, and that the contesting delegates be granted the privilege of the floor in their own behalf. After determining to consider the matter in committee of the whole, in secret session, the recommendation of the credentials committee was concurred in.

After the secret session, the following was adopted:

Resolved, That Messrs. Guiheen and Cochran be admitted to seats in this convention and that the whole subject of dispute in relation to St. Louis Union be referred to a special committee of three, whose duty it shall be to recommend to this union what is best to be done under the circumstances.

Accordingly a special committee was appointed and, on the third day of the session, submitted the following report, which was concurred in by the convention:

Your committee appointed on the papers sent to this body by the charter committee of St. Louis Union No. 8, and by the Printers' Protective Association and the Job Printers' Association of St. Louis, and all other papers in connection with said matter, offer the following as their report:

First. That there is not now, nor has there at any time been, since the surrender of their first charter, a legally constituted union in the city of St. Louis.

We are forced to this finding from the fact that printers going to St. Louis can not obey the general laws of this body under the head of membership, sections 3, 4, 5 and 6, and from the further fact that the so-called Union No. 8 does not, and can not, exercise any of the functions of a subordinate union, as it does not, so far as we have been able to ascertain, hold its regular meetings, collect dues, issue and receive traveling or working cards, or take any other action necessary to the healthful working of a subordinate union.

In order amicably to settle the difficulty now existing in St. Louis, we would respectfully recommend a committee of seven, three each to be selected by the gentlemen representing the two factions in St. Louis, present at this session of this body—Messrs. Guiheen and Cochran—and the seventh member of this committee to be elected by the six thus appointed, to whom a charter shall be issued by this body, who shall immediately open St. Louis Union and proceed to exercise all the functions of a subordinate union, and shall have all the powers, protection and privileges guaranteed to a subordinate union by the constitution and general laws of this body when they shall thus organize themselves, which they are hereby ordered to do at the earliest possible moment.

JOHN ARMSTRONG, TORONTO
President International Typographical Union
June 7, 1878 – June 5, 1879

In connection with the above report, Delegate Chance, Philadelphia, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the charter at present held by St. Louis be revoked by this union.

The resolution was adopted.

At the convention in Chicago the following year, President Haldeman, in his report, said that the terms of the resolution adopted, providing for the appointment of a committee of seven to adjust the St. Louis difficulty, had never been carried out. It appears that from the first move toward its execution, no provision for the contingency of a non-agreement of the two factions having been made, it was impossible to accomplish a definite result. The officers of the International Union were left no authority in the matter except to issue a charter when the properly accredited seven names accompanied the application. After several meetings of the committee, its members failed to agree, with the result that the matter was again placed before the convention in practically the same shape that it was the year previous. It was determined by the delegates to consider the matter in secret session, with the result that the convention adopted the following resolution disposing of the matter:

Resolved, That in the judgment of this body the members of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 are entitled to recognition, that their delegates should be admitted to seats, and that their charter should be returned.

Resolved, That it is the understanding of this International body that all members of St. Louis Union No. 8, in good standing at the time of suspension, and who have not since ratted, and all men now in the city with cards, shall be entitled to full recognition without question by said union.

Resolved, That we recommend to the union men of St. Louis a policy of leniency and forgiveness, with the view of consolidating the competent practical printers of that city and securing their alliance with our fraternity.

The wisdom of the convention in following the policy outlined in the foregoing resolution is evidenced by the comment of President Atkinson in his annual report (1881), as follows:

What is known as the "St. Louis trouble" attracted so much attention at the last session of this body that brief reference to the results of the settlement then made will not be improper. I have made it my business to observe those results, and it is with pleasure that I now verify the wisdom of the decision at Chicago, recognizing and returning the charter to the members of No. 8, trusting them to consolidate the union element of that jurisdiction. The terms agreed upon were exceeded in liberality and within a few weeks one hundred and seventy-five new members were added to the rolls. Those who have taken the trouble to note the status of affairs in St. Louis need not be told that for many years our friends have had uphill work in that city and that organized non-unionism has been strong and active. I am convinced that this opposition is now confronted with a zeal and unity which can not fail to effect material advantages in the near future. In the settlement of this difficulty, in common with all who feel the need of harmony among ourselves, I rejoice.

State Unions — A comprehensive proposition providing for the creation of state and provincial unions met with little favor at the hands of the convention, being defeated by a decisive vote.

Charters — Charters were reissued during the year to Bay City, Mich.; San Antonio, Tex.; Eureka, Nev., and pressmen's unions were organized in Philadelphia and Ottawa. Indianapolis again appeared in the list of unions in good standing, although no mention is made of the charter being reissued, the same having been surrendered in 1877. Two unions (Houston, Tex., and Richmond Ind.) surrendered their charters.

Delegate to Paris — J. H. Ralston, International delegate to the Paris Exposition, submitted an interesting and comprehensive report of his trip abroad, which was

ordered to be spread upon the minutes and printed in full as an appendix to the proceedings.

Insurance — A proposition presented at the previous convention to create a plan of insurance was again laid over, with a request to subordinate unions to discuss the plan and give utterance to their desires through their delegates to the next meeting of the International Union.

Biennial Conventions — A proposition to hold conventions of the International biennially, instead of annually, was rejected.

Inception of the A. F. of L. — A resolution was adopted instructing the corresponding secretary to open communication with the different international labor unions in North America, with a view of getting an expression regarding the feasibility of forming an international amalgamated union, with instructions to lay such correspondence before the next convention.

Arbitration — While the prevailing policy at this period of the union's history permitted subordinate unions to go on strike without interference by the International, the spirit of arbitration was in evidence. A resolution was adopted by the convention to the effect that the International Typographical Union would recommend that when disputes arose between subordinate unions and employers, which could not be adjusted after conferences between the parties at issue, the matter be then settled by arbitration.

Chicago, Ill., was selected as the convention city for 1880.

Officers, 1879 — Samuel Haldeman, Washington, D. C., was elected president; William P. Atkinson, Erie, Pa., first vice-president; C. W. Bovard, Springfield, Ill., second vice-president; William White, New York, secretary-treasurer, and Thomas T. Hurdle, Richmond, Va., corresponding secretary.

Visit Tomb of Washington — The delegates to the Washington convention visited Mount Vernon on Tuesday, June 3, as the guests of Columbia Typographical Union and Pressmen's Union No. 1, of Washington. While at the tomb the company proceeded to the portico of the mansion, where Mr. L. A. Gobright, a printer, delivered an oration on the life and character of Washington, as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION—It is right that men engaged in a vocation that enlightens the world by a diffusion of intelligence and records the products of the mind in permanent form should withdraw for a brief season from their usual occupation to visit a place dear to every American heart—a place where, during the late civil war, no rude soldiery intruded to disturb the holy calm that surrounds the scene. This is neutral ground, where all men may meet in concord and peace.

There are three chapters in the life of Washington—military, civil and domestic. The last-named was closed at Mount Vernon. He, after the second term of his presidency, returned to it in 1797, the haven of repose where, throughout his anxious and agitated career, he hoped to pass the remainder of his days.

The history of his life shows that he reluctantly and timidly entered upon the administration of affairs, but was compelled to do so by a sense of public duty and by the importunity of friends—patriots imbued with the love of liberty, like himself.

On the porch of this mansion he had often looked, as we do now, at the beautiful Potomac, and at the close of the summer day enjoyed the air cooled by the passage over its flow of waters. Here he beheld the rising and setting sun that still illuminates with undiminished luster this beautiful landscape, and here, too, he beheld the glories of the varying seasons, and was glad in the possession of "the lines" that had fallen to him "in pleasant places" and given to him "a goodly heritage."

The rougher products of the field, the abundant harvests, were not more valued than the flowers that bloomed under his cultivating care and spread around him a halo of bloom, with fragrance more precious than all the honors that men could bestow.

We tread the paths of his estate so often trodden by him; we pass through the same doors of the mansion. At every turn we are reminded of the stately form of him whose fame has extended to every portion of the world where true greatness is appreciated.

But he was permitted only a short time to enjoy a rest at Mount Vernon. On the 12th day of December, 1799, he was seized with inflammation of the throat, which grew worse the next day and terminated his life on the 14th of that month, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

We know from the history of the times of the universal gloom the event occasioned and the honors everywhere paid to his memory.

The funeral took place on the 18th of December. At eleven o'clock the people of the neighborhood began to assemble. The corporation of Alexandria, with the militia and freemasons and eleven pieces of artillery, arrived at a later hour. A schooner was stationed off Mount Vernon to fire minute guns. At three o'clock the procession began to move, passing out at the gate at the left wing, proceeding round in front of the lawn, and down to the vault on the right wing of the house. The troops, horse and foot, formed the escort; next came the clergy, then the general's horse, with his saddle, holsters and pistols, led by two grooms in black. The body was borne by freemasons and military officers. Several members of the family and old friends and some of the Fairfaxes followed as chief mourners. The corporation of Alexandria and numerous private persons closed the procession. The Rev. Mr. Davis read the funeral service at the vault and pronounced a short address, after which the freemasons performed their ceremonies, when the body was deposited in the vault.

Such were the obsequies of Washington, simple and modest, according to his own wishes—all confined to the grounds of Mount Vernon, which, after forming the poetic dream of his life, had now become the final resting place.

The senate of the United States, in a communication to President Adams, said: "Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to Him who maketh dark his pavilion. With patriotic

pride we review the life of Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in favor. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory.

"The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory. He has traveled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of honor. He has deposited it safely, where misfortune can not tarnish it, where malice can not blast it. Favored of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity. Magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness."

The president, in response, said that he had attended Washington in his "highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation and constancy." That "his life could not suffer by a comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame," and that "the attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a most resplendent luminary."

On the 23rd of December congress resolved to erect a marble monument at the capital "designed to commemorate the great merits of his military and political life." The monument is not yet built; nor does Washington need one, except in the hearts of his countrymen, on the base of gratitude, affection and veneration. As an ornament to the city which he founded it would please the eye, but could add nothing to the appreciation of his illustrious character. It may here be appropriately mentioned that when Lafayette, the well-tried friend of Washington, visited the tomb, in 1825, he descended alone into the vault and was melted into tears; and, as he was about to depart, Mr. Custis (the grandson of Mrs. Washington), who had accompanied him to the spot, presented him with a ring containing some of the hair of his illustrious friend. Lafayette examined the mansion with great interest, and among the relics discovered the key to the Bastile, which had been sent to Wash-

ington many years before by himself. This was the principal key of the fortress of despotism which Lafayette had ordered to be destroyed.

So far as other countries are concerned Washington's real character was obscure. It could be seen only from a distance, in a dim, shadowy outline; but as the sun slowly lifts at morn the hazy blue drapery of the mountains, and exposes them in their stateliness, so the brightness of time has dispelled the mist that enveloped him, and he now stands forth as a Colossus against a clear sky, in full view of the admiring world, in resplendent glory.

Beside him floats the American flag, its stars, like the stellar fires of the firmament, never to be dimmed, and after which it was fashioned, representing a constellation of states, constantly increasing in number, illuminating the union field as the stars glitter above, where reign harmony and peace. And as the natural stars shine for all, so may those upon our banner, teaching the lesson of concord, undisturbed by faction, with no instrumentalities to rend our starry host. May the national ensign ever be the symbol of justice, in all respects whatsoever —a joy to all nations, as the glorious light which makes clear the path from despotism to freedom.

From this sacred ground may we bear away a higher appreciation than heretofore of the character of him whose dust only lies in that dim and damp vault, inclosed in the cold and pallid sarcophagus, but whose spirit will ever live to warm the hearts of the lovers of liberty in association with free institutions, as the noiseless rays of the sun warm the generous earth, softened by the rain and causing it to yield the treasures of harvest.

Hither have come visitors from all parts of the world, and here trees have been planted by royal hands, in recognition of his worth, near the tomb to which his remains were removed from their former resting place.

With veneration and gratitude, standing with uncovered heads, we rejoice that we are privileged to see the place where lived and died him whom ambition could not divert from the path of duty, no influence corrupt, and whose heart was sensitive and his intellect active at all times to promote the glory and prosperity of the republic of which he was by common consent recognized as the father.

He has bequeathed to us the legacy of freedom, which it should be our duty to preserve, not only to bless our own countrymen in succeeding generations, but all mankind.

May this day, brethren, long be remembered as one of the most interesting and instructive of our lives, when all hearts throbbed in patriotic unison, with fraternal greeting.

Convention at Chicago

[1880] — President Haldeman, in submitting his report to the twenty-eighth convention of the International Union in Chicago, June 7, 1880, congratulated the assembled delegates upon the evidences of "good times coming" and also upon the number of new unions added to the list during the year. A noticeable increase in the number of subordinate unions represented, over the past several conventions, was evidenced by the presence of sixty-six delegates representing forty-nine local unions.

The Brotherhood — The chief topic of interest during the sessions of the twenty-eighth convention was the "Brotherhood of the Union of North America." An institution, alleged to exist, with the above title, had been the subject of much agitation during the year. The first official action dealing with the question was an appeal taken by a member of Chicago Union No. 16 from the action of that body in passing a resolution providing expulsion from the union of members found guilty of membership in the Brotherhood. President Haldeman, in rendering a decision on the appeal, in a communication to Chicago Typographical Union, said:

W. G. Kercheval, one of your members, has made an appeal to me against the following resolution, which was passed at your July meeting:

"*Resolved,* That members of this union, or such as may become members, either by initiation or card, who may now be in, or who may hereafter enter, any organization, combination, or ring composed of printers, with intent to influence or control

SAMUEL HALDEMAN, Washington, D. C.
President International Typographical Union
June 5, 1879 – June 11, 1880

the action of this body, shall, upon conviction, either by positive proof or by strong circumstantial evidence, be summarily and forever expelled from membership in Chicago Typographical Union No. 16."

With a view to getting at the merits of this matter, there was some delay necessary before giving a decision. I find nothing whatever in the constitution of No. 16 conflicting with your right to pass such a resolution. It bears evidences, however, of being passed under excitement; as, for instance, the words "or card" may lead to conflict of authority. The word "forever," I think, on reflection, you will consider rather harsh, considering that we are all liable to err. But I shall not dwell on that now.

Before and since the passage of the resolution, your union certainly was, and is, the judge of the qualifications of its own members. My only wish in regard to this and all other matters is that our members will pursue a conservative, conciliatory policy, and, instead of making rats, make union men wherever possible. I believe, however, that is the "Chicago plan." I decide that your right in the matter is unquestioned.

Following the decision quoted above, a number of subordinate unions took action, embodying clauses in the obligation prohibiting members from belonging to secret organizations for the purpose of influencing the action of their unions. The matter was brought directly before the convention by the introduction of a resolution which, after being considered in secret session on several occasions, was adopted by a vote of 31 ayes, 28 noes. The resolution referred to follows:

WHEREAS an organization called the "Brotherhood of the Union of North America" has been established, and is now believed to exist, within the membership of the subordinates of the International Typographical Union, the object of said organization being to control the legislation of said International Union and its subordinates, in accordance with the wishes of the brotherhood; and

WHEREAS this brotherhood is a secret society, bound together by obligations imposed upon its members, and requiring them

to prefer, in all matters relating to union affairs, members of the brotherhood to the other members of the union, thus creating a distinction between union members; and

WHEREAS this oath-bound, sign, grip, and password using organization has, by its secret manipulations of subordinate unions, created trouble and made strife in such unions, thus defeating the purposes for which the union was established; and

WHEREAS the existence of such an organization within the membership of the subordinates of the International Union is destructive of that spirit of brotherhood and equality upon which the union is founded, and has a tendency to disrupt subordinate unions, and destroy the organization, therefore

Resolved, That it shall be, and is hereby declared to be, unlawful for any member of any subordinate typographical union to be a member of the Brotherhood of the Union of North America, or any other similar organization.

Resolved, That any member of a subordinate union guilty of membership in any such an organization as is referred to in the above resolution, shall, upon conviction of the offense, be deprived of the right to vote upon any question submitted to, and shall be ineligible to any office in, any subordinate union holding a charter from this body.

Resolved, That any member convicted of being connected with this alleged organization shall not be eligible to membership in any subordinate union.

Resolved, That the penalty in above resolutions outlawing members of the Brotherhood shall only govern offenses committed since, and not before, the passage of said resolutions.

The following obligation for delegates, in the nature of a general law, was enacted:

I, ..., hereby solemnly pledge myself, in the presence of Almighty God and those here assembled, that, in the discharge of my duties as a delegate to the International Typographical Union, I will at all times, and under all circumstances, act, speak, and vote solely for what I believe to be the best interests of the trade generally, of this body, and of the union whose representative I am; and that I will not, in legislation, election of officers, or otherwise, allow any secret, outside or improper means of any kind whatever to influence my action.

The convention also adopted the following resolution, and recommended it to the various subordinate unions, to be made a part of the obligation administered to new members:

I, ..., hereby solemnly pledge my honor as a man, that I will never allow any allegiance that I now or may hereafter owe to any organization, either social, political, religious, secret, or otherwise, to in any manner whatever cause me to neglect or refuse to perform my duty toward my fellow-craftsmen; and that in the employment of such men unionism will be first considered, competency next, and personal or other preferences last.

Continental Federation of Trades — As a result of the action of the previous convention, instructing the corresponding secretary to communicate with various national unions of other trades, suggesting the desirability of considering the formation of a Continental Federation of Trades, the secretary reported that he had addressed a copy of the following resolution, adopted at Washington the year previous, to all organizations of which he had knowledge:

Resolved, That the corresponding secretary of this International Typographical Union be, and hereby is, instructed to open a correspondence with the different international labor unions of North America, with a view to getting impressions regarding the feasibility of forming an international amalgamated union, and that he lay such correspondence before the next annual meeting of this body.

The correspondence in the hands of the secretary received from the various unions, replying to his communication on the subject of uniting the unions more closely for mutual defense and support, was referred to a special committee. This committee submitted its conclusions and recommendations as follows:

We are satisfied that steps in this direction would result more beneficially to our craft at large than to any other. The

fact is apparent that workingmen would thus become educated up to use their influence in support of union printing offices, which the experience of the different trades assemblies will substantiate. The so-called labor journals would also be frowned down or compelled to give employment to union printers only, and our plain duty would be to support union labor in other industries, where we have patronage to bestow.

We recommend that the corresponding secretary be instructed to issue, at the earliest date practicable, to all international trades unions, national trades unions, and trades assemblies, in the United States, Canada and the British-American provinces, invitations to send properly accredited delegates to a convention to be held in ..... on .... next, for the purpose of organizing a Continental Federation of Trades; this federation to meet annually at such time and in such place as may be chosen by a majority of the delegates at any regular annual session of the federation.

The functions of this federation to be—

1. To discuss and examine all questions affecting the interests of the working classes which can not be acted upon in special trade or labor unions, and to so concentrate labor as to enable it to successfully compete with concentrated capital.

2. To impress upon the various branches of industry the importance and necessity of maintaining protective unions.

3. To devise the best means of adjusting difficulties that may arise between employers and employes.

4. To prepare in legal shape and present for enactment to the different governments bills for the removal of statutory restrictions of the rights of organized labor, and also for the enactment of laws tending to ameliorate the condition and promote the welfare of the working classes, and to take steps to urge their passage.

5. To encourage productive and distributive co-operation.

6. To propagate strictly trades-union doctrines wherever possible; disseminate arguments in their favor, and generally to elevate unionism and obtain for it the respect and recognition to which it is entitled at the hands of employers, legislators and the general public.

The recommendations contained in the committee's report were concurred in by the convention, and it was

also voted that the incoming corresponding secretary be instructed to represent the International Union at the convention for the amalgamation of all trade and labor organizations, and that he be authorized to fill the blanks in the report adopted above.

Tariff on Paper and Printed Matter — President Haldeman, in submitting his annual report to the convention, called attention to the exorbitant price of printing paper, asserting that there had been an unprecedented and unwarranted increase of from 30 to 50 per cent. in the price of that article, and also said that this advance had not only embarrassed many printing establishments but had driven some of them out of existence. The convention ordered that the question be left to a special committee for investigation. This committee reported that the subject required much time and a great deal of investigation in order to obtain a true statement of the facts, and suggested that the officers of the International Union be constituted a special committee thoroughly to investigate the matter, both in regard to white paper and printed matter, in all its phases, and that subordinate unions and individual members thereof be requested to furnish all the information in their possession to the officers; that the officers report their findings at the next session of the International Union. The special committee also recommended the adoption of the following resolutions, which were concurred in:

Resolved, That the International Typographical Union recommends that subordinate unions and individual members of the same use every honorable means to induce the congress of the United States to repeal the duty on white paper, and on material for making the same, believing that the present duty is no protection to the workingmen engaged in its production, but inures solely to the benefit of a combination of capitalists.

Resolved, That subordinate unions urge upon congress the

propriety of levying a reasonable duty on the importation of printed matter from foreign countries, in order to enable the publishers of America to compete with the cheaper labor of Europe, and at the same time to give those employed by them reasonable compensation for their services.

Separate Charter for Job Printers Refused — A proposition to authorize the formation of separate organizations of book and job printers, introduced at the Washington convention the year previous, was reported from the committee on unfinished business with an unfavorable recommendation. The committee, however, offered the suggestion that in voting on the scale of prices the members of each of the two classes, viz., book and job, and news, should vote only on such portions of the scale as affected their class. After an extended discussion of the committee's suggestion, it being pointed out that the trouble at St. Louis was largely due to a division of opinion regarding the feasibility of separate charters for book and job printers, the convention adopted the following substitute for the committee's recommendation:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this union that any alteration, amendment or modification of section 2, article 1, of the constitution, is uncalled for and would work prejudicial to the best interest of the craft, and that, therefore, all action tending to such alteration, amendment or modification of said section and article of the constitution be, and the same is, hereby indefinitely postponed.

Insurance Plan Rejected — The insurance plan introduced at a previous session, which had been referred to subordinate unions for consideration, upon being reported from the committee on unfinished business with an adverse recommendation, was rejected by the delegates.

Prize for Best Reorganization Plan — Delegate Adair of Chicago submitted a resolution authorizing the sum of $25 to be appropriated, to be paid to the person presenting to the International Union at its next annual

meeting the most acceptable plan of reorganization both for the International Union and for the subordinate unions composing it, the plans to be considered and passed upon by a committee to be appointed by the presiding officer at the next session. The proposition was referred to the committee on new business and reported back with a favorable recommendation and the convention adopted the committee's report.

Typographia Traveling Cards — The question of receiving traveling cards presented by members of the German-American Typographia was disposed of by the adoption of the following resolution, with the understanding that subordinate unions be permitted to use their own judgment in the matter:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this union that a traveling card presented by a member of a German union working under the jurisdiction of the German-American Typographia to a subordinate union of this body shall entitle said member to an English working card.

Officers, 1880 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, William P. Atkinson, Erie, Pa.; first vice-president, H. W. Clayton, Memphis; second vice-president, Andrew J. Preall, Washington, D. C.; secretary-treasurer, William H. Trayes, Boston; corresponding secretary, Lyman A. Brant, Detroit, Mich.

Toronto, Ont., was selected as the convention city for the following year.

Convention at Toronto

[1881] — The twenty-ninth session of the International Typographical Union was called to order at Toronto, Ont., June 6, 1881, by President William P. Atkinson, forty subordinate unions being represented by fifty-eight delegates.

Good Times — The president, in submitting his annual

report, congratulated the convention upon the fact that the prediction made at Chicago the year previous, by the presiding officer, that the "good times coming" was near at hand, had been realized to a considerable degree. In many jurisdictions where subordinate unions had surrendered their charters reorganization had been effected. Of the fifteen charters issued during the year, eleven were renewals, as follows: Titusville, Pa.; Evansville, Ind.; Wheeling, W. Va.; Cumberland, Md.; Kansas City, Mo.; Wilmington, Del.; Houston, Tex.; St. John, N. B.; Elmira, N. Y.; Milwaukee, Wis., and Atchison, Kan.

Campaign of Education — The president expressed his conviction that much of the tardiness in organizing new unions arose from entire ignorance or imperfect knowledge of the aims and objects of the organization. To many printers outside the jurisdiction unions and strikes were synonymous terms and both were associated with distress and violence. The president advised a campaign of education to disseminate whenever possible proper ideas with regard to the purposes of the typographical union.

Federation of Trades — At the previous convention the corresponding secretary had been instructed to communicate with the officials of various national and international trade organizations, urging the desirability of the appointment of delegates to attend a convention for the purpose of perfecting a federation of trades. In making his report to the convention, the corresponding secretary said:

"It is with profound regret that I have to report the almost utter failure of my efforts to promote organization in this direction. Soon after my return from the Chicago session I prepared and forwarded to the heads of all trades organizations a circular setting forth the action of this body, and the desirability of the appointment

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

WILLIAM P. ATKINSON, Erie, Pa.
President International Typographical Union
June 11, 1880 – June 10, 1881

on delegates to attend a convention, the time and place of meeting to be arranged thereafter, for the purpose of perfecting such federation of trades. Accompanying each circular was a personal letter outlining the purposes to be attained, and soliciting the individual efforts of the party addressed. Among the international organizations so appealed to were the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, Carpenters and Joiners, Locomotive Engineers, Locomotive Firemen, Cigar Makers, Coopers, Granite Cutters, Machinists and Blacksmiths, International Labor Union, Iron Moulders, and Miners. From several of the gentlemen addressed (notably Mr. Strasser of the Cigar Makers, Mr. Arthur of the Locomotive Engineers, and Mr. Fitzpatrick of the Moulders) I received encouraging replies; from some the responses were of a contrary nature; and from others I was unable to obtain any answer, notwithstanding repeated attempts. The result, briefly summed up, is that the Cigar Makers' International Union was the only body, so far as I have been able to learn, that committed itself by resolution to the federation; and even they, as I was informed by the president, in the hurry attending the closing hours of their session, neglected to elect delegates. In consequence of this state of facts I was of necessity compelled to let the matter drop, and simply report failure to achieve any progress. But in so reporting, my best judgment impels me to recommend to your honorable body that action shall be taken at this session which will render it impossible for international bodies holding sessions during the coming year to overlook this subject, which I believe to be the most important one that has ever been presented to the consideration of the mechanics of America. To this end I suggest that such action be taken at this session as will secure the attendance of a delegate at the session of each international or national trades

gathering; that it be made the special duty of such delegate to advocate among the members of such convention the desirability of action to further the organization of said trades federation; and that the expenses of such delegate be defrayed by this International Union. I would further suggest that an invitation be extended to the trades councils of the country to participate in the preliminary organization of the federation.

"During the year I have given close attention to this subject, and among the documents pertinent thereto which I have received was the annual report of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, held in Dublin in September last, at which were assembled 105 delegates, representing a constituency of 493,213 mechanics. The proceedings of that gathering were pregnant with wisdom and thought, and have commanded the attention and respectful consideration of the press, not only of Great Britain, but of the continent and America as well. What it is possible for the mechanic of that country to achieve, I believe possible for those of this land to accomplish. It only requires persistent effort. Already in Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Boston and numerous other cities, large and influential trades councils are in existence, and I believe the time is now propitious to form an international trades council or federation which will extend and crystallize the influence of these organizations, and stimulate the creation of new ones in cities where they are not now established. Various opinions prevail as to the proper character of an international federation; but I am of opinion that it should seek to secure among other reforms such legislation as will be to the interest of the laboring class, and endeavor to prevent legislation antagonistic to their welfare, as well as the regulation of trade matters. In many of the states of the union laws unjust and oppressive to the

workingman have been enacted, and they will not be repealed unless we combine to elect representatives pledged to repeal them; and such pledges will not be secured or observed unless the parties oppressed have behind them an organization powerful enough to counteract the influences which are employed by those whose interests are antagonistic to the interests of the mechanic. It is frequently asserted that politics and religion should not be discussed in trades gatherings, and that their sole duty is to regulate wages, and such matters as pertain more directly to the respective trades. As regards the subject of religion the assertion is undoubtedly true. Every person can settle that matter with his conscience, without the assistance of his fellows. But in the question of politics, or the securing of legislation in the interests of workingmen (and that is the only sense in which I use the word), it is not true, because it is not a question of conscience, but one of judgment; and if we desire certain laws enacted we can not secure them without the assistance of our fellows, and we must present our cause to them in such a light as to convince their judgments of the benefits to be secured; and as any general law which will benefit one class of workingmen will benefit all classes, it follows that the interests of all are in this respect identical, and the only question left to settle is, What laws will benefit all? That question can only be settled in our trades organizations, and it seems to me the trades federation would be the tribunal peculiarly fitted for such work. The moral influence of such an organization would be very great. It is a principle of human nature that mankind respects power, and a body of such a character would necessarily present an appearance of strength, representing, as it would, the mechanics of two great countries—the United States and Canada. It would demand the respect of employers, the admiration of the public, and the confidence of the work-

ingman. It would be an honor to be enlisted under its banner, and would, therefore, draw to its support the best minds of both countries. Its edicts would be listened to by the whole civilized world, and its influences would tend to elevate the workingman to that position which by natural right he should occupy. Every argument in favor of an international trade union applies in the superlative degree to an international federation and it remains for this session of the International Typographical Union to immortalize itself as the standard bearer of true labor reform, if it can by its wise action hasten the accomplishment of such glorious aims.

"In closing this report and brief appeal, I desire to record my thanks to Mr. W. H. Foster, for assistance rendered through the columns of the 'Exponent' (now defunct); to Mr. A. Strasser, president Cigar Makers' International Union, for hearty co-operation; and to Mr. Josiah B. Dyer, secretary Granite Cutters' International Union, for assistance rendered through the columns of the journal of that union, and for regular copies of the same."

This report of the corresponding secretary was referred to a committee on president's address and corresponding secretary's report. The committee recommended the following:

"That such action be taken at this session as will secure the attendance of a delegate at the session of each international or national trades gathering. That it be made the special duty of such delegate to advocate among the members of such convention the desirability of action to further the organization of said trades federation and that the expenses of such delegate be defrayed by this International Union. We would further suggest that an invitation be extended to the trades councils of the country to participate in the preliminary organization of the federation."

On the fourth day of the convention, an announcement was made that arrangements were being perfected for a mass meeting, to be called at Terre Haute, Ind., to effect a preliminary organization of an International Amalgamated Union, and, on the day following, the committee on federated trades, which had under consideration the report of the corresponding secretary regarding the proposed formation of a federation of trades, submitted a report, which was concurred in, recommending that a delegate be sent to the Terre Haute meeting, and L. A. Brant, of Detroit, retiring corresponding secretary, who had conducted the correspondence with the various national and international bodies during the year, was chosen as delegate to represent the International Union.

General Prosperity — The corresponding secretary, in submitting his annual report on the condition of trade, strikes, etc., announced, with a degree of satisfaction, his belief that the craft was in a more prosperous condition than at any time since 1869. It was also reported that marked improvement had taken place in many of the subordinate unions in the management of local affairs. In all of the larger unions, with one or two exceptions, a better condition of trade existed than for several years past. St. Louis Union had gained largely in membership and had succeeded in securing a general recognition of its scale of prices, all past differences having been buried. Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland effected an advance in their scales during the year. While the general prosperity of the organization was apparent, the period had not closed without leaving evidences of strife in several subordinate unions.

Reorganization Plans — The offer of a prize of $25 by the Chicago convention to the person submitting the best plan for reorganization of the International Union resulted in numerous propositions being presented at the

Toronto convention. The committee on reorganization, to which all of these propositions and plans were submitted, found it impossible, owing to the mass of schemes and resolutions presented on the subject, to give the matter that consideration which was deemed necessary. The committee reported, however, that only three of the plans offered made any pretense to completeness—those submitted by Mr. Schley, of Indianapolis, Mr. Jackson, of St. Louis, and Mr. Teague, of Ottawa. These proposed plans, together with all other propositions and suggestions offered, were laid over until the next session with the proviso that a committee composed of officers of the union be instructed to consider the subject and report to the next session a plan that would more firmly cement the craft.

Official Organ — Upon the recommendation of President Atkinson, the convention ordered that an agreement be made with the publishers of the American Model Printer, of New York, whereby an official organ of the craft be issued, devoted to the workings of subordinate unions and the official business of the International Union.

The Brotherhood — The action of the Chicago convention in adopting a general law requiring delegates to take an obligation before assuming their duties in the International body, affirming that they would not be influenced in legislation, the election of officers, or otherwise, by any secret, oustide, or improper means of any kind whatever, was repealed.

Opening Session With Prayer — The custom of opening the sessions of the International Union with prayer seemed to have created more or less friction. Three propositions dealing with the subject were offered, none of which, however, seemed to satisfy the delegates. The first proposition was as follows:

Resolved, That all sessions of the present International Typographical Union be opened with prayer and that the

reception committee be requested to invite some city clergyman to be present for the purpose.

This resolution was laid on the table. Another delegate offered the following:

Resolved, That the practice of opening the sessions of this body by appeals to an altogether imaginary or supernatural agency (which have been unquestionably and absolutely barren of the slightest benefits) is contrary and offensive to the dictates and teachings of reason and common sense, and therefore a practically unqualified absurdity.

This motion created much indignation among the delegates and was finally withdrawn.

As a climax to the action of the convention regarding the question of opening its sessions with prayer, another delegate offered the following:

Believing in the "eternal fitness of things," I desire to submit a motion that, as the proceedings of this convention were opened with an orthodox prayer, it is no more than a just regard for consistency that it should be closed by singing an orthodox doxology, and I sincerely trust my motion will meet with a second and prevail, and be made a part of the record.

The motion was not adopted.

St. Louis was selected as the place for holding the convention of 1882.

Officers, 1881 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, George Clark, St. Louis; first vice-president, Thomas Wilson, Toronto, Ont.; second vice-president, William H. Hovey, Norwich, Conn.; secretary-treasurer, William H. Trayes, Boston, and corresponding secretary, John Schley, Indianapolis.

Convention at St. Louis

[1882] — When the thirtieth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order at St. Louis, Mo., June 5, 1882, fifty-four subordinate unions were represented by sixty-eight delegates.

President Clark, in presenting his annual address, like several of his predecessors in office, directed attention to his conviction that the system under which the International Union was organized was lacking in some elements of unity and force essential to the proper attainment of the objects in view. He attributed the unsatisfactory conditions to lack of proper organization work and urged the necessity of recruiting the ranks of the union from the country newspaper office. Lack of effective legislation governing apprentices was also believed to be largely responsible for flooding the market with incompetent printers. Almost every convention of the International body had considered the apprentice question, but nothing effective had been accomplished toward establishing suitable regulations.

Conflicting Laws — A large portion of the president's report dealt with the conflicting laws and inconsistencies that he had discovered in the constitution, by-laws and general laws. Many of these inconsistencies were corrected by the convention.

The report of the secretary-treasurer showed a satisfactory financial condition, and the report of the corresponding secretary was an elaborate document, containing many items of interest regarding the condition of trade, strike statistics and organization work. The report showed that of the 196 charters issued since the formation of the National Typographical Union, 121 were in active affiliation.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Federation of Trades Organized — Mr. L. A. Brant, the delegate elected at the Toronto session to represent the International Union at Terre Haute, Ind., in the formation of an International Federation of Trades, submitted a comprehensive report which, owing to the fact that

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

LYMAN A. BRANT
(Detroit Typographical Union No. 18)

Lyman A. Brant, corresponding secretary of the International Typographical Union, June 11, 1880 – June 10, 1881, was chairman of the first representative body of American mechanics called together for the purpose of forming a federation of trade unions. As a result of this initial effort, the American Federation of Labor was afterward organized.

the meeting at Terre Haute was preliminary to a subsequent meeting held in Pittsburgh the same year, at which the American Federation of Labor (as now constituted) first saw the light of day, is reproduced herewith, together with the declaration of principles, platform and articles of organization:

"DETROIT, May 29, 1882.

"To the Officers and Members of the International Typographical Union.

"GENTLEMEN: At the preceding session of your honorable body, I was chosen as its delegate to attend a meeting called to assemble in the city of Terre Haute, Ind., August 2, 1881, for the purpose of perfecting some plan whereby the wage-workers of the United States and Canada could be amalgamated under one general head, or federated for common benefits. Concerning my service in such capacity, I respectfully submit the following report:

"No doubt the members of this session of the International Typographical Union who were also present at Toronto will remember that I accepted the highly honorable trust confided to me with expressed misgivings as to the ability of the delegates who would assemble at the proposed convention to effect a permanent organization of the nature desirable. Nevertheless, I accepted the mission, firm in the belief that the call would bring together, from different sections of the country and diversified industrial interests, a few representative and well-known trade-union men, who could then formulate a call for another convention at a more convenient time and place, which would be entirely successful in drawing the laboring classes of the United States into closer bonds of unity for mutual and general benefit.

"Subsequent circumstances seem to have fully justified my belief, as will appear by the subjoined record of the proceedings of the Terre Haute convention, which assem-

bled at Temperance Hall, on Tuesday, August 2, 1881, at 10 A. M. Delegates were found to be present, as follows:

P. J. McGuire, St. Louis, from the Trades Assembly.

Richard Powers, president Lake Seamen's Union, Chicago.

Mark L. Crawford, Chicago, from Typographical Union No. 16.

Thomas Thompson, Dayton, Ohio, from Iron Moulders' Union No. 181.

James Pierce, Simon Neale, F. M. Light, Terre Haute, from Coopers' Union No. 16.

George W. Osborne, Springfield, Ohio, from Iron Moulders' Union.

Mark W. Moore, Terre Haute, from Typographical Union No. 76.

John E. Coughlin, Chicago, president National Tanners' and Curriers' Union, from Trades Assembly.

Samuel L. Leffingwell, Indianapolis, from Trades Assembly.

W. C. Pollner, Cleveland, from Trades Assembly.

Lyman A. Brant, Detroit, from International Typographical Union.

The Amalgamated Labor Union was represented by J. R. Backus, E. F. Pagette, Moses Crapo, John Rupe, jr., and N. A. Murphy, Terre Haute.

Iron Moulders' Union was represented by John Toit, James Herring and Michael Howard, Terre Haute.

"From the foregoing list it will be seen that but twenty delegates were present, twelve of whom were residents of the city of Terre Haute, Ind. Fifteen trade or labor organizations were represented. In view of this limited attendance, especially from points outside of and remote from the place of meeting, the gathering was not entitled to be called a representative meeting of the trade unionists of the United States and Canada, as was designed it should be; and it being apparent that an attempt to proclaim it as such would only subject the movement to the ridicule of our enemies of all classes, especially the newspaper press, it was at once advocated by the more experienced and wiser counselors present that an adjournment should take place without an attempt at the permanent organization of a federation of trades. The advocates of this policy were further fortified in their position on the second day of the session, when a 'bone of contention' was introduced in the form of a crude plan of organization submitted by one of the local delegates, the adoption of which would have compelled the withdrawal from the convention of every representative of a bona fide trade union. The nature of said plan may be surmised from

the statement that its preamble declared opposition to the existing system of trade-union organization, and an avowed purpose to force them out of existence, and out of the chaos thus created to form another secret society of workingmen. Even had the formation of such a body been desirable, the plan in question was of so imperfect a character as to be wholly impracticable. At least that was the opinion of the foreign delegates. But we were confronted by the seeming fact that the majority of the convention were inclined to its favorable consideration, and apparently the only way in which to prevent its adoption was by deferring action. Accordingly, after a somewhat protracted debate, on the evening of the second day's session, a motion was adopted to elect a committee of five for the purpose of perfecting arrangements for the holding of a subsequent convention on November 15, in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa. Said committee was constituted as follows: Chairman, L. A. Brant; secretary, Mark W. Moore; Mark L. Crawford, W. C. Pollner, and P. J. McGuire. After which the convention adjourned.

"The Toronto convention, in choosing me as its representative, as above set forth, took no consideration of the possibility of an adjournment of the Terre Haute meeting to a later date, and accordingly no stated provision was made for representation on behalf of the International Typographical Union at Pittsburgh. In the course of correspondence, however, with the International Typographical Union officers, it was stated as the opinion of both the president and secretary-treasurer, and subsequently that of the chairman of the committee which had the matter under consideration, that the necessity for such provision was unforeseen, and that it was the manifest sense of the International Typographical Union that I should continue to represent it at the adjourned meeting.

"*The Pittsburgh Convention* — Accordingly, on No-

vember 15, I had the proud honor of calling together in Turner Hall, in the city of Pittsburgh, the most numerously attended and thoroughly representative delegate body of American mechanics and laborers which has ever assembled. There were present 107 delegates, representing the states of California, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia and Wisconsin. It is impossible to accurately state the number of trades represented, owing to the fact that many of the delegates were sent from mixed assemblies of the Knights of Labor, and hence their calling was not manifest by their credentials. The following list will show with almost absolute correctness the various trades represented, and the number of delegates from each:

"Boilermakers, 1; Bricklayers, 1; Brass Finishers, 1; Bookbinders, 1; Boot and Shoemakers, 1; Cigar Makers, 5; Carpenters, 5; Coopers, 2; Engineers, 1; Glass Packers, 1; Grainers, 1; Glass Blowers, 6; Granite Cutters 1; Horseshoers, 1; Iron Moulders, 8; Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, 10; Lake Seamen, 2; Mule Spinners, 1; Marine and Pastry Cooks, 1; Miners, 4; Pattern Makers, 1; Plumbers and Gasfitters, 1; Painters, 1; Plasterers, 1; Printers, 14; Printers (German), 1; Stone Cutters, 1; Stone Masons, 1; Tailors, 1; Tanners and Curriers, 1.

"The convention began its labors promptly by the election of Mr. John Jarrett of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers as temporary chairman, and Messrs. Mark L. Crawford, H. H. Bengough, and W. C. Pollner as secretaries. The greater portion of the first day was consumed in the appointment of the committee on credentials, and action upon its report, after the adoption of which an animated debate took place on the question of excluding from seats on the floor the reporters of the

Pittsburgh Leader, Post, and Times, the three 'rat' papers of that city. Upon being placed before the house, the question was decided in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority.

"On the opening of the second day's session, the first business presented was the report of the committee on permanent organization. Majority and minority reports were presented, both of which were laid upon the table, and the temporary officers were elected as the permanent ones. A committee of one from each state, on platform of principles and resolutions, was appointed, after which numerous resolutions were presented and papers read, the ideas contained in which are in the main embodied in the platform of principles.

"Resolutions of respect were presented and adopted to the memory of Alexander McDonald, M. P., of Great Britain, and ordered forwarded to the National Miners' Association of that country. The remaining portion of the day was taken up with the consideration of the report on rules, and that of the secretary of the provisional committee.

"The third day was opened with the adoption of resolutions exchanging greetings with the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, and denouncing the arrest of D. R. Jones, president of the Miners' Association of Pittsburgh, under the conspiracy laws of Pennsylvania. The committee on plan of organization submitted its report, two sections of which—one limiting membership in the federation to unions of skilled mechanics, the other establishing the basis of future representation—provoked a long and spirited debate. In the afternoon the consideration of the report of the committee on platform consumed the greater portion of the time, and those planks referring to the question of tariff, child labor and government supervision of railroads and tele-

graph lines, especially, engaged the serious consideration of the congress.

"On the fourth day resolutions were adopted on the importation of Chinese cheap labor, authorizing the legislative committee to publish the proceedings in pamphlet form; denouncing the manufacture and sale of tenement-house-made cigars; recommending to the favorable consideration of the congress of the United States a bill for the better protection of American seamen; calling upon union men and trade assemblies throughout the country to assist in the organization of the brass finishers, painters, bookbinders, and other unorganized or partially organized trades; opposing the passage of a bill pending in congress having for its purpose the transfer of the public domain into the hands of land sharks and capitalists; and tendering thanks to the union press of Pittsburgh for the fairness with which they had presented to the public the proceedings of the congress.

"This was followed by the election of the legislative committee of five, as follows: Secretary, W. H. Foster, Cincinnati; Richard Powers, Chicago; Samuel Gompers, New York; Charles F. Burgman, San Francisco; Alexander C. Rankin, Pittsburgh. Cleveland, Ohio, was selected as the place of holding the next congress, after which the meeting adjourned.

"Herewith is submitted a copy of the platform, constitution and standing orders of the congress:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Preamble

Whereas a struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between capital and labor, which must grow in intensity from year to year, and work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations, if not combined for mutual protection and benefit. The history of the wageworkers of all

countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; whereas the history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil. It behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them, for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our only hope. The past history of trade unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, but their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following

PLATFORM

1. *Resolved,* That an organization of workingmen into what is known as a trade or labor union should have the right to the protection of their property in like manner as the property of all other persons and societies, and, to accomplish this purpose, we insist upon the passage of laws in the state legislatures and in congress for the incorporation of trade unions and similar labor organizations.

2. That we are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

3. That we are in favor of the passage of laws in the several states forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years, in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

4. That necessity demands the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of

apprenticeship, from three to five years, and that he be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

5. That the national eight-hour law is one intended to benefit labor, and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens; that the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation; we therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers.

6. That it is hereby declared the sense of this congress that convict or prison labor, as applied to the contract system in several of the states, is a species of slavery in its worst form; that it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer, and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; that, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system, herein complained of, be repealed so as to discontinue the manufacture of all articles which will compete with those of the honest mechanic or workingman.

7. That what is known as the "order," or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency, as a value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and calls for entire abolition; and we recommend that active measures shall be enforced to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. That we favor the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workingman the first lien upon property the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims; that proper provisions be made for legally recovering the same.

9. That we demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages and the number of hours which shall constitute a day's work.

10. That we recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics, as created in several states, and we urge upon our friends in congress the passage of an act establishing a national bureau of labor statistics, and recommend for its man-

agement the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. That we recommend to the congress of the United States the adoption of such laws as shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries.

12. That we demand the passage of a law by the United States congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract.

13. That we recommend all trade and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

ORGANIZATION

Article I—Name

This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such trade and labor unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

Article II—Objects

The object of this Federation shall be:

Section 1. The encouragement and formation of trade and labor unions.

Sec. 2. The encouragement and formation of trade and labor assemblies or councils.

Sec. 3. The encouragement and formation of national and international trade unions.

Sec. 4. To secure the legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

Article III—Sessions

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the third Tuesday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding congress.

Article IV—Representation

The basis of representation in the congress of this Federation shall be: From national or international unions, for one

thousand members or less, one delegate; for four thousand, two delegates; for eight thousand, three delegates; for sixteen thousand, four delegates; for thirty-two thousand, five delegates, and so on. From local trade assemblies or councils, one delegate.

ARTICLE V—OFFICERS

At the annual sessions of this Federation the delegates shall elect a legislative committee consisting of five delegates, one of whom shall be the Federation secretary, and who shall be elected separately.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES

SECTION 1. The duties of the legislative committee shall be to exercise a supervision over the organization, and the execution of its laws, and to carry out such instructions as may, from time to time, be given them at the sessions of this Federation.

SEC. 2. The legislative committee shall choose from among themselves a chairman, first and second vice-chairman, and treasurer, for the ensuing year.

ARTICLE VII—REVENUE

The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from a capitation tax of three cents per member annually from each trade and labor union, trade assembly or council affiliated with this Federation, which shall be paid quarterly in advance.

ARTICLE VIII—ACCOUNTS

The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

ARTICLE IX—REMUNERATION

The remuneration for loss of time by the legislative committee shall be at the rate of three dollars per diem, traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

STANDING ORDERS

1. The annual meeting of this Federation shall be held on the third Tuesday in November, at such place as the delegates to the preceding congress may have selected.

2. The time of meeting shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days, at 9 A. M.; adjourn

at 12:30; reassemble at 1:30 and adjourn at 5 P. M. each day.

3. At the opening of the congress, the chairman of the legislative committee shall take the chair until the congress has elected its own president, which shall be its first business. The congress shall then elect a vice-president, two secretaries, two auditors, a doorkeeper and a messenger.

4. A standing order committee shall then be elected, to whom shall be remitted the whole business of the congress, the discussions, together with the whole financial arrangements of the congress.

5. The congress having been formally opened by the president, the legislative committee shall present their report for the last year, which shall be read by the secretary and shall be laid upon the table for discussion by the congress; said report shall contain a list of the committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

6. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution, fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers ten minutes each. No one to speak more than once on any subject.

7. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to a vote until the amendment is disposed of.

8. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

9. All papers shall be sent to the secretary of the legislative committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing congress, the same to be read and arranged by the committee, to facilitate the business of the congress.

10. The secretary, who shall also be secretary of the legislative committee, shall be elected at the annual congress. Should a vacancy occur between the annual meetings of the congress, the legislative committee shall have power to fill the vacancy.

11. The duties of the legislative committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor; to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand.

12. No candidate shall be elected on the legislative committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society, or

represents a trade council, and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination. In no case shall two members of one trade be elected on the committee.

13. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the congress, shall be handed over to the treasurer of the legislative committee, for the general purposes of such committee.

14. The legislative committee shall assist and co-operate with the local committee of the city where the next congress is to be held for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as the business or other special circumstances of the time may render necessary or desirable.

15. A sub-committee of the legislative committee shall meet a week before the meeting of each congress, to arrange matters for the congress.

16. That in the case of any amendment of the standing orders of the congress being desired by any society or delegate, it shall be necessary for every such proposed amendment to be forwarded to the legislative committee at least one month before the meeting of the congress.

17. The legislative committee shall be members of the succeeding congress from which they have been credited, but without a vote.

"In making the foregoing brief abstract of the proceedings, I have been actuated by a desire to avoid, as far as practicable, trenching upon your valuable time, and hence have passed by with mere mention those matters which I believe were not of almost universal interest. This course I have been the more readily impelled to, in view of the fact that the legislative committee have published the full proceedings in pamphlet form, a copy of which may be obtained bv forwarding ten cents to any member thereof.

"The desirability of intelligent action on the question of affiliation with the federation demands a full knowledge of the declaration of principles, constitution, and

standing orders—hence their embodiment in this report to the convention.

"Thus ended the first congress of the Federation of Trade and Labor Unions, and its deliberations, without doubt, have attracted more universal attention at the hands of press and public throughout the country than has been accorded to any similar gathering. Its transactions, while perhaps not entirely free from those mistakes which might reasonably be attributed to want of experience, were, taken as a whole, characterized by that wisdom and earnestness of purpose which augurs well for the long-continued annual recurrence of similar sessions, and increasing efficiency in their work. Another significant and cheering indication in this direction was the number of encouraging letters and telegrams received from societies not represented, accompanied by pledges of support and assurances that they would have representation at the Cleveland session. Hence, it is safe to predict that the second congress will be more thoroughly a representative one than the first.

"*Results of the Pittsburgh Congress*—While the results of the Pittsburgh congress have, perhaps, not been so plainly marked as those which may be reasonably expected to follow the assembling of future congresses, the stimulus given by that gathering to industrial organizations in many sections has been very marked. Several trades, which heretofore had banded together in but few localities, have been enabled, through the interest aroused at Pittsburgh, to make wonderful progress in bringing within the folds of unionism the brethren of their respective callings, and as a result the year 1882 will probably witness the formation of at least half-a-dozen national or international unions, and a greater number of trades assemblies. In addition, the influence of the legislative committee has been felt in the national legislature in the

interest of the lake seamen against an act for their outrageous oppression; and in various state legislatures in measures for the compulsory education of children, the repeal of oppressive conspiracy laws, and the abolishment of convict labor and the 'truck' system. In addition, and possessing, perhaps, a more direct interest to the members of our trade, I am informed by the secretary that he has been placed in direct communication with Mr. Henry Slatter, president of the London Typographical Society, and that out of such relations may come mutual benefit to members of the craft on both sides of the Atlantic. This work, too, has been accomplished in face of the fact that the committee has been seriously embarrassed by lack of funds. This obstacle will be gradually removed upon the assembling of the various international and national unions during the present year, several of which, although maintaining a position of indifference toward the federation in the past, will be forced into line through the influence of sympathizing and interested subordinate bodies under their jurisdiction.

"These movements for the reform of public grievances, and which, perhaps, have no visible direct bearing upon the printing fraternity, may possess but little interest for the masses of our craft; but our representative men at least must keep in mind the fact that if we would materially improve our condition as a distinctive trade, we must keep abreast of the advancing wave of industrial emancipation, and stand ever ready to assist our brethren of other trades, to the end that we in our time of adversity may be in a position to turn to them for like encouragement and assistance.

"*Expense of Representation* — Should the International Typographical Union conclude, as I am persuaded it will, to affiliate with the federation, the chief expense

to which it will be subject will be the payment of a per capita tax of three cents per annum (payable in quarterly instalments) on each member in good standing within its jurisdiction. It will be entitled to at least two delegates, but, as they could be selected from some point contiguous to the place of meeting, their expenses would not be burdensome to the treasury. I feel confident that even this outlay will not be necessary after the Cleveland convention, as the experience of a year will have doubtless demonstrated that a far better system of collecting revenue would be that adopted by the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain, of allowing representation from subordinate unions at a merely nominal entrance fee, relying upon voluntary contributions from the various trade and labor societies to meet the necessities of the parliamentary committee.

"In conclusion, I can not refrain from referring with proud satisfaction to the fact that our craft, which has been the pioneer and constant champion of this movement so auspiciously set under way, was more numerously represented at the late congress than any other trade, and that body, conceding to the International Typographical Union the right to an honorable recognition, elevated to the most responsible and honorable position within its gift (the secretaryship of the legislative committee) Brother W. H. Foster, a permanent member of this body, and a gentleman of sterling ability for the duties of the position.

"Finally, gentlemen of the thirtieth session of the International Typographical Union, permit me to assure you that I have honestly endeavored, during my delegateship, to discharge the highly honorable trust confided to me in such a manner as it seemed would best conduce to the material advancement of the craft to which I belong.

and especially of the organization whose past welfare and future prosperity has been, and will be, my fondest hope.

"Respectfully submitted,

"L. A. Brant."

Work of the Convention

Reorganization Plans — The committee on plans of reorganization, authorized by resolution on the last day of the Toronto session, submitted a report to the effect that under the terms of the resolution creating the committee it had been found impossible to perform the arduous task of preparing a suitable plan of reorganization because of the fact that no appropriation had been made to allow the members of the committee to get together during the year, and that not until the week of the present convention had they been able to meet, when it was found that the differences of opinion existing in the minds of members of the committee rendered it impossible to accomplish anything definite. It was therefore ordered that a special committee of five be appointed to undertake the work of revising the old constitution and by-laws, with instructions to present a report before adjournment of the convention. Through the efforts of this committee the delegates were enabled to partially revise the laws of the organization. Several paragraphs dealing with questions of minor importance were acted upon, but no changes were made that in any way affected the autonomy of local unions. Perhaps the most important addition to the laws was the adoption of a provision authorizing the appointment of state deputy organizers.

Sub-Lists — The beginning of the end of the "sub-list" system was foreshadowed by the adoption of the following resolutions:

Whereas the "sub-list" system, as enforced in many of the leading daily offices of the country, has always met with much

disfavor among both the "regulars," as a class, and the "substitutes," who are the parties most affected by its restrictions; and

WHEREAS competency and fairness of the workman should be the only true standard of recommendation for the one applying for work; and

WHEREAS efforts should be made to relieve the craft of all forms and practices which in themselves bring dissatisfaction and discontent, and which act almost universally to the detriment and loss of a large and honorable membership in our craft; therefore

Resolved, That this International Union appreciates fully the injuries inflicted from a radical enforcement of what is known as the "sub-list" system, and is solicitous for a reform in that direction.

Resolved, That the subordinate unions in this jurisdiction shall be directed to adopt such measures, where practicable, as will abolish the sub-list, and make the standard of privilege to work that the workman shall be a fair man, and competent to do the work for which he applies.

French-Canadians — The following petition was received from Montreal Typographical Union:

The petition of Montreal Typographical Union No. 176, respectfully sheweth:

That after a trial of six years we find it impossible to continue as one union in the city of Montreal.

That there are in the city over three hundred printers, not one-half of whom are now members of the union, in consequence of the difference of language and the great difficulty in conducting our proceedings.

That at least one-half the printers are French-Canadians, and it is an injustice to them to force them to belong to a union whose proceedings they can not take part in without great inconvenience, and the absolute necessity of translating speeches, reports, minutes, resolutions, etc.

That but few of the English members understand or speak the French language and that but few of the French members understand or speak the English language.

That at the regular monthly meeting of this union, held on the 6th of May instant, it was resolved, in the best interests of

the union, and for the welfare of the craft, that every effort should be made to obtain two charters for the city of Montreal.

We, therefore, pray you to restore Jacques Cartier Typographical Union No. 145 its charter, in order that peace and harmony may prevail, and that the printers of Montreal may all become active union men.

The petition was referred to the president of the International Union, with instructions to grant the request contained therein if satisfactory evidence was produced showing that the petition met with the approval of a majority of the members of Montreal Union.

Secret Organizations — The following resolution, introduced by Delegate Franey, of Buffalo, was defeated by a vote of 36 ayes, 30 noes:

WHEREAS caucusing and organized conferences of delegates to this union, for the purpose of nominating candidates for offices within its gift, tends to subvert the selection of the best men for such offices, and does not allow a thorough freedom of action and an honest expression of the ballot; and

WHEREAS the consideration of measures in caucuses, or conferences, or organizations, before or after their presentation to this body, is detrimental to true unionism; therefore be it

Resolved, That it shall be considered a misdemeanor, punishable by fine, expulsion, or censure, as the convention shall decide, for any delegate to be a party to the selection of candidates in any caucus, organized conference, or society, or to bind themselves to the support or non-support of any measures prior to or after their presentation to this convention; and

Resolved, That any person or persons who shall accept the nomination of a caucus, or conference, or organized body, and which acceptance shall be proven by competent witnesses, the name of such person, or persons, shall be printed in a black list, with an appropriate heading, in the proceedings of all subsequent International Typographical Union conventions.

After the defeat of the above resolution, the following was adopted by a vote of 43 ayes, 3 noes:

WHEREAS the best interests of this organization demand that unity of purpose and fraternal feeling shall exist among its

members, and that all cause of distrust shall be removed as to the methods of legislation or the selection of officers; therefore

Resolved, That the discussion of measures to be introduced in this body, and all interchange of opinion as to the character or qualification of candidates for office, should be conducted in a free and open manner, and that this International Union deprecates and condemns all meetings of a secret character, held for such purposes, under any form or under any name.

Union Printers Home — Delegate Dodge, of Washington, D. C., presented the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of the newly-elected officers of the International Union, be appointed to take into consideration the feasibility of devising means for the establishment and maintenance of a home for disabled printers, and report at the next annual meeting of this union; said home to be conducted on the principle of the various soldiers' homes throughout the country.

Pressmen — The following appeal to the pressmen was issued by the pressmen delegates to the convention:

For the protection of pressmen as well as employers, we appeal to our brothers of the craft throughout the country to organize and form pressmen's unions wherever possible.

Whatever tends to the interest of employers must of necessity benefit ourselves, and by thorough organization our art is advanced, friendship cemented and knowledge disseminated, apprenticeship more faithfully enforced, and the moral and intellectual standing of our craft is recognized and appreciated.

No antagonism need exist between pressmen and employers; on the contrary, organization prevents unjust discrimination and tends to harmonize discordant elements, and bring all under proper and judicious restraint.

At present nine pressmen's unions exist, and in every instance have proved beneficial. Members have improved their condition, and earned greater respect for our calling; so much so the International Union conferred the distinguished honor upon us of electing the vice-president from our ranks. Let us show by our zeal the confidence thus reposed in us is not misplaced.

Cincinnati was selected as the meeting place for the convention in 1883.

Officers, 1882 — Officers for the ensuing term were elected, as follows: President, George Clark, St. Louis; first vice-president, John F. Clarkson, Washington, D. C.; second vice-president, T. A. Fowler, Houston, Tex.; secretary-treasurer, Mark L. Crawford, Chicago, and corresponding secretary, John R. Haldeman, Philadelphia. Frank K. Foster, of Cambridge, Mass., was elected delegate to the federation of trades.

State Deputies — At this session the constitution was amended requiring the president to appoint a deputy for each state, territory and province, in which subordinate unions existed, whose duty it was to correspond with each town or place in the state, where printers were employed, with the view of encouraging them to embrace unionism. The deputy appointed by the president was authorized and directed to select an assistant in each city or town, empowered with authority to administer the union obligation, with the understanding that all persons so obligated should be assigned to membership in the nearest subordinate union within the state. The member thus obligated was relieved from payment of local dues and assessments but was required to pay the International per capita tax. The first list of state deputies follows:

Alabama, Michael O'Rourke, Mobile; Arizona, E. S. Penwell, Tombstone; Arkansas, J. M. Wade, Little Rock; California, S. W. Jenner, San Francisco; Colorado, H. M. Biden, Denver; Connecticut, J. F. Busche, jr., New Haven; Delaware, D. S. Shields, Wilmington; Dakota, M. J. Meehan, Fargo; Idaho, C. J. Copp, Hailey; Illinois, Robert A. Lowry, Quincy; Indiana, John Schley, Indianapolis; Iowa, T. J. Collins, Sioux City; Kentucky, W. E. Riley, Louisville; Kansas, James M. Jones, Atchison; Louisiana, P. T. McDermott, New Orleans; Manitoba, P. Considine, Winnipeg; Maryland, James W. Rodgers, Baltimore; Massachusetts, D. N. McMullin, Boston; Minnesota, J. T. Mannix, Minneapolis; Mississippi, A. J. McCallum, Vicksburg; Michigan, Judson Grenell, Detroit; Missouri, M. Lawlor, St. Joseph; Nevada, S. M. Stenhouse, Virginia City; North Carolina, J. C. Birdsong, Raleigh; Nebraska, L. C. Hay, Omaha; New York, F. F. Donovan, New York city; New Jersey, Samuel Mellor, jr., Trenton; New Mexico, N. S. Belden, Las Vegas; Ohio, David P. Boyer, Columbus; Ontario, John Armstrong, Toronto; Pennsylvania, Thomas Brennan, Pittsburgh; Prince Edward Island, Richard Walsh, Charlottetown; Quebec, P.

Hughes, Montreal; New Brunswick, James Berry, St. John; South Carolina, N. Stuart Marks, Columbia; Texas, George S. Smith, Austin; Tennessee, Thomas Irwin, Nashville; Utah, Henry McEwan, Salt Lake City; Virginia, J. H. O'Bannon, Richmond; West Virginia, W. S. McCurdy, Wheeling; Wisconsin, Charles H. Hubbard, Milwaukee; Wyoming, A. R. Johnson, Cheyenne.

Convention at Cincinnati

[1883] — The thirty-first annual convention of the International Union was called to order by President Clark in Cincinnati, June 4, 1883, sixty-eight unions being represented by eighty-four delegates.

President's Address — In his annual address to the convention, President Clark said that during the year much had been accomplished. While there had been no particular demonstration, a constant and healthy growth was manifest throughout the jurisdiction. This assertion was fully borne out by the increase of new unions, which was unparalleled in the history of the organization. Apparently, the craft generally had prospered and had become stronger and more united. Another evidence of the prosperity being enjoyed was the fact that few lapses had occurred during the year and the spirit of distrust which had for several years previously threatened to mar the usefulness of the International body had to a great degree been dispelled. It was apparent that the cause of labor generally had received new impetus by movements leading to greater unity and a better understanding among the various trades.

Organization Work — President Clark recommended additional legislation providing an extension of the organization work. Without criticizing the results obtained through state organizers, it was recommended that the union should provide for a permanent organizer, vested with proper power as an officer, who should be paid a stated salary and devote his entire time and energy to the work, with instructions to co-operate with the state deputies. No action was taken on the recommendation.

French-Canadian Union — Acting upon the instructions of the previous convention regarding the petition presented by Montreal Union, praying that the charter of Jacques Cartier Union be restored, the president reported that he had issued to the French printers of Montreal a charter, under their old number and name. While this action was not in strict accord with the letter of the law which provided that not more than one charter should be issued in the same city, the peculiar conditions existing in Montreal seemed to require that two subordinate unions be chartered in that jurisdiction.

Charters — The following list of charters issued, and those reissued and surrendered, is given: Pressmen's—New York city, Toronto, Ont., and Cincinnati, Ohio. Reissued—Jacques Cartier, Montreal, Can.; Springfield, Ohio; Des Moines, Iowa; Montgomery, Ala.; Atlanta, Ga.; Shreveport, La.; Dubuque, Iowa; Oil City, Pa.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Portland, Ore.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; Rochester, N. Y.; Santa Fe, N. M.; Halifax, N. S.; Ottawa, Can.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Providence, R. I.; Stockton, Cal.; Dallas and Austin, Tex. New charters—Tombstone, Ariz.; Fort Worth, Tex.; Youngstown, Ohio; Zanesville, Ohio; Hailey, Ida.; Seattle, Wash.; Council Bluffs, Iowa; Miles City, Mont.; Jamestown, N. Y.; Sedalia, Mo.; Newark, Ohio; Albuquerque, N. M.; Lincoln, Neb.; Tucson, Ariz.; Oshkosh, Wis.; Hornellsville, N. Y.; Lowell, Mass.; Lake Charles, La., and Decatur, Ill. Surrendered—Portland, Me.; Ann Arbor, Mich.; Lexington, Ky.; Vicksburg, Miss.; Worcester, Mass., and Las Vegas, N. M.

Strikes — The report of the corresponding secretary gave evidence of a revival of trade in all sections of the country, although a number of strikes took place during the year. Differences had occurred in New York, Boston, Dubuque, Minneapolis, Montreal, New Haven, Atlanta,

Portland, Ore.; Cambridge, Mass.; Toronto, Can.; Springfield and Joliet, Ill. Settlements were made in all these disputes favorable to the union. Unsuccessful strikes had occurred in St. Paul, Toledo, Erie, Atlanta, Kansas City, Topeka, Montreal and Winnipeg.

Federation of Trades — Frank K. Foster, delegate to the Federation of Trades, submitted a report covering the sessions of that body held in Cleveland. The report showed that in addition to the various local bodies represented eight national and international unions had sent delegates. Samuel L. Leffingwell, of Indianapolis, representing the Trades Assembly of that city, and a member of Typographical Union No. 1, was elected president. Samuel Gompers, of the Cigar Makers' International Union, was elected vice-president, and W. H. Foster, Cincinnati Trades Assembly; T. H. Murch, Granite Cutters' National Union, and Hugo Miller, German-American Typographia, were elected secretaries.

The report showed that while considerable progress had been made during the year in the way of organization and legislative action, yet the financial returns from the organizations represented at the Pittsburgh session had not been sufficiently large to permit of the active campaign anticipated by friends of the federation. Efforts to secure places on congressional committees for friends of labor; the anti-Chinese demonstrations in aid of the passage of an exclusion act; the presentation of a bill in congress for the better protection of the rights and health of seamen; of another to the New York legislature for the abolition of tenement-house cigar makers, and an appeal to the Ohio legislature for the abolition of prison contract labor, were among the especial matters that had engaged the attention of the legislative committee.

While the second session of the federation, in point of numbers, did not meet the expectations of its more en-

thusiastic friends, yet in many ways it was a notable success.

At the Pittsburgh convention a plank had been inserted in the platform endorsing a high protective tariff. This plank was stricken out at the Cleveland convention. An additional plank was added by the insertion of a demand for an employers' liability act; the order of precedence was changed so as to give the enforcement of a national eight-hour law first place in the order of arrangement.

Union Printers Home — A special committee appointed at the previous convention to consider the feasibility of devising means for the establishment of a home for disabled printers submitted the following report. The recommendation contained in the report, however, was not concurred in.

In regard to the proposition, your committee beg leave to state that, while they heartily approve the principle embodied in the resolution, and believe that the establishment of such a home would be a most creditable feature of our unionism, commending our organization to the favorable opinion of a benevolent public, yet, aware of the magnitude of the undertaking financially, we would not recommend its adoption unless aid can be obtained from outside sources. With such help we believe the plan entirely feasible. Prominent publishers, as we are informed, have in the past given their approval to similar propositions and signified their willingness to extend substantial aid. Such aid secured, an additional handsome sum could be realized by the levying of a small monthly assessment on the members of local unions. An assessment of 15 cents per month would yield an annual income, of, say, about twenty thousand dollars a year. This could be reduced one-third, or even two-thirds, after the establishment of the home, and the tax would be so light that it would not be regarded as a burden. Fully aware that to many of our members the project may seem visionary, yet, in order that the matter may be given a practical test, your committee respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the proposition to establish a home for dis-

GEORGE CLARK, St. Louis
President International Typographical Union
June 10, 1881 – June 8, 1883

abled printers be referred to a committee consisting of the newly-elected officers of the International Union, with instructions to open a correspondence, under the seal of the International Union, with the employing printers throughout the jurisdiction, in order to ascertain the views of said employers on the subject; and then, should the matter be regarded by said committee as feasible, that they be instructed to prepare and report at the next session of this International Union a bill looking to the establishment of the said home.

Official Organ — "Our Organette," a trade publication issued at Indianapolis, having received the endorsement of a previous convention, had become, practically, the official organ of the International Union, and, upon the recommendation of the committee on miscellaneous business, it was ordered that the secretary-treasurer, instead of issuing quarterly circulars, should publish all matters necessary for the information of subordinate unions in "Our Organette," to be paid for at the usual advertising rates, and to subscribe for a sufficient number of copies of the paper to provide one for each subordinate union.

Membership — The report of the committee on returns and finance showed that the finances were in a satisfactory condition and the total membership was 12,273.

Per Capita — The per capita tax for the ensuing year was fixed at 20 cents.

Sub-Lists — The death blow to "sub-lists" was dealt by the delegates to the thirty-first convention, and an assertion of real authority by the International organization was contained in the following resolution adopted by a vote of 62 ayes, 12 noes:

WHEREAS it is the opinion of this International Union that every union man is entitled to the privilege of working in union offices until he gives cause to be discharged or prohibited; therefore

Resolved, That all subordinate unions are hereby instructed to abolish sub-lists on or before the 1st of September, 1883, under penalty of having their charters revoked.

Government Printing Office — The following interesting resolutions, introduced by Delegate Briggs, of Washington, D. C., were adopted by a rising vote of the delegates:

WHEREAS certain senators of United States did, at the last session of congress, by their prompt and unsolicited action, defeat legislation directly detrimental to the interests of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, Pressmen's Union No. 1, both of Washington, D. C., and to trade organizations generally, and did by their utterances show themselves to have a true understanding and appreciation of the cause of labor; therefore

Be it resolved, That a vote of thanks be, and is hereby, tendered by this International Union of North America to the Honorable Senators D. W. Voorhees of Indiana, and Omar D. Conger of Michigan, and the other senators who favored us on that occasion; and

Be it further resolved, That the officers of this body are hereby instructed to acquaint by telegraph the senators designated of our action.

The remarks of Senators Voorhees and Conger in the United States senate, February 24, 1883, referred to in the above resolutions, set forth so clearly the aims and objects of the trade union movement, as interpreted by the typographical union, that the following excerpts from the debate in the senate on that occasion are reproduced:

MR. VOORHEES—Mr. President, I want to submit a few words on behalf of the printers. It seems that only one side of this question has been heard on this floor. * * * It would seem from the debate the last half hour here as if they were a very dangerous class of people. From the unbroken strain of amazed and indignant talk on this subject it would seem that this government had been outraged and plundered by them. That is not my understanding. My understanding is that a more painstaking, conscientious, hard-working class of people does not live than the printers who are now in question. If they have committed any abuse on any public interest, I should like to have it pointed out. I should like to know what they have done. Have they received too much pay for their work? I should like to see a senator who will rise here and say so.

MR. PLUMB—Will the senator from Indiana permit me to direct his attention to one point? I want simply to state the abuse I speak of. While they want to labor for themselves, and do good labor, and valuable labor, they insist that nobody else shall labor except at their beck.

MR. VOORHEES—I will come to that directly. Let us take things as they are presented; I want to settle some points as I go along. I do not understand that anybody pretends that these men get too much pay for their work. I want to settle another point: I do not understand that anybody pretends that they do not do their work well. So we have two great propositions in employment and labor; one is that the work is done well, and the other is that they do not get too much pay for it. Then I should like to know what the trouble is? The senator from Kansas says the trouble is that they are associated together so that their wages shall not be reduced by somebody coming in and working for less. That is about the plain statement.

MR. PLUMB—No, I did not state it that way.

MR. VOORHEES—I will correct myself, then. Of course I meant that the senator said so simply in substance. I repeat it, the senator from Kansas said that they would not allow other people to work in so many words. That is not true and he will have to correct his statement a little as well as I shall have to correct mine. The senator said they were associated so as not to allow men to come in and underwork them and thus reduce their wages.

MR. PLUMB—No, that is not the statement I made.

MR. VOORHEES—I did not say it was the statement. I say that is what you meant.

MR. PLUMB—It is not what I meant.

MR. VOORHEES—Then what did you mean?

MR. PLUMB—My meaning is that they will not let any person work unless he first joins their association and subscribes to their rules.

MR. VOORHEES—And work at the same wages.

MR. PLUMB—But it is more than a question of wages. It is general direction and control in the relation of labor.

MR. VOORHEES—I do not remember how the senator from Kansas voted on the Chinese question, but I know that the idea of protecting American labor from the competition of cheap Chinese labor swayed this entire congress, both the senate and

the house. I believe, in fact, as I turn my eye to the chair as it is now occupied, that about the only conspicuous and distinguished opponent of that idea is now in the chair. I do not remember the eloquence of the senator from Kansas or anybody else's particularly, except that of the senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Hoar) now in the chair against the proposition which we were then putting in the form of a law that labor in this country should not be brought in contact with cheap labor from China.

I said I intended to say something for the printer. I want to talk on his side for a little while. The way he reasons is this: He has as much right to protect himself in the wages that will give him bread and shelter and clothing as other people have to protect themselves. Is it wrong that they are associated together? To hear the senator from Maine (Mr. Hale) and other senators it would seem as if there was a sort of Cataline conspiracy. There is not an association in the world, either of talent, or labor, or capital, that does not do exactly the same thing.

A medical association fixes the fees, and if one of their number comes and administers quinine for less than the agreed fee he will be expelled from that association. It is the same principle exactly with the Typographical Union. They say a man must work at particular wages. The physicians of the country say the same thing, and if one is employed, at less than the agreed price, those who are already employed will walk away from the bedside of sickness and leave you to die. In many places the bar have their associations and agreements also. Going still further, take up the great industries of the country. Take the Wool Growers' Association, the Iron Mongers' Association, the Steel Workers' Association, the Spinners' Association, Liquor Dealers' Association, to say nothing of that master of all associated strength, the National Banking Association. No words of reproach for them; no outcry; no danger; but the Typographical Union, those men who work day and night at their printers' cases, seem to alarm senators. They do not alarm me. I am much more alarmed at the National Banking Association, which meets every year at Saratoga, to have their annual congress, when the champagne corks pop, and the terrapin is good, and they lay down lines of financial policy agreed upon in luxury and splendor and come down here and dictate to

this congress from end to end of this capitol, and every senator knows it.

These typos are not dictating here. The senator from Kansas is alarmed; other senators are alarmed, and they say this thing had better be met on the threshold. Let us meet it upon the threshold, but let us not have a tempest in a teapot on the threshold. Talk about congress being dictated to—it has been and will continue to be until the end of time dictated to by associated capital, associated talent; but less than on any other subject will it be dictated to by government printers.

Sir, associated talent, associated wealth, associated labor have governed the world at all times, and they will continue to do so. It is just as legitimate and just as innocent and harmless, and more so, for these people who toil with their hands and make their associations to protect them in their rights as it is to those who are more powerful.

I presented a paper here this morning from an association known as workers in iron and steel in my state, and I want them to have their voice heard. It is an association of men who delve in the earth and who work in the blast furnaces, and all that. I believe they have as much right to be heard here as the National Association of Banks. Yet how different would have been the reception of a memorial of the annual National Banking Association held at Saratoga from that which was given to those workers in iron and steel, and how differently we would speak of something the National Banking Association was doing from that, which we speak of the poor government printers down here with no voice on this floor.

Mr. President, I can generally be counted on that side which is not here to speak for itself. It seems to me that there are plenty to speak on the other side. It seems to me there are plenty to get up here a sort of fictitious alarm about the government printers who do work and get none too much pay, and who do not want to be underworked by others. We have had the most eloquent appeals here about the protection of American labor. That is just what these Typographical Unions are doing—they are protecting American labor in their own profession and calling.

Mr. Conger—I do not understand from anything that has been said that this association undertook to dictate at all to the public printer whom he should employ or whom he should

not employ, otherwise than to say that they will not work there if certain persons are employed. I have heard this question discussed at one time and another for the last few years, and I never yet have heard that the printers' association ever undertook to control or dictate any terms to the public printer or the government, except so far as to say that they have, for mutual benefit and mutual protection, organized all over the United States, to protect themselves, as every other class of people can and may and do do. They say if the government will take one class of men, if it is better for the government to employ one set of men who do not feel an interest in joining together with them for mutual protection, they will go elsewhere. Who is to condemn them for that proposition? Can the government get along just as well without them? If it can, let it do so; that is all they say. They are bound up in this association all over the United States. The printers for their mutual protection, for their mutual improvement, to see to it that everybody who belongs to the craft is educated in the craft, is capable of performing the duties of a printer, as I believe for elevating the standard of skill and of labor and of education and support, and for all the things that these associations are formed for, for mutual benefit, for supporting their sick, for burying their dead. They are scattered all over the United States in every town and village, a mutual benefit society. The object of that is good, as I understand it; it is beneficial to the printer, and is good for the art, and is good for the community, and is elevating.

All I have ever heard anybody assert that they say is that if those who do not belong to this association, if those who are willing to cut under wages are employed in the government printing office, they do not desire to be employed; they will leave. The government can not afford that. Sir, it would stop the action of both houses of congress tomorrow, if that printing should stop one day, and we all know it. It may be that some preliminary steps may be taken to organize printers into a class of employes like those in other departments, to give them appointments and give them salaries. I know of no other way to meet this without doing injustice to the printers belonging to this association, as I suppose probably four-fifths and perhaps nine-tenths of all the printers in the United States do belong to it. I do not know why congress should commence

with a threat against this class of men. Unfortunately or fortunately, as it may be, congress and the country would suffer without their services today and every day. If the men belonging to the association throughout the United States were to leave the different offices where they are employed at any one day the entire circulation of newspapers, the entire working of the presses, the entire business of setting of type would stop as if an earthquake had stopped their business.

Those are facts that we must look at. It is a condition of the country, not only in Washington, but in every city in the union. I do not know that it is desirable to threaten, as has been done here, that every member of a printers' association, a benevolent relief society as it virtually is, should be threatened on the floor of the senate with being turned out of position under the government because he belonged to such an association, which has nothing wrong in it, but everything that tends to elevate that class of American citizens, any more than any other class you have legislated against or condemned on this floor.

Mr. Hawley—The public printer would have no right to say, no citizen would have a right to say, of any person seeking employment that he should not belong to any voluntary association. I do not think he would have a right to do that. He would have a perfect right to say, however, "these are all the wages I have to give, all I ought to give, and I will employ nobody except at these wages and on these terms." But the employer has a right to say what he will give, whether the person belongs to an association outside or any association in the trade, or anything of that sort.

Mr. Conger—There is no denial of that by any member of the association. All that they say to the printer or all that they say to the government, or in the hearing of the country is, that if the government or the public printer does not see fit to accede to those terms, they will leave. They have a right to do that, in my judgment. The government can supply their places by wandering printers who belong to no association and will belong to no association, for I understand all may join this and the fee is very small; the dues are small. All who desire to promote the order and the efficiency of the printer of their class and the well being of their families may unite together in this; and the only penalty for appointing that class

of men is that the printers of these relief associations say that they will not work under certain conditions, and will leave the government free to get its men where it can.

Revision of Laws — A special committee on constitutional amendments, to which was referred all proposed legislation pertaining to the constitution and by-laws, was appointed, with instructions to make such revision and alterations in the organic laws as might be deemed needful to the improvement of the same. This committee submitted a report which was accepted, ordered to be printed in the proceedings, and laid over for final action at the next session.

New Orleans was chosen as the meeting place for the thirty-second annual convention.

Officers, 1883 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, Mark L. Crawford, Chicago; first vice-president, I. N. Jones, Pittsburgh; second vice-president, M. W. Mathasz, Cincinnati; secretary-treasurer, William Briggs, Washington, D. C., and corresponding secretary, W. A. Wilkinson, Galveston.

The president was authorized to appoint three delegates to the convention of the Federation of Trades.

State Deputies — In conformity with the requirements of the constitution, the president appointed state, provincial and territorial deputies for the year, as follows:

Arizona, E. S. Penwell, Tombstone; Arkansas, J. M. Wade, Little Rock; California, S. W. Jenner, San Francisco; Colorado, Frank W. Bradley, Denver; Connecticut, J. F. Busche, jr., New Haven; Delaware, D. S. Shields, Wilmington; Dakota, J. P. Daily, Fargo; Florida, Bryce P. Smith, Jacksonville; Georgia, James G. Woodward, Atlanta; Illinois, H. S. Street, Chicago; Indiana, L. P. McCormack, Indianapolis; Iowa, C. W. Cormeny, Council Bluffs; Kentucky, Sam S. Green, Louisville; Kansas, James M. Jones, Atchison; Louisiana, P. T. McDermott, New Orleans; Manitoba, Archie King, Winnipeg; Maryland, N. B. Talbott, Baltimore; Minnesota, Chris T. Kelly, Minneapolis; Michigan, Judson Grenell, Detroit; Missouri, Al S. Ferguson, Jefferson City; Montana, William Trowbridge, Miles City; Nebraska, J. R. Lewis, Omaha; Nevada, J. R. Lamson, Eureka; New Brunswick, James Berry, St. John; New York, F. F. Donovan, New York city; New Jersey, Harry W. McClurg, Trenton; North Carolina, J. R. Ray, Raleigh; Ohio, David P. Boyer, Columbus; Ontario, John Armstrong, Toronto; Oregon, C. H. Humphrey, Portland; Pennsylvania, Thomas Brennan, Pittsburgh; Prince Edward Island, R. Walsh, Charlottetown; Quebec, M. D. J.

Kenyon, Montreal; South Carolina, N. Stuart Mark, Columbia; Texas, George S. Smith, Austin; Tennessee, Thomas Irwin, Nashville; Utah, Henry McEwan, Salt Lake City; Virginia, A. K. Henry, Richmond; West Virginia, Hage Shively, Wheeling; Wyoming, H. W. Moore, Cheyenne.

Convention at New Orleans

[1884]— The thirty-second convention of the International Union was called to order by President Crawford at New Orleans on June 2, 1884, fifty-five unions being represented by seventy-three delegates.

Relations With Knights of Labor — The annual report of the president was an interesting and comprehensive document, containing numerous suggestions to the delegates regarding needed legislation. This convention of the International Union was held at a period when the organization known as the "Knights of Labor" had reached the high-water mark in its history. Many members of the typographical union had joined the Knights of Labor and strong pressure was brought to bear in some jurisdictions to bring about amalgamation with the new organization. Of this, President Crawford said:

Much has been said and written since our last session with regard to merging our International body into a district assembly of the Knights of Labor. It has been more thoroughly discussed through our official organ, "The Craftsman," than expediency would permit me to do at this time, finding as it did earnest advocates on both sides. Being a member of and an enthusiastic supporter of the principles and objects of that noble and grand organization, I would not say or do anything that would tend to cripple its usefulness or retard its wonderful growth; but the careful reasoner can not but agree with me that to merge an organization that has battled for almost half a century in prosperity and adversity, and today commands the respect and esteem of thinking people—her battle-flag still floating from the mast, around which muster fifteen thousand intelligent tradesmen—into another organization that has not yet passed through the fire that we have, acknowledging allegiance and bowing obedience to a new grand commander, or otherwise receiving no more consideration that we now do, by

the friendly feeling existing between us, would be suicidal in the extreme. An army, no matter how grand its objects, can be too great to handle. Besides, the success of our cause depends almost wholly on unity; and to march into a friendly camp, as we would have to, an army demoralized by thus confessing our inability to take our part in the great fight to establish justice among men, would unquestionably injure our friendly co-workers more than do them or us good. It would sow the seeds of discord, so fatal to our cause, among them, and we would soon behold a large army of demoralized men, whose commanders would be unable to hold them. There are many other reasons why such a course should not be adopted; but believing that no such move will be taken at this session, I do not care to take up your time by further dwelling upon it. However, I would respectfully and earnestly urge that a better understanding be arrived at between us. Complaints have constantly come to me that in cities where assemblies of the Knights of Labor are organized, wholly composed of printers, a card authorized by our body is treated secondary to one issued by such assemblies; that these assemblies pass upon all legislation before it is introduced in the local union; that they admit as members men who have not served sufficient apprenticeship, as well as men who have "ratted" in our own organization; that men who hold working cards are compelled to work side by side with notorious "rats" in offices that are called union offices. This is all wrong and contrary to the principles and policy of the Knights of Labor, as well as our own. I would recommend that the president of the International Typographical Union be instructed to confer with the grand master workman of the Knights of Labor, with a view of arriving at a better understanding in this matter. We can not afford to be anything else than friends; we are aiming at the same object, and we should court the good will of the Knights of Labor, as they are a power in our time of need—ever ready to extend a helping hand.

The recommendation of President Crawford that a conference be had between the president of the International Union and the grand master workman of the Knights of Labor, with a view to arriving at a better understanding, was concurred in.

Chief Organizer — The growth of the International Union, together with the fact that the subordinate unions reached from coast to coast, and to the gulf, made it necessary that some systematic method of furthering the work of organization be adopted. It was apparent that, through lack of funds, the state deputy system had failed to accomplish all that had been expected of it. While here and there a state deputy was found who covered his territory in a satisfactory manner, the great majority of these officers failed to make a showing.

Following the suggestion of President Crawford, the convention created the office of chief organizer, with a fixed salary and an expense account. The chief organizer was authorized to appoint a deputy for each state, and the deputy so appointed was authorized to select a representative in each jurisdiction in the state.

Official Organ — At the previous convention a resolution had been adopted requiring the officers of the International to recognize "Our Organette" as the semi-official organ in which to publish all circulars and such other matter as might be necessary for the information of subordinate unions. Shortly after the convention had adjourned, "Our Organette" ceased to exist. After some little time, the management of "The Craftsman," published at Washington, D. C., obtained the subscription books of "Our Organette," and by arrangement with the International officials carried out the obligations of the editor of the late publication. "The Craftsman" was made the official organ of the union.

Charters — Thirty-four charters were issued during the year, many of which were renewals. Eight charters were surrendered. In reissuing charters, in many instances, the old number was disregarded, the purpose being to fill in the discontinued numbers accordingly as applications were received; thus Hartford, Conn., which had surren-

dered charter No. 72, was rechartered as No. 127, which number it still retains, and Birmingham, Ala., was chartered as No. 72. The list of charters issued and surrendered follows: Issued—Galveston, Tex. (pressmen), No. 12; Syracuse, N. Y., No. 55; Walla Walla, Wash., No. 51; Jacksonville, Fla., No. 162; Helena, Mont., No. 95; Bismarck, N. Dak., No. 140; El Paso, Tex., No. 44; La Crosse, Wis., No. 97; Vicksburg, Miss., No. 105; Hastings, Neb., No. 83; Pittsburgh, Pa. (pressmen), No. 13; Tacoma, Wash., No. 170; Charleston, W. Va., No. 146; Butte City, Mont., No. 126; Hartford, Conn., No. 127; St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn. (pressmen), No. 14; Blue Grass (Lexington, Ky.), No. 189; Poughkeepsie, N. Y., No. 93; Augusta, Ga., No. 41; Harrisburg, Pa., No. 14; Leavenworth, Kan., No. 45; Bloomington, Ill., No. 124; Wilkes-Barre, Pa., No. 187; Ottumwa, Iowa, No. 73; Palatka, Fla., No. 135; Creston, Iowa, No. 131; Birmingham, Ala., No. 72; Circleville, Ohio, No. 36; South Bend, Ind., No. 128; Lawrence, Kan., No. 24; New Orleans (pressmen), No. 15; Baton Rouge, La., No. 25; Ann Arbor, Mich., No. 154; Victoria, B. C., No. 201. Charters surrendered—Las Vegas, N. M., No. 195; Hartford, Conn., No. 72; Titusville, Pa., No. 144; Santa Fe, N. M., No. 143; Miles City, Mont., No. 204; Eureka, Nev., No. 178; Wood River (Bellevue, Ida.), No. 201; Birmingham, Ala., No. 72.

Female Labor — The convention gave further expression of the position of the International Union regarding female labor. A general law was enacted requiring that subordinate unions, foremen of offices, and chapels, should make no distinction on account of sex in persons holding membership. It was declared that female compositors were entitled to all the privileges and benefits conferred by subordinate unions, and that this fact must be recognized.

Agreement With Typographia — By a formal request of the German-American Typographia, contained in a communication addressed to the convention, a working agreement in the form of a treaty was adopted by the convention. The agreement follows:

The International Typographical Union recognizes the certificates of the German-American Typographia, and the latter recognizes the cards of the International Typographical Union. This recognition shall entitle the members of either union to join the other without paying initiation fees, and gives them the privilege to work in any office, controlled either by the English or German unions, without being obliged to join both unions. In cases where the validity of a certificate of membership is doubtful, an acknowledgment of the same from the secretary of the union to which the member belongs shall be furnished. Members of either organization that have left or wish to leave their union to join a union of the other organization must pay their dues to the union they leave, up to the date of their withdrawal.

Where there is a German department in an English union office, or single members of a German union are working, or vice versa, where there is an English department in a German union office, or single members of the English union are employed, the members of both unions shall act in unity in all disputes about wages or possible strikes, after having reported the case to their respective unions and having obtained the permission of the authorized officers, as the constitutions of both organizations may provide.

If a strike results from such action, and it becomes necessary to pay relief money to members, the following maxim shall prevail: The union which orders a strike shall also pay the relief to the members of the sister union it orders out.

In reference to chapel organizations, the following rule shall be binding on both parties: Those members of a union that are in a minority in an establishment shall subordinate themselves to the majority of the other union in all matters pertaining to the common interest of union members there employed. If there is a separate department for the members of the unions, they may, even if they are in the minority, have a separate chapel, but they must adopt such rules and regula-

tions that unity of action is insured in all cases where the common interest is at stake.

It shall be the rule that German compositors, not yet belonging to either union, setting German in an office controlled by the English unions, shall be compelled by the chairman to join the German union. English compositors in a German union office, not yet belonging to either union, shall be compelled to join the English union.

Arbitration — An amendment to the general laws was adopted requiring that every possible effort be made to settle all differences by arbitration before resorting to strikes. The law as amended reads as follows:

The International Union regards a resort to strike as inexpedient, except where the rules or principles of the International or a subordinate union may have been violated. Recognizing strikes as detrimental to the better interests of the craft, it directs subordinate unions not to order a strike without at least a three-quarter vote of the union (all the members being constitutionally notified of the meeting), and that no member shall vote on such questions unless having belonged to the subordinate union interested at least six months; but no strike shall be entered into or authorized until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration.

Membership — The report of the secretary-treasurer showed a total membership above 16,000, including the members of fourteen pressmen's unions.

Per Capita Tax — The financial condition of the organization was satisfactory, but in order to carry on the work of organization under the direction of a salaried chief organizer and to provide sufficient remuneration for the officers of the union whose work had increased proportionately with the growth of the organization, the per capita tax for the year 1884-1885 was fixed at 40 cents, and it was arranged that the tax should be paid quarterly.

Endowment Fund — At the Cincinnati convention, 1883, a committee was appointed to formulate and present to the New Orleans convention a plan of death

benefits. William C. Root, a member of the committee, submitted a plan proposing to create an endowment fund, which was referred to the committee on unfinished business for investigation. The plan submitted by Mr. Root found favor with many of the delegates, but was finally disposed of by reference to subordinate unions. By a resolution, approved by the convention, subordinate unions were requested to provide local burial benefits.

Strikes — While the reports of officers at the New Orleans convention were most encouraging, and the state of trade, generally, was prosperous, a marked increase in the number of strikes was reported, most of which had been unsuccessful. These disputes had occurred in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Buffalo, Boston, New Orleans, Detroit, Nashville, San Francisco, Dubuque, Milwaukee, Galveston, Peoria, Leavenworth, New Haven, Troy, Utica, Bloomington, Austin, Bismarck, Oil City, Fargo, Omaha, Zanesville, Youngstown, Jamestown, Albuquerque, Lowell, and Springfield, Ill.

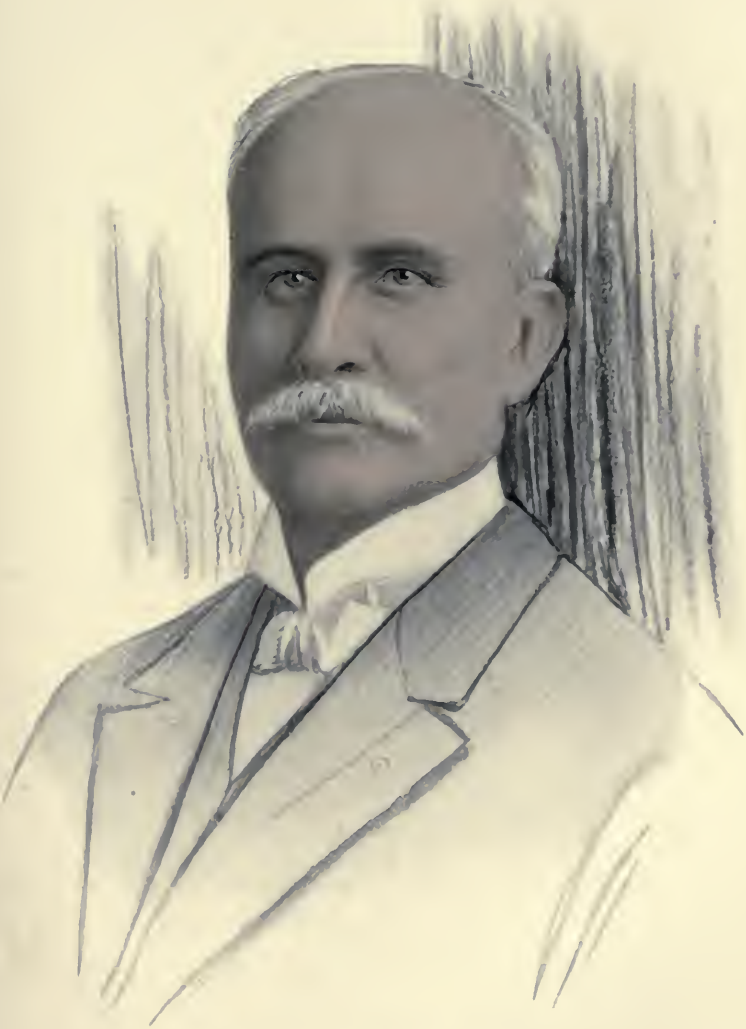
Boycott — An interesting paragraph is contained in the report of Corresponding Secretary Wilkinson:

> I wish to direct the earnest attention of the members of this International body to a new element which has entered into the struggles of combined labor to sustain itself against the onslaughts of capitalistic cupidity. I refer to what is generally known as "boycotting." Within a few years past this force has achieved great and decisive victories for our craft, and numerous instances might be cited wherein, if dependence were placed entirely upon our own resources and without the aid of others, our cause would have been utterly lost. In many strikes, lockouts, etc., mentioned in the first part of this report, the power of boycotting has been brought to bear, and almost invariably, when properly conducted and persisted in, with telling effect for the benefit of our craft and workingmen in general. Never was the spirit of organization so strong among the working class as it is today, and the imperative need of thorough organization was never more manifest. The success

of boycotting must depend upon the justice of the cause, its thoroughness and persistency. With these points to start with, active, zealous, and powerful auxiliaries have ever been found in the Knights of Labor, trades and labor assemblies, and organized labor in general. In fact, it may be said that the co-operation of these kindred societies is absolutely indispensable to the successful carrying on of boycotting. We should therefore co-operate with and cultivate the good wishes of other associations, as much as possible for mutual benefit, as nothing is truer than that "the injury of one is the concern of all."

Federation of Trades — Following the instructions of the Cincinnati convention, 1883, President Crawford appointed E. M. Slack, Columbus, Ohio; L. P. McCormack, Indianapolis, and A. H. Jones, Washington, D. C., as representatives of the International Union at the convention of the Federation of Trades, held in New York city in August, 1883. The report of the delegates on the proceedings of the convention of the Federation of Trades was interesting, for many reasons. It was at this session that Samuel Gompers was first elected president of the organization since known as the American Federation of Labor, succeeding Samuel Leffingwell of Indianapolis.

State Deputies — At this session of the International Union the constitution was amended, requiring the convention to elect a chief organizer, to have charge of the entire subject of organization, with a compensation of $1,500 per annum and traveling expenses not to exceed $1,000. The organizer was required to devote his entire time to the duties of his office. The chief organizer was also empowered to appoint state deputies under the same conditions, practically, that these officers had formerly been appointed by the president. No record is contained in the minutes of the conventions following this date of the members appointed to be state deputies. Mark L. Crawford, Chicago, was unanimously elected to the office of chief organizer.



MARK L. CRAWFORD, Chicago
President International Typographical Union
June 8, 1883 – June 3, 1884

New York city was chosen as the meeting place for the next annual convention.

Officers, 1884 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, M. R. H. Witter, St. Louis; first vice-president, Richard F. Sullivan, Chicago; second vice-president, P. T. McDermott, New Orleans; secretary-treasurer, William Briggs, Washington, D. C.; corresponding secretary, W. A. Wilkinson, Galveston, Tex., and chief organizer, Mark L. Crawford, Chicago. Delegates to the Federation of Trades—John F. Hogan, Brooklyn; William J. Hammond, New Orleans, and August Donath, Washington, D. C.

Convention at New York

[1885] — When the thirty-third annual convention of the International Union was called to order by President Witter in New York, June 1, 1885, seventy-four unions were represented by 103 delegates, including ten representatives from nine unions of pressmen.

Structural Errors — Not unlike the reports of his predecessors, the annual address of President Witter was a document devoted chiefly to calling attention of the delegates to the weakness and lack of authority of the International organization. While the fact that the International failed in many respects to meet the wants of the craft was undisputed, the nature of its shortcomings was such that a wide difference of opinion existed as to the proper remedy. While the assumption by the constitution of inherent and exclusive jurisdiction was valid in theory, as a matter of fact the International exercised only limited control over subordinate unions, and while it was generally admitted that local unions should continue to be supreme in matters affecting alone their own interests, the progress and development of the entire organization was apparently being retarded by acts of insubordination

and by failure to repose in the International body final authority to settle all questions, without undue encroachment upon the prerogatives of subordinates, thus insuring a legitimate field for the exercise of authority by the body claiming to be supreme. Just how to bring the organization to a point where the International could exercise the authority and powers of a supreme body, vested with inherent and exclusive jurisdiction, and place it in a position at all times to protect the interests of subordinate unions chartered under that authority, had received the earnest attention of many previous administrations. President Oberly, at the Memphis session in 1867, had sought a solution of this vexed question through the creation of an International strike fund. The proposition was defeated at that time, and subsequent conventions, after having the matter under consideration, had uniformly negatived the proposal. Notwithstanding this fact, President Witter again referred to and suggested the creation of an International fund. It was urged that the institution of such a fund, the disposal and distribution of which should be entrusted to the officials of the International, would in a measure subject subordinate unions to the advice of such officials and thus reduce to a minimum the number of unsuccessful strikes.

Growth Retarded — The action of the previous convention in creating the office of chief organizer had not met with the success anticipated, although there was no criticism directed at the organizer; and, while his efforts were heartily approved and endorsed, the fact was not concealed that since the permanent organization of the International Typographical Union the number of subordinates having lapsed was about equal to the number still in existence. That something was wrong; that some inherent weakness existed that continually retarded the growth of the organization was apparent to all. It was even

charged that the printers, generally looked upon as an intelligent body of men, were tolerating a fossilized system, a distinctively one-idea concern—the maintenance of a scale of prices being almost the solitary binding tie—whereas other and more modern organizations, besides maintaining fixed scales of prices, had other features, such as life insurance, sick and disability funds, etc., thereby creating benefits by which members were influenced to refrain from disloyalty to their organization.

Strengthening Influences — Notwithstanding the fact that the organization was sadly in need at that time of some strengthening influences, the delegates, in extreme conservatism, and consumed with a desire to retain the long-cherished power of local autonomy, failed to respond by legislation of a general character designed to place the International Union in a more advanced position. While many amendments and new laws were proposed, little was accomplished tending to effect a real reorganization.

Strike Fund — The various recommendations contained in the reports of officers were considered by the committee on president's address and corresponding secretary's report. This committee submitted for the consideration of the convention a strike fund law, by the terms of which it was proposed to empower the executive council to pay certain weekly benefits to members on strike. In order to create the fund necessary to carry out this proposition, it was ordered that a per capita assessment of 25 cents be levied, the money thus raised to be set aside by subordinate unions in a separate account to be known as a strike fund, subject to the order of the executive council for strike purposes only. This law, while intended to carry out the recommendations of President Witter, in line with the suggestions of many of his predecessors in office, was vitiated by its penalty clause, by the terms

of which subordinate unions failing to honor the draft of the executive council from the local strike fund, within thirty days from the date thereof, should forfeit their right to benefits. Thus it will be seen that any subordinate union failing to levy the assessment, and refusing to respond to a call for assistance from the executive council, could still defy the authority of the International Union, the only penalty being that the local body thus offending could not expect to receive outside assistance in case of trouble.

Pressmen — On an appeal from the pressmen members of the body, the constitution was so amended that the office of second vice-president should be filled by a practical pressman, and the duties of that officer were amplified. It was required that he should decide all questions arising between pressmen and pressmen's unions, subject to the approval of the president of the International. He was also charged with the organization of pressmen's unions, giving his personal attention to that work, with authority to appoint a representative in cases where distance would not warrant his personal attendance.

Forerunner of Priority Law — The following resolution, introduced by Delegate O'Brien of Minneapolis, is the first recorded instance of a protest against giving out situations in composing rooms by foremen who were influenced by bonds of personal friendship or other considerations, and the resolution was a forerunner of legislation culminating in the enactment of the priority law:

WHEREAS there are times when a foreman and one or more subs of an office become members of other organizations besides that of the subordinate union to which they may belong, thereby, naturally enough, often placing the foreman in an unenviable position when choosing a member from a number of subs to fill the position of caseholder, for to some he is then under the bond of at least a double obligation and to others only a single; therefore

Resolved, That the bond of friendship may be equal, and only equal, so far as organization is concerned, and furthermore, that it is the sense of the International Union that only one obligation be recognized by any foreman in the different subordinate union offices when it comes to choosing between subs for a regular situation—the obligation to the union to which he may belong.

Federation of Trades — The minutes of the proceedings of the thirty-third session of the International Union contain only a three-line paragraph to the effect that Mr. Hogan, a delegate to the Federation of Trades convention held in Chicago, reported verbally that the revenue law had been amended making the amount of per capita tax 2 cents per member.

Sub-Lists—Numerous resolutions were offered for the purpose of abolishing the sub-list. All of these propositions were referred back from committee with an unfavorable recommendation. A long discussion followed the report and a yea and nay vote was finally ordered on the question. This vote effectually disposed of the sub-list, its revival being defeated by 78 noes, 6 ayes.

Insurance Plan—On the last day of the convention, under suspension of the rules, and apparently without serious consideration, the delegates adopted a resolution directing that the president and corresponding secretary be constituted a board for the purpose of establishing an insurance plan whereby each member, in good health, belonging to a subordinate union within the jurisdiction of the International Union, be insured, should they desire. The sum of $50 was appropriated for creating such a plan.

Pittsburgh was chosen as the convention city for 1886.

Officers, 1885 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, M. R. H. Witter, St. Louis; first vice-president, Thomas J. Lacey, Ottawa, Can.; second vice-president, Charles Gamewell, Philadelphia;

secretary-treasurer, E. S. McIntosh, Philadelphia; corresponding secretary, H. Thomas Elder, Boston, Mass.; chief organizer, David P. Boyer, Columbus, Ohio. Delegates to the Federation of Trades—W. J. Hammond, New Orleans; William Graydon, New York, and Samuel S. Green, Louisville.

Convention at Pittsburgh

[1886]—The thirty-fourth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order in Pittsburgh, June 7, 1886, by President Witter, 120 delegates being present, representing 92 unions.

The Hon. John M. Farquhar, ex-president of the International, and representative in congress from the thirty-second district of New York, was a visitor, and was invited to address the convention. During his remarks Mr. Farquhar took occasion to counsel the delegates to preserve the individuality of the International Typographical Union as against all other labor organizations. This advice was no doubt due to the tremendous growth of the Knights of Labor at this period, its purpose at that time being to absorb all other trade union bodies.

Organizing—The work of organizing the craft during the year had been prosecuted with unusual success, charters having been issued to 42 typographical unions, 10 pressmen's unions and 2 unions of stereotypers and electrotypers, making a total of 54 unions. It was apparent also that not alone in the organization of new unions had there been unprecedented success but the older organizations had been strengthened materially.

Strike Fund—The operation of the strike fund law, passed at the previous session, had been unsuccessful. The president, in his report, took the position that the whole question of strikes should be placed under the control of the executive officers, otherwise the law should

be repealed. The supposition that the approval of a strike by the executive officers before the fund was available would place the subject matter sufficiently under control, had been disproved. In many instances local unions had taken steps leading up to strikes from which retreat was impossible, and when in this position the executive officers were notified of the condition. At the suggestion of the executive officers, the strike fund law was amended and strengthened, providing that approval of the executive officers must be had before strikes were authorized and that any union inaugurating strikes without such approval should receive no benefit from the strike fund. The collection and payment of the strike fund assessment was made mandatory.

Knights of Labor and Federation of Trades — The growth and aggressive policy of the Knights of Labor were treated at length in the address of President Witter. Dealing with the question from the standpoint of trade autonomy, and viewing with misgivings the possible effect on the trade union movement of the policies pursued by the Knights of Labor, the president said:

To secure co-operation between bodies of organized labor for common purposes has for many years been the high purpose of the ablest of labor's advocates. The advantages to be derived by such policy were so obvious that its adoption only awaited the presentation of a practical method. The appearance of the Order of the Knights of Labor seemed to present both the method and the occasion. It will not be disputed that it was this motive that led leading members of all the trade unions into the order, and I believe it is also true that the trade unions were for a number of years the order's chief support. No one will deny that the labor cause has derived great benefit from the movement. By it all classes of workingmen have been brought into concert, and it remains but to continue and improve the mutual understanding established through this medium to achieve the highest success possible to laboring men under the wage system. It is therefore clearly not

to the interest of any class of labor that the order should be disintegrated or its strength be impaired. Its prestige has often been the shield of persecuted unions, and under its protection they have risen when prostrate. Its renown has revived hope where reverses had produced almost despair. I would not dim its record by a word of disparagement. That record was made through the co-operation of trade unionists, and is therefore in part their property. But there has at length risen to influence in the councils of the great order an element which, should it at any time attain supremacy, threatens the destruction of all distinct trade unions. Starting upon the false theory that there exists no individual interests or rights not subject to regulation by the whole mass of labor, they proceed to the conclusion that organizations charged with the duty of protecting such rights are obstacles to the common welfare. Their order, having risen to influence by the assistance of trade unions, they would now, had they the power, destroy its earliest and best friends. Ignoring the variety of interests and the difference in skill and intelligence existing in all ranks, and the subdivision of society to conform to all conditions, they would make labor organization the only exception to a rule established by experience. Now, if it can be shown that the Order of Knights of Labor is founded upon principles different from and superior to those which underlie trade unionism; that it has avoided the errors into which the unions have fallen; that it has by independent action achieved success not attainable by co-operation of trade bodies; that a program for the benefit of all labor can be proposed by it which is unattainable by trade unionism, then I shall be prepared to recommend that with the adjournment of the thirty-fourth session of the International Typographical Union, the organization which has proudly stood the test of more than a third of a century of trial, be abandoned and its membership be merged into the Knights of Labor. Manifestly, no such demonstration can be made. I challenge an exposition of the policy which would justify the desertion of an organization whose influence and usefulness has steadily increased. I challenge the detractors of trade unionism to point out the shortcomings inherent in that system which do not also characterize the Knights of Labor. I maintain that the control by independent bodies of distinct interests is a necessary check upon hasty and unwise legislation.

Convention at Pittsburgh, 1886

Labor organizations in America have now reached a point where an intelligent understanding is necessary if disaster is to be averted. Danger exists not alone in the aggressions of capital, but in crude theories and impracticable enterprises on the part of labor. To abolish all lines and merge all trades into one organization would, in the present state of development of the labor movement, greatly increase the danger; and, in any view, would add nothing to the effective results of co-operation.

President Witter presented the report of the delegates to the Federation of Trades, as follows:

SCRANTON, PA., June 5, 1886.

To the Officers and Members of the International Typographical Union.

As chairman of the delegation to represent the International Typographical Union in the Federated Trades and Labor Congress I have the honor to make the following report:

In accordance with a resolution adopted by the International body at its last annual session, your delegates, Mr. William Hammond of New Orleans, Mr. William Graydon, jr., of New York, and myself visited Scranton, Pa., immediately after the sine die adjournment of the body, for the purpose of laying before T. V. Powderly, general master workman of the Knights of Labor, complaints in regard to the action of certain assemblies of that organization which had been brought to the attention of the International Typographical Union by local unions. Mr. Powderly received your delegates courteously and listened attentively to the statement of grievances. After a full and somewhat lengthy discussion of the matter, Mr. Powderly promised compliance with the wishes of the body, represented in the persons of your delegates, stating that a law for the government of the Knights of Labor was then in preparation—and which he had no doubt would soon be adopted by the order in general—which would in the future cause an avoidance of all cause of complaint in regard to the interference of the Knights of Labor in the affairs of trade unions without the consent of the latter. Whether or not such law has ever been adopted by the Knights of Labor your delegates are not informed, but that the cause of complaint which induced the International body to send its delegates to lay the same before Mr. Powderly exists to a greater degree at the present time

late events have clearly shown; and also shown that Mr. Powderly either did not keep the promise made to your representatives, or that he is unable to control the organization of which he is the head in its attempted raids upon the rights of trade unions.

Two of your delegates, Mr. William Graydon, jr., and myself, attended the meeting of the Federated Trades and Labor Congress held at Washington, D. C., last December. As the proceedings of that body are too long to embrace in a report, I respectfully refer your honorable body to the printed proceedings for the result of its deliberations; but as a proposition to increase the per capita tax of all bodies represented in the congress will require your vote for its acceptance or rejection, I respectfully call your attention to the same.

Respectfully submitted,

S. S. GREEN, *Chairman Delegation.*

During the afternoon of the fourth day's session, a communication was received from T. V. Powderly, grand master workman of the Knights of Labor, requesting that Isaac Cline of the Window Glass Workers, and A. M. Dewey, representing the Knights of Labor, be allowed the privilege of the floor. Messrs. Cline and Dewey each addressed the convention, consuming about an hour's time, after which the delegates went into executive session, permitting the representatives of the Knights of Labor to remain in the hall. Before the close of the executive session a committee was appointed to prepare an address defining the position of the International Typographical Union. The report of this committee, subsequently presented, was unanimously adopted, as follows:

Your committee appointed to draft a paper stating the relations of the International Typographical Union to the Knights of Labor beg leave to present the following report:

The International Typographical Union of North America, believing that a house divided against itself can not stand, knowing that in union alone is lasting strength, has deemed proper to put forth a statement of its position with regard to the noble order of the Knights of Labor, in order that all the

world may see how little difference, if any, exists between the two organizations, when looked at in the light of truth and justice by proud and honorable men.

The efforts of the Knights of Labor to secure for the wage-workers of the land an equitable portion of the fruits of their toil challenge the warmest admiration and command our enthusiastic support. The activity of the order in this respect, the fidelity of the leaders to that object, may well stand as an eternal monument to intelligence, energy, and pure motives, as exercised in behalf of the millions of unorganized toilers who, until lately, had neither conception of their power nor the knowledge how to use it. The Knights of Labor have performed wonders for the cause which is also ours—the elevation of the masses, securing to the creator of wealth a fair share of his creation. This being the aim and purpose of both organizations, there is no reason why a conflict should arise between the International Typographical Union and the Knights of Labor.

We ask at their hands that—

FIRST. They will not attempt to dictate the course of action of distinctive trades.

SECOND. That they will not cover with the shield of the order—an order which all of us are proud and glad to be members of—any man who has been found unworthy to mingle with us as a fellow-craftsman in good standing.

This is all we ask of the Knights of Labor. We ask it kindly, we ask it firmly. It being just and fair, we see not why it should be denied. There is but little to divide us. Why should we divide on it? We are with the Knights of Labor hand and heart. Their fight is ours, as they have made our cause their own in countless instances. All the power, all the influence, all the aid which we can exert in furtherance of the noble aims of the order is cheerfully, unhesitatingly pledged. We ask in return a brotherly interest in the objects of our union, and the countenance and support of the order, where it can be exerted, for the common welfare. We stand ready now, as heretofore, to pair our forces in every possible manner, short of a surrender of our long-established right or an impairment of the integrity of this union, and in this sign we shall conquer.

Federation of Trades—Speaking of the report of the delegates to the Federation of Trades, the president called

attention to a proposed increase of per capita tax to be imposed by the federation. Attention was directed to the fact that the Federation of Trades as constituted at that time was little more than an informal conference of labor representatives, and the proposed increase of taxes was deemed unwise by the president, at least until such time as the body adopted more practical business methods. It was suggested that the delegates to the next congress of the trades support measures having in view the proposition of making the federation a more direct channel of communication between labor organizations. In this connection, attention was called to the character of some of the delegations admitted to the deliberations of the federation. Concluding this portion of his report, President Witter said: "It is all important that in the present uninformed state of public opinion upon the purposes of labor organizations that workingmen should not be compromised by affiliation, in any degree, with that class of irreconcilable agitators who, failing to appreciate the opportunities afforded by free institutions, advocate principles and methods foreign to trade unionism." It was earnestly recommended that representatives of the International at the next convention of the Federation of Trades be instructed to oppose the admission of representatives from any but recognized bodies of organized labor. The convention heartily concurred in this recommendation of the president.

Relations With Pressmen — The constitutional amendment passed at the previous session providing that the second vice-president should be a pressman, who should have active charge of the interests of pressmen, apparently had had a most salutary effect. It had greatly stimulated organization of pressmen's unions and had allayed jealousies between the two classes of members. The entire delegation of pressmen in the convention, with

the second vice-president as their chairman, constituted the committee on legislation for pressmen's unions, and the consideration of such legislation as the pressmen saw fit to present to the convention was made a special order of business, with the advantage of having first received consideration at the hands of the pressmen delegates.

Childs-Drexel Gift — On the second day of the convention, the president announced that James J. Dailey, of Philadelphia, an ex-delegate, and foreman of the Public Ledger, desired the attention of the convention for a few moments, and, on motion, the privilege was granted him. Mr. Dailey then addressed the convention as follows:

I have been delegated by Mr. George W. Childs to present to you a letter, the nature of which will appear upon reading it. As you are well aware, Mr. Childs takes a deep interest in the welfare of workingmen, but his intimate relations with the typographical fraternity makes them more particularly the object of his attention. In all matters tending to the elevation of the craft he is always ready and willing to extend to them the weight of his name and influence. The friendly recognition he gave to the International Typographical Union at its last session has had a good effect in our own city, and from the number of new unions that have been organized and old charters re-issued I think the effect has been salutary elsewhere. The Ledger has given close attention to the labor question, and it has materially assisted in giving to it a prominence in Philadelphia that it would hardly have obtained—except after years of agitation. Mr. Childs has shown himself to be a warm friend of organized labor, when wisely conducted. The number of years this organization has been in existence, the wisdom and moderation which have marked its legislation, and the proud position which it occupies today before the people of this country, have compelled general approval, and to emphasize his appreciation of its course he has sent this letter to you to place more strongly on record his sympathy with the objects of your labors.

In this letter also appears the name of Mr. Anthony J. Drexel. Mr. Drexel is not so well known to you as Mr. Childs,

but his name in our city is always to be found bracketed with that of Mr. Childs in all matters pertaining to the public good. He is the head of the great banking house of Drexel & Co., one of the best known in the world. In all good and worthy objects that have for their aim the elevation of man and the amelioration of his condition, the names of Anthony J. Drexel and George W. Childs will always be found coupled together. Mr. Drexel also takes a deep interest in the typographical fraternity and the accompanying letter shows that he does it in no uncertain way. All credit to such men. They do honor to mankind.

The following is the letter referred to:

PHILADELPHIA, June 5, 1886.

To the President and Members of the International Typographical Union.

With this letter is an enclosure which it was intended should be handed you by Mr. James J. Dailey with a verbal message of good wishes; but at his suggestion it is accompanied by a written communication. It is known to some of your members that I feel a warm interest in what concerns the welfare of all who work for wages, and in the wise management of the trade unions and other kindred organizations it has become advisable for them to establish for the promotion of their true interests.

This feeling being especially strong toward the printers' unions, with whose members I have had close and very satisfactory business relations for many years, it is my earnest desire—a desire in which I am heartily joined by my friend, Mr. A. J. Drexel—to extend to the time-honored International Typographical Union, as the representative of the united craft in North America, some expression more substantial than words. How to do this in a way that may produce lasting good has engaged the thoughts of both Mr. Drexel and myself; and we conclude that your union, or such trustees as you may select for the purpose, will know better than ourselves how that good can be best accomplished.

We therefore send to you herewith, by the hands of Mr. Dailey, foreman in the Public Ledger office, our check for the amount of ten thousand dollars—five thousand from Mr. Drexel, who is now in Europe, and five thousand from the

undersigned—without consideration or suggestion of any kind, as an absolute gift, in full confidence that the sagacious and conservative counselors of your union will make or order wise use of it for the good of the union.

Very respectfully and heartily, yours,

GEORGE W. CHILDS.

Gift Accepted — On motion, the gift of Messrs. Childs and Drexel was accepted, and a rising vote taken. Afterward, upon the suggestion of one of the delegates, three hearty cheers were given for the donors.

The following resolution was then adopted:

Resolved, That the disposition of this munificent gift of Messrs. George W. Childs and Anthony J. Drexel, of Philadelphia, be referred to a special committee of five members of this body.

Disposition of Gift — The committee to which the above resolution was referred submitted the following report, which was agreed to by the convention:

Your committee to devise a plan for the disposition of the munificent gift of $10,000 from Messrs. George W. Childs and Anthony J. Drexel, of Philadelphia, Pa., beg leave to report that, after a patient investigation of the merits of the several propositions placed before them by members of your honorable body, they are unanimously of the opinion that the best use to which this large sum could be put would be to place it on deposit in some safe banking institution for the time being, and thus give opportunity to the several subordinate unions under our jurisdiction to digest and eventually formulate the manner of its ultimate disposition. We therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

FIRST. That Messrs. James J. Dailey, of Philadelphia, Pa.; August Donath, of Washington, D. C., and Frank S. Pelton, of Chicago, Ill., be, and they are hereby, constituted a board of trustees for the term of five years for the safekeeping and investment of the said sum of $10,000.

SECOND. That as an evidence of appreciation of the motive of Messrs. Childs and Drexel, the International Typographical Union of North America recommends and urges that, on the

anniversary of the birthday of Mr. Childs during the next five years—May 12th—each and every union compositor under its jurisdiction east of the Mississippi river contribute the amount received by him for one thousand ems on said date and every stereotyper, electrotyper and pressman on the same date contribute the amount received for one hour's work; and that on the anniversary of the birthday of Mr. Drexel—September 13th—like contributions be recommended and urged from each and every person under our jurisdiction west of the Mississippi river.

Union Label—The following resolution authorizing and instructing the executive council to prepare a suitable design for a union label and arrange for its use by various union offices, was passed:

Resolved, That the executive council be, and it is hereby, authorized and instructed to prepare, as soon as possible, a seal of suitable design, to be used on all printed matter where it is desired by the publisher, and also to regulate the use of the same, so that the product of union labor may be readily known by purchasers, and the demand for publications friendly to the cause of organized workingmen be encouraged.

Official Organ—Several resolutions were introduced regarding the official organ of the union (The Craftsman), and it was finally agreed that the International Union would subscribe for a sufficient number of copies to supply the entire membership. The agreement was contained in the following resolution, adopted by the convention:

WHEREAS the International Typographical Union of North America believes that education should keep pace with the work of organizing the members of our craft; and

WHEREAS in the opinion of this body the education of union men in union matters can best be accomplished by the perusal of journals disseminating union principles, and

WHEREAS The Craftsman, the official organ of this body, has consistently and ably continued since its foundation in the good work of unionizing the printers of the land; therefore

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

M. R. H. WITTER, St. Louis
President International Typographical Union
June 3, 1884 – June 8, 1886

Resolved, That a copy of The Craftsman be furnished to each member in good standing of each subordinate union at the expense of this body, the paper to be mailed to the member's address, which is to be furnished by the secretaries of subordinate unions.

Resolved further, That there be levied a quarterly assessment of ten cents per capita on each member in good standing, to be collected as the per capita tax is now collected, and that this quarterly assessment of ten cents on each member shall be in full payment of the subscription herein provided for.

Resolved further, That the accounts of The Craftsman and the International Typographical Union, on account of the subscriptions hereby ordered, shall be audited by a committee of three members of Columbia Union No. 101, to be appointed by the president of this body.

Insurance Feature — The special committee, appointed by the previous convention to draft a plan of insurance, made an elaborate report, presenting a plan in detail, which was adopted by the convention, including the selection of a secretary-treasurer of insurance. It was provided that all members of subordinate unions should be eligible to membership after passing the necessary examination. It was also provided that dues should be 25 cents on the death of a member for the first three months after instituting the plan. After that date the rate of insurance was fixed at 25 cents per capita for members from 18 to 25 years of age; 30 cents for those from 25 to 30; 35 cents for those from 30 to 35; 45 cents for those from 35 to 40, and 50 cents for all above 40 years of age. The action of the convention in adopting this insurance plan was largely experimental. It was not required that members should be compelled to take out insurance, the proposition being entirely voluntary.

The office of corresponding secretary was abolished by the Pittsburgh convention.

Buffalo was selected as the convention city for 1887.

Officers, 1886 — Officers were elected for the ensuing year, as follows: President, William Aimison, Nashville; first vice-president, Joseph F. Rymer, New York; second vice-president, Charles Gamewell, Washington, D. C.; secretary-treasurer, D. M. Pascoe, Philadelphia; chief organizer, David P. Boyer, Columbus, Ohio; secretary-treasurer of insurance, H. Thomas Elder, Boston. Trustees Childs-Drexel fund—August Donath, Washington, D. C.; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago. Delegates to Federation of Trades—John R. Winders, San Francisco; Julian L. Wright, Washington, D. C.; John Scott, Toronto.

Convention at Buffalo

[1887] — When the thirty-fifth convention of the International Union was called to order at Buffalo, June 6, 1887, by President Aimison, the largest gathering of delegates in the history of the organization up to that time was present, 129 subordinate unions having elected 172 representatives.

Pascoe Defalcation — What promised to be one of the most successful gatherings in the history of the body was marred by an unfortunate incident—the defalcation of the secretary-treasurer, D. M. Pascoe. The report of this officer was presented to the convention on the second day and referred to the committee on returns and finance. Before this committee had examined the report, the election of officers had taken place and Mr. Pascoe was re-elected. The committee found itself unable in the short time allotted for its work to render a full and complete account. The report of the secretary-treasurer being in such incomplete and unsatisfactory condition, and the vouchers necessary to effect a balance being missing, the committee resigned, and, after an executive session.

held to consider the affairs of the secretary-treasurer and the condition of the business in his office, Mr. Pascoe resigned, and W. S. McClevey of Chicago was elected to fill the vacancy. It was ordered that the effects of the secretary-treasurer's office, including books, papers, vouchers, bills and all other documents, be referred to a committee of ex-delegates, composed of Mark L. Crawford, William A. Hutchinson and James B. Fullerton, all of Chicago, with instructions to audit, arrange and settle the accounts and report to Secretary-Treasurer McClevey, he to issue a circular to all subordinate unions containing the report of this special committee. In a note appended to the proceedings of the Buffalo convention, the secretary-treasurer says:

The secretary-treasurer was elected toward the close of the session, and previous to his election he had no connection with the minutes, which, at the time he assumed the duties of the office, were in such confusion that the convention authorized the president to appoint a committee to remain in Buffalo and assist him in restoring order to the mass of papers in his possession. After completing their labors, the committee prepared the following report:

"The committee appointed to arrange the minutes and papers connected therewith begs to state that it found the same in such disorder that a proper arrangement seemed impossible; but, by the exercise of diligence and great care, we are confident that the arrangement is as nearly correct as it is possible to make it. We beg the indulgence of the craft at large, on behalf of ourselves and the secretary-treasurer, if any errors or omissions are discovered, being able to codify only what was before us."

The delay in publishing this report has been caused by the confusion which existed, a vast amount of correspondence being necessary before the copy could be placed in the hands of the printer with any degree of accuracy.

Strike Fund Law — The report of President Aimison contained many interesting suggestions, chief among

which was the dissatisfaction following the creation and enforcement of the strike fund law. Instead of having a tendency to restrain subordinate unions from instituting strikes, the creation of the fund had apparently influenced many jurisdictions to go on strike, the result being that the executive officers were compelled to withhold assistance in many cases because of the inadequacy of the fund and the apparent reluctance of many subordinate unions to make the payments required by law. In many instances strikes had occurred and the trouble was ended before the International could collect the strike fund and render the assistance expected. The laxity of many subordinate unions in enforcing the strike fund law apparently placed the International body in a position where members on strike, not receiving benefits regularly, complained that it did not entertain a proper regard for them, the result being that instead of reliance on the power and ability of the International a feeling quite the reverse had spread among the members. The president gave as his opinion that all subordinate unions should be compelled to respect the strike fund law, or that this law should be repealed. Responding to this suggestion, the convention amended the general laws, making it compulsory on the part of every union to honor the draft of the executive council within thirty days after the issuance thereof.

Organization — The work of organization had proceeded satisfactorily during the year, 42 new charters having been issued, making a total of 95 new unions organized during the administration of Chief Organizer Boyer and the deputies appointed under him. Only one charter was surrendered during the year, and a total of 266 subordinate unions were in active operation under the jurisdiction of the International Union, and recognizing

its authority. Among the 266 local organizations were 31 unions of pressmen, 5 unions of stereotypers and electrotypers, 1 union of pressfeeders, 1 union of bookbinders and 2 unions of mailers.

RELATIONS WITH KNIGHTS OF LABOR AND THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The convention of the International Union at Buffalo marked the passing of the International Union's amicable relations with the Knights of Labor and the report of the delegates to the Federation of Trades, described the merging of that body into the American Federation of Labor. In view of the historical importance attached to this action, the majority and minority reports of the delegates to the Federation of Trades and to the American Federation of Labor, and subsequent action of the convention thereon, are herewith reproduced:

[Majority Report.]

To the President, Officers and Members of the Thirty-fifth Session International Typographical Union.

GENTLEMEN: Your delegates elected at the thirty-fourth session, held at Pittsburgh, Pa., June 7-10, 1886, to the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, and subsequently appointed by the president of the International Typographical Union, with Chief Organizer David P. Boyer, to attend the convention called by officers of national and international trade unions, submit the following report:

The federation met in Columbus, Ohio, December 7-10, 1886 (instead of St. Louis, Mo., December 14, the change in time and place having been made for the purpose of meeting the conferees of the trade unions), and the sessions were held with open doors.

In their report, the legislative committee announced the death of our fellow-craftsman, W. H. Foster, and paid the following tribute to his memory.

"His devotion to duty, under the trying circumstances of an incurable disease, challenges our admiration for a courage that the shadow of death even could not daunt. Born in England, and educated in that school of trade unionism, he naturally, on adopting this country as his permanent home, took an active part in the labor movement, filling the most prominent positions with credit to his craft and his alma mater."

They reported "that quite a number of national unions have been organized within the past year," but failed to give any further information on the subject other than that they were not represented because the expenditure necessary was "impractical."

They also reported the passage by congress of an act for the incorporation of trade unions in the District of Columbia and the territories of the United States, thereby securing the recognition of the "principle of the lawful character of trade unions."

Of the eight-hour movement, the committee said: "The federation forced the subject before the public. * * * While we are not able to record the general adoption of eight hours, * * * we nevertheless claim that the eight-hour agitation was the means of reducing the daily working time of no less than two hundred thousand workers."

They also reported "a general advancement in the interests of wage-workers by means of labor legislation in the several states," and recommended political action by organized labor to secure its "just rights."

The federation endorsed the resolutions adopted by the International Typographical Union relative to making the government printing office at Washington, D. C., a bureau, and urged congress to enact the necessary legislation to accomplish that purpose, besides pronouncing in favor of an indentured apprenticeship system.

The following report, which is self-explanatory, was adopted:

"Your committee, acting as a conference committee with a like one from the trade unions, beg leave to report that we have met, and agree upon the following:

"First. The trade union conference has formed an organization to be known as the American Federation of Labor, with a constitution better protecting the interests of trade unions.

"SECOND. We have agreed that all moneys, papers, and effects of the old federation be turned over to the officers of the new organization, and that all per capita tax due the old federation be collected by the new federation.

"THIRD. That new organization agrees to print and publish the proceedings and reports of this federation in the official proceedings.

"Your committee recommends further, that the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada do now merge into the American Federation of Labor, and requests all affiliated bodies to do likewise."

[By the adoption of the foregoing report of the legislative committee, the merger was accomplished, the delegates to the convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions being recognized as delegates to the American Federation of Labor. Forty-two persons claiming to represent a membership of 316,469 constituted the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The organizations represented were as follows: International Typographical Union, Iron Moulders' National Union, German-American Typographia, Granite Cutters' National Union, New England Lasters' National Union, Furniture Workers' National Union, Journeyman Tailors' National Union, Journeyman Bakers' National Union, Metal Workers' National Union, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Cigar Makers' International Union, National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers; Bricklayers' Union No. 1, Cincinnati; The United Order of Carpenters, New York city; New York Stereotypers' Union, New York Mutual Benevolent and Protective Society of Operative Painters; Waiters' Union No. 1, New York city; Journeymen Barbers' Protective Union, New York city; International Boatmen's Union No. 1, New York city; United German Trades Union, New York city; Baltimore Federation of Labor; Central

Labor Union, Philadelphia; Chicago Trades Assembly; Essex County, N. J., Trades Assembly, and St. Louis Trades Assembly.—ED.]

In the foregoing enumeration, out of twenty-five bodies represented, will be found eleven national and international unions. The carpenters were represented by four delegates from the national body and one delegate from an independent local organization; the Bricklayers' National Union was not represented, but a local union which had withdrawn from that body was recognized; and New York Stereotypers' Union was admitted to representation.

Immediately after effecting an organization, a resolution was adopted excluding the press, binding the delegates to secrecy, and providing that the secretary should furnish the reporters an official transcript twice daily.

Resolutions were adopted endorsing independent political action by workingmen; requesting congress to prohibit United States soldiers from competing with citizens of any trade or calling; demanding the enforcement of existing laws to prohibit Chinese immigration, and the passage of such further laws as may be necessary; pronouncing in favor of nine hours for a day's work; denouncing the Knights of Labor; condemning blacklisting and the Pinkerton detectives; favoring compulsory indenture laws; discountenancing indiscriminate appropriations of money for strikes, and recognizing union labels and trade-marks.

The standing trade union committee, appointed at the trades union conference at Philadelphia, made an extended report as to its efforts in endeavoring to effect an agreement with the Knights of Labor. It related to its various visits, first to the general assembly Knights of Labor at Cleveland, Ohio, and secondly, to the Knights of Labor executive board, in Philadelphia. At the Cleveland meeting a treaty was presented and finally rejected by the Knights of Labor. At the Philadelphia meeting definite promises were made, but nothing definite was done by the general assembly at Richmond. The treaty that was rejected reads as follows:

"1. That in any branch of labor having a national or international organization, the Knights of Labor shall not initiate any person or form any assembly of persons following said

organized craft or calling without the consent of the nearest national or international union affected.

"2. That no person shall be admitted to the Knights of Labor who works for less than the regular scale of wages fixed by the union of his craft, and none shall be admitted to membership in the Knights of Labor who has ever been convicted of scabbing, rafting, embezzlement, or any other offense against the union of his trade or calling, until exonerated by the same.

"3. That the charter of any Knights of Labor assembly of any trade having a national or international union shall be revoked, and the members of the same be requested to join a mixed assembly, or form a local union, under the jurisdiction of their respective national or international trade union.

"4. That any organizer of the Knights of Labor who endeavors to induce trade unions to disband, or tampers with their growth or privileges, shall have his commission forthwith revoked.

"5. That whenever a strike or lockout of any trade union is in progress, no assembly or district assembly of the Knights of Labor shall interfere until settled to the satisfaction of the trade union affected.

"6. That the Knights of Labor shall not establish or issue any trade-mark or label in competition with any trade-mark or label now issued, or that may hereafter be issued, by any national or international trade union."

A committee representing the executive of the Knights of Labor was at Columbus, whose mission, Mr. Powderly stated in his letter of introduction, was to adjust present differences and pave the way for the avoidance of future ones. No amicable adjustment of the differences then existing between the trade unionists and the Knights of Labor was arrived at between the committee appointed by the convention and Mr. Powderly's representatives, the latter stating that they were not empowered to take any action on matters that had already been acted on by the general assembly, and the former stating they had nothing new to offer.

Your delegates regret that matters remain in the same condition as before the convention at Columbus in December last, and express the hope that, having the same objects in view, both bodies will in future work harmoniously. There is room and work enough for both.

Before adjourning, Baltimore, Md., and December 13, 1887, were selected as the place and time of the next session.

A copy of the constitution adopted is herewith submitted.

It is the desire of the federation that all subordinate bodies represented act on the constitution at the earliest possible moment, as it is desired to get the federation in working order at once. The delegates present at the meeting were a fair representative body of trade unionists, strongly inclined to conservatism. It was the prevailing sentiment that the dispute between the Knights of Labor and trade unions was unfortunate and liable to work injury to both concerned, as the capitalist and monopolist were always ready to take advantage of any division in the ranks of labor.

In all matters the representatives showed a desire to legislate for the best interests and welfare of all wage-workers. They represented the thoughtful men and the brain-users of all trades and callings, and if it were only in the interchange of ideas the meeting of the federation has accomplished good.

As the delegation from the International Typographical Union have never discussed the federation, its objects and constitution, we are not prepared to make any recommendations.

JOHN R. WINDERS,
JOHN SCOTT.

[Minority Report.]

While endorsing the major portion of the report signed by my colleagues, holding the convictions I do, I can not affix my name with theirs without first calling your attention to several matters of sufficient importance and concern to the International Typographical Union to command careful examination.

By reference to the proceedings of the Pittsburgh session it will be seen that the report of the special committee on the contesting stereotypers' organizations for representation in the International Typographical Union was adopted. The organization making the contest, it appears, was not satisfied with the action of the International Typographical Union and presented themselves at the door of the American Federation of Labor. Despite the fact that the action of the International Typographical Union in the premises was read to the federation, the New York Stereotypers' Union, with its handful of members, was admitted to representation, casting one vote to the four of the

International Typographical Union, with its thousands of members.

The resolution to exclude the press was not passed until after a protracted and somewhat acrimonious debate, and called forth considerable adverse criticism from the local press, pointed hints being made as to the motives controlling the majority, eventually giving tongue to charges of individual cases of double-dealing and bribery.

The constitution adopted is a remarkable instrument—one so elastic that it may be stretched by the executive council therein provided for to cover any possible emergency arising during the interval between one session and another, and yet so rebounding that, if confronted with an obstacle created by this elasticity, like a ball skilfully handled, it can be made to jump over it or away from it at the will of the manipulator.

Article ii declares the objects to be, among others, "the preservation of local trade and labor unions and central trade and labor unions in every city; * * * the establishment of national and international trade unions, and an American federation of all national and international trade unions." Under this article the International Typographical Union will receive a charter, and derive its authority from the federation.

By article iv the apportionment of representation is such that local organizations in a single large city could be so strongly represented as to outnumber all the duly accredited delegates from distinctive national and international bodies.

While section 2 of article ii declares for the autonomy of each trade, section 3 of article vi makes even voluntary financial assistance, in case of a strike or lockout, dependent on the "complaisant sweet will" and due approval of the executive council.

Section 1 of article vi fixes the per capita tax at six cents a year, payable monthly. This would make the amount to be paid by the International Typographical Union between $1,200 and $1,500. Should it be deemed wise to withdraw from further affiliation with the federation, this could be effected by the passage of a formal resolution directing the secretary-treasurer not to pay the per capita tax, as, under the operation of section 3 of the same article, "any organization not paying for three months will be suspended."

Article viii appears to be directed against the Knights of Labor.

A study of the bodies represented in the federation, together with a dispassionate investigation of the scheme of representation and the powers arrogated, forces the question: Is representation desirable? The position has ever been held by the International Typographical Union that it derived its powers from its subordinates, and is amenable for its acts to its creators alone, and that under authority thus invested it is the ultimate tribunal of appeal in all matters typographical. Will it, after so many years of usefulness and honest endeavor, surrender its prerogatives to the American Federation of Labor by accepting a charter from that body? It has heretofore been emphatically understood that the powers of any organization in which the International Typographical Union might be represented by delegates should be advisory only. Do the necessities of the hour warrant a departure from this rule? Indeed, under existing circumstances, can the International Typographical Union continue representation in the federation without submitting the question to the subordinate unions?

JULIAN L. WRIGHT.

The majority and minority reports of the delegates were referred to the committee on unfinished business, which submitted the following report, outlining the position of the typographical union in its relations with the American Federation of Labor:

To the Officers and Members of the International Typographical Union.

GENTLEMEN: Your committee on unfinished business begs leave to submit the following in regard to the reports of delegates to the American Federation of Trades:

1. That the individuality of the International Typographical Union shall be maintained.

2. That the International Typographical Union shall not take a charter and be subordinate to any organization.

3. That the International Typographical Union shall not pay a per capita tax to any organization to which it may send representatives, believing that the calling together of representatives of trade organizations is for the purpose of consulta-

tion as to the best methods of strengthening their respective unions, and that all actual expenses of such meetings should be paid in equal part by the unions there represented.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH A. JACKSON,
CHARLES C. WILLIAMS,
WILLIAM PERDEW,
CHARLES BEATTIE,
W. F. SPEER.

Insurance — The committee appointed to examine the condition of affairs of the insurance secretary reported that the total amount of business for the year had barely exceeded $1,000 receipts, and expenses had been nearly that amount. Apparently the insurance branch had not appealed to the membership, yet it was continued.

Reorganization — The following resolution contemplating a practical method of effecting reorganization was adopted:

WHEREAS the subject of reorganization has been repeatedly introduced to the attention of the International Typographical Union for a number of years; and

WHEREAS it is impossible in the short session of the International Typographical Union to perfect and adopt a comprehensive plan of reorganization; therefore

Resolved, That a committee of three from some one subordinate union be appointed to take the whole matter into consideration; that all persons having views on the subject be requested to transmit them in writing to the committee.

That the committee's report, when finally adopted by the committee, shall be submitted to the executive council, and if approved by them, shall be published at length in the official medium of communication between the officers of the International Typographical Union and the subordinate unions, two months before the meeting of the next annual convention.

Complying with the terms of the resolution, George M. Depue, A. P. Marston and William F. Dunn, all of Washington, D. C., were appointed a committee on reorganization.

Childs-Drexel Fund — The trustees of the Childs-Drexel fund submitted a report to the convention to the effect that the $10,000 donated by Messrs. Childs and Drexel had been deposited with the banking house of Drexel & Co., Philadelphia; that, following the instructions given the trustees by the previous convention, the subordinate unions west of the Mississippi river had contributed the sum of $1,000 on the birthday of Mr. Drexel; that unions east of the Mississippi had made liberal contributions on the birthday of Mr. Childs, but full returns had not been received. The report of the board of trustees was referred to a special committee of five. That committee submitted the following recommendations to the convention, which were concurred in:

Your committee, to whom was referred the report of the Childs-Drexel trustees, reports as follows:

Having examined the certificates of deposit in possession of the trustees, we find them corresponding to the statements made in their report, and recommend that their action in depositing the same with Drexel & Co. be approved.

In order that the recommendations of the board of trustees may be carried out, and that the claims of this fund may be placed plainly before the members of our subordinate unions, we recommend the repeal of all present laws bearing upon this subject, and the enactment of the following as an addition to the general laws:

Childs-Drexel Fund

SECTION 1. Messrs. August Donath, of Washington, D. C.; James J. Dailey, of Philadelphia, Pa., and Frank S. Pelton, of Chicago, Ill., are hereby constituted a board of trustees for four years from June 1, 1887 (or until their successors shall qualify), for the care and management of the Childs-Drexel fund.

SEC. 2. That said board of trustees shall be required to give bond in the sum of $30,000, in this wise: Each trustee shall give a bond in the sum of $10,000 to the individual occupying the office of president of the International Typographical Union, said bond to be approved by the president of the trustee's local union, to be acceptable to the president of the

International Typographical Union, and to be renewed whenever a change occurs in the office of president of the International Typographical Union.

SEC. 3. In case of a vacancy on the board, caused by death or resignation, said vacancy shall be filled by the president of the International Typographical Union.

SEC. 4. That the fund may be further increased, the International Typographical Union of North America recommends and urges that on the anniversary of the birthday of Mr. Childs during the next four years—May 12—each and every union compositor under its jurisdiction east of the Mississippi river contribute the amount received by him for one thousand ems on said date, and that each and every stereotyper, electrotyper and pressman on the same date contribute the amount received for one hour's work; and that on the anniversary of the birthday of Mr. Drexel—September 13—like contributions be recommended and urged from each and every person under our jurisdiction west of the Mississippi river.

SEC. 5. The secretaries of subordinate unions shall remit contributions to the fund directly to the treasurer of the board, and notice of such remittance shall be sent at the same time to the other members of the board; the treasurer, in turn, to furnish the board with monthly statements of receipts.

SEC. 6. That trustees shall, as soon as practicable after the completion of the collections provided for in section 4 of this article of general laws, issue to subordinate unions a circular giving detailed results of such collections, together with a full statement of funds on hand.

SEC. 7. The board of trustees shall adopt some measure for providing each individual contributor to the fund with a receipt, to be retained by him (if he desires) as an evidence of his interest in the matter.

We further recommend that the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, in publishing the names of the trustees of this fund in the report of the proceedings, shall attach to each his title of office, for the information of those having business with the board.

Printers Home — Delegate S. J. Triplett (Austin) submitted the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS the time has arrived when we believe it expedient,

and also for the good and welfare of the printers of America, that there should be a permanent home for the indigent and decrepit printers, therefore

Resolved, That it is the sense of the convention that such a home is necessary, and should be established without delay.

In connection with the foregoing, Mr. Triplett submitted the following communication from the mayor of Austin, Tex.:

WHEREAS it has been made known to this body that the Typographical Union of printers of the United States will, at their next annual meeting, soon to convene in Buffalo, N. Y., consider the question of the establishment of a home for indigent and sick printers, and

WHEREAS our beautiful city, located as it is, in the southwestern part of the United States, free, as the history of Austin will show, from malignant epidemic diseases of all kinds, having already restored many cases of consumption and other diseases usually relieved by a mild and equable climate, and possessing, as it does, railroad and other facilities tending to favor the maintenance of such an institution; and

WHEREAS it is in our power to not only invite the establishment of this charitable enterprise in our vicinity, but we have also a beautiful plat of land, containing about seven acres, located adjacent to Fairview Park, in South Austin, said plat of land being on an elevated position, nicely drained, and commanding a view of the city, and adapted for the purpose offered; therefore

Be it resolved (by the city council of the city of Austin):

FIRST. That the Typographical Union of the United States is hereby invited to locate the contemplated home in the southern part of our city; and, further that lot 1 E, in Swisher's subdivision, Decker League, in South Austin, is hereby tendered for the purpose specified.

SECOND. That the city of Austin is ready, and hereby binds its mayor and legal representatives to make a legal deed to said tract of land, whenever it is decided by the Typographical Union to use it for the purpose of the erection and establishment of a home for the sick and indigent printers of their order.

THIRD. That these resolutions be placed in the hands of local representatives of the typographical union of this city,

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

WILLIAM AIMISON, Nashville
President International Typographical Union
June 8, 1886 – June 14, 1888

to be conveyed and placed before that honorable body at its annual meeting.

Provided, That the "resolution providing for donating land for printers' home" be amended by adding to section 2 the following words: *"Provided, nevertheless,* that this resolution shall be null and void, unless permanent improvements shall be commenced within two years from its passage."

The committee to which the matter was referred reported as follows, the convention concurring:

Your committee, appointed to consider the resolution offered by Mr. Triplett, of Austin, Tex., relative to the establishment of a home for the indigent and decrepit printers of our unions, would report that:

In our judgment it is advisable to establish such a home, provided it can be demonstrated to be feasible, and as it is impossible for your committee to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion in the limited time given, we would recommend that a committee of three be appointed to take under advisement the desirability of establishing such a home;

That they correspond with the various unions located in the southern and western states which are afflicted with the care of the sick and the burial of our deceased members;

That they take under consideration and investigate the subjoined offer of the city council of Austin, Tex., relative to donating some seven or eight acres of ground for the erection of such a home, and that they be instructed to report back the whole matter submitted to them at the next session of the International Typographical Union, at Kansas City, June next.

Unfinished Business — After the convention had adjourned, the committee appointed to assist the secretary in straightening out the minutes discovered several important committee reports not acted on, among them the report of the committee on general laws and a supplementary report of the committee on subordinate unions. In addition to the propositions referred to these committees, some forty-odd resolutions and amendments to the laws had been left over without action.

Nine-Hour Day — A general law was adopted making

nine hours a day's work, except on morning and evening newspapers. Subordinate unions were required to give at least sixty days' notice to proprietors affected by this change. It was also stipulated that the law be in full force and effect after November 1, 1887, but that it should apply only to unions having a membership of more than sixty.

Kansas City was selected as the meeting place for the convention of 1888.

Officers, 1887 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, William Aimison, Nashville; first vice-president, Edward T. Plank, San Francisco; second vice-president, Charles Gamewell, Washington, D. C.; secretary-treasurer, W. S. McClevey, Chicago; chief organizer, David P. Boyer, Columbus, Ohio; secretary-treasurer of insurance, H. Thomas Elder, Boston. Trustees Childs-Drexel fund—August Donath, Washington, D. C.; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—L. W. McDaniel, Indianapolis; Frank G. Koken (pressman), St. Louis; Harry M. Ogden, Cincinnati.

Convention at Kansas City

[1888] — The thirty-sixth convention of the International Union was called to order in Kansas City, Mo., Monday, June 11, 1888, 120 unions being represented by 159 delegates.

New Constitution — This convention of the International Union marked the passing of the old constitution, under which the National and International Typographical Unions had operated since 1852. The instrument had been amended from time to time, but still retained most of its original features.

The new constitution, adopted at Kansas City, con-

tained many radical changes, including provisions for biennial conventions of the organization; the election of officers for a term of two years; permanent headquarters for the officers; a division of the International jurisdiction into seven geographical districts, with an organizer for each, such organizers to be members of the executive council. The several districts created were as follows:

First District. New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New Brunswick.

Second District. Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin and Indian Territory.

Third District. New Mexico, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and Tennessee.

Fourth District. Michigan, Indiana, Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Virginia, District of Columbia, Illinois and North Carolina.

Fifth District. All of Canada except New Brunswick, Manitoba and British Columbia.

Sixth District. California, Oregon, Nevada, Washington Territory, Arizona, British Columbia and Hawaiian Islands.

Seventh District. Wyoming, Dakota, Minnesota, Utah, Idaho, Manitoba, the Northwest territories and Montana.

The office of chief organizer was abolished.

The reorganization plan included provisions for a sick benefit fund and a burial fund; also a clause providing for defraying the expenses of delegates to annual conventions. The vote on the final adoption of the new constitution and laws was taken after an understanding had been reached that the three features above enumerated should be submitted to the referendum. The remainder of the constitution was adopted. The vote taken by the membership on the three propositions resulted in the defeat of all of them.

Headquarters Established — According to the new plan of organization, Indianapolis, Ind., was selected as

the headquarters of the International, where the officers were required to have their official residence, and where all official business, together with books, accounts, records, etc., should be kept.

Executive Council Created — It was also provided that there should be an executive council, consisting of the president, the vice-presidents, the secretary-treasurer and organizers, such body to have the power of enacting temporary legislation in the interim between sessions of the International Union, should the necessities of the craft and the welfare of the organization require such action. The salaries of the president and secretary-treasurer were fixed at $1,400 per annum, second vice-president, $600 per annum, with the proviso that the president and second vice-president be allowed traveling expenses; the salaries of the third vice-president and organizers were fixed at an amount for time lost equal to their regular rate of wages, together with necessary traveling expenses.

Per Capita Tax — The per capita tax due the International from subordinate unions, payable monthly, was fixed at 10 cents.

Committee on Laws — A committee on laws was also created, and it was provided that this committee should be appointed at least thirty days before the meeting of each annual convention and should be called together at the convention city at least three days before the beginning of the sessions of the International body, with instructions to consider all propositions presented and submit a printed report to the convention.

Official Circular — Another feature of the new constitution was the provision made for the publication, monthly, of an official circular. It was ordered that the circular contain the official decisions of the president, the report of the auditing committee, the balancing of the monthly bank account, receipts and disbursements, official

orders, charters granted and revoked, and such other data as might be of interest to the membership.

Defense Fund — Under the terms of the new constitution 60 per cent. of the per capita tax was ordered set aside by the secretary-treasurer for a defense fund. This fund was safeguarded by provisions requiring officers of local unions to notify the organizer for the district of any impending trouble, and such organizer, in turn, was required to apprise the executive council of all the circumstances, when a strike might be ordered by a majority of the council.

Organizing — The report of Chief Organizer Boyer was a brief but interesting paper. In addition to 21 unions of compositors chartered during the term, 5 pressmen's unions, 3 pressfeeders' unions, 4 stereotypers' unions, 2 bookbinders' unions and 1 union of mailers had been organized. Two charters had been surrendered during the year—Hastings, Neb., and San Francisco Bookbinders. The report showed a grand total of 302 chartered organizations at the close of the fiscal year.

Insurance — The insurance branch instituted at the Pittsburgh convention had not proved successful. The insurance secretary was not in attendance at the convention, but sent in a letter of resignation, together with a financial statement which was referred to a committee for investigation. This committee reported that it was impracticable to continue the insurance branch under the existing system and recommended that the same be discontinued and that an appropriation of $280.96 be made from the general fund to pay accrued benefits.

Nine-Hour Day — At the session held in Buffalo, legislation was had looking to the establishment of nine hours as a day's work, and setting apart November 1, 1887, as the date on which it should go into effect.

In order that the history of the nine-hour movement

may be accurately traced in this volume, the following excerpts from the address of President Aimison are given:

In the interval between the adjournment of that convention and the 1st of October, your executive officer received so many letters from different officers and members of local unions as to the probable results in their respective localities that he became profoundly impressed that without united action and a full treasury the movement would be unsuccessful. In order that the contest might be entered knowingly, and that a full and frank expression might be had, he issued, on September 10, 1887, a circular, calling upon the subordinate unions to give an expression as to the probable success of the proposed nine-hour law in their separate bodies, dividing the International territory into divisions, each division having an appointee, to whom reports should be made. These appointees were as follows: Jacob Cobb, of Cincinnati; Everett Glackin, of New York city; R. A. Britton, Charleston; J. N. Armour, Nashville; O. L. Smith, Denver; E. T. Plank, San Francisco; H. S. Streat, Chicago; George Clark, St. Louis; A. P. Marston, Washington, and Mathew Ryan, Toronto, Canada. A majority of these gentlemen met in Cincinnati, in conjunction with the executive council, and, after a thorough examination and full consideration, they passed a resolution requesting the executive council to suspend the operations of the law. This was done and the committee was empowered to meet at Chicago, and consult with the typothetae, and, if possible, make some arrangement by which a joint understanding could be had. They met a committee from said organization, but were unable to agree upon any proposition. Our committee then adopted a resolution recommending that it be left optional with unions as to whether they should enforce the nine-hour law. It was my individual opinion then, as it is my opinion now, that the law should have been entirely suspended until the present meeting, so that a full investigation could have been made as to the unity of action, the probability of success, the financial resources necessary to carry on the contest, and the effect of the sudden change of old established usage; thus preventing the failures that subsequently occurred. The lesson taught in the adoption of that measure (being governed by the subsequent action of the

unions) was, that it had not been thoroughly digested nor determinedly resolved by the subordinate unions before taking action thereon. Under this state of things, and without that mature deliberation which should have entered into it, a great many instructed their delegates to vote for its adoption. After adjournment, when discussed, they began to realize that it would meet with an almost unanimous opposition on the part of the employers; that it would change old methods, disturb plants, interfere with contracts, and in some cases actual injustice would be the result; that it would necessitate the having of a fund with which to meet the emergency—the lack of which was painfully apparent—and without which it would have been an illusion to have expected success. These facts forced themselves on the minds of a majority of the craft of the country, and which realization caused them to pause and consider that they had not moved with that wisdom and patience that all great movements require. What other deductions could be drawn but the foregoing, when we come to scan their subsequent action?

Therefore, as the time approached for the enforcement of the law, a change came over the spirit of their dreams. The fact stared them in the face that they should have made haste slowly; that they were not, as yet, prepared for the contest either in a financial or business sense; and that this movement should be thoroughly ventilated and studied in all its phases before action was taken. Under this reaction, your executive officer was compelled to take the course pursued by him, and which course was endorsed by the committee appointed to meet at Cincinnati, after a thorough inquiry into the matter.

Difficulties arose during the past year, of which we had no conception at the meeting at Buffalo, and which, if anticipated, would have, no doubt, been provided for. Under the condition of affairs growing out of the nine-hour law, and a hostile demonstration of a new organization, we found ourselves engaged in a conflict, without, so to speak, a dollar in our pockets. The per capita tax had been exhausted as rapidly as received by demands made upon it by the different unions in conflict prior to November 1, 1887. Placed in this peculiar position—with an enemy determined at the outset to break down, if possible, our organization—it became our duty, in the maintenance of men who were engaged in the struggle, and the

preservation of the union from the threatened dissolution—as expressed by themselves—to exhaust every means by which our men should be able to meet the contest. Realizing that this was an occasion where prompt action was necessary to strengthen the unions and uphold their hands, and knowing that if a determined stand was not taken, it would have an effect national in its character, a circular was issued by the executive council calling upon subordinate unions to voluntarily contribute such amounts as their membership would permit. To this circular I am sorry to say that the amount received was as a drop in the bucket. While some unions responded, the greater number did not, and the amount was a mere pittance in comparison with the necessities. In this dilemma, finding that voluntary action was a broken reed to rely upon when want was clamoring for relief, the council endeavored to borrow money from the subordinate unions, so as to meet the pressing importunities. To this appeal a few unions responded, and a few hundred dollars was the result. Standing upon the verge of defeat, and having exhausted every available means under the law to help our unfortunate brethren, the cry came up to us, from Louisville, Chicago, St. Louis, Portland, Rochester, and other places, "Help us, or we perish," and praying us to make an assessment as the only means by which financial aid could be extended to those suffering for the necessities of life in the defense of a principle, and which fight had much to do in keeping the struggle from the door of every union in the country. And here let me say that if those unions that responded so nobly had failed to do so, a blow would have been struck at our organization which would have been paralyzing in its effect. The members of those unions involved would not have been strongly impressed with the motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all," and a feeling of distrust and a want of faith would have been the result, which would have been calamitous to us and reassuring to our opponents.

Feeling that the cry of these unions should be heard, your executive council believed that there was a higher law—the law of self-preservation—and issued a circular, calling upon subordinate unions to assess their members $1 each. A great many unions nobly responded upon the instant, not stopping to discuss the legality of the assessment, but knowing that these unions were in pressing need and that their necessities demanded

an immediate and a liberal response. A great many who had been unfortunately involved in contests were unable to respond, and in such cases were exempted. The Pacific coast was allowed to keep its assessment, applying it to that section of the country. Some protested and refused to assess themselves. But in a great measure, the necessities of those unions were met and relieved. Your executive council feel the comforting assurance that their action has not only been good for the craft, but that it has been productive of a confidence in our organization which would not have been accomplished had it not been for the prompt manner in which the local unions responded to the call, and the assistance received from that assessment went far toward making the typothetae (or the leading spirits) pause and consider the magnitude and the danger of attempting to go too far in their efforts in making war upon our organization; and at the same time awakened us to the important fact that not only should we be prepared for emergencies, but that our actions should be controlled by a careful consideration in commencing hostilities; that we should study the situation as to the probabilities of success; that we should coolly and calmly weigh our demands in the scales of justice; that it is no child's play to engage in strife without the exercise of prudence and wisdom; that it is a two-edged sword, cutting right and left; and that the experience of the past year, which has caused such an expense and estrangement to both, will awaken a mutual respect and conservative course; and that it will be a means whereby this body will legislate so as to prevent, in the future, strikes that occur without being founded upon forethought. These, therefore, are some of the reasons which actuated the executive council in the making of the assessment. They feel satisfied that the dangers which threatened this organization were averted by their action, and whether their course is approved or not, they can lay the flattering unction to their souls, they left no means untried, when the cry of distress was heard, to alleviate the condition of those who were helpless financially. We are willing to take the responsibility, be it what it may, with the consciousness that, had we not pursued this course, the International Typographical Union today would be in a more discontented condition, and your officers would have received more blame for not doing what they did than for what they have done.

Pascoe Defalcation — The committee appointed at the Buffalo session, in 1887, to audit the books of former Secretary Pascoe, submitted a report in accordance with the terms of the resolution authorizing their appointment. The committee reported an apparent shortage of $2,239.98. The report of the auditing committee was referred to a special committee of three and this latter committee submitted the following resolutions to the convention:

FIRST. That the president of the International Typographical Union be authorized and instructed to appoint a member of Philadelphia Union No. 2, who shall be a citizen of the city of Philadelphia, to prosecute the said David M. Pascoe to the full extent of the law, in a court of criminal jurisdiction.

SECOND. That the name of David M. Pascoe be dropped from the list of permanent members of the International Typographical Union and placed among the list of those expelled.

THIRD. That said David M. Pascoe be immediately expelled from the subordinate union of which he is now a member, and that he shall not again be eligible to membership in any union under the jurisdiction of this International body, and that the financial secretary of Philadelphia Union is hereby positively instructed to refuse the said David M. Pascoe a working or traveling card.

FOURTH. That the sum of $51.24 be appropriated from the general fund of the International Typographical Union and paid over to the trustees of the Childs-Drexel fund to make up the deficiency caused by the defalcation of the said David M. Pascoe.

FIFTH. Your committee recommends further that in view of the apparent impossibility of straightening out the accounts of subordinate unions with the International Typographical Union, relating to the strike fund, the entire apparent indebtedness of the former to the latter be cancelled and charged to profit and loss.

Childs-Drexel Fund — The board of trustees of the Childs-Drexel fund submitted a report of their stewardship. They reported information to the effect that the

plan being followed of making contributions on the birthdays of Messrs. Childs and Drexel had increased the fund to a total of more than $16,000.

Printers Home — A special committee on location for a home for indigent and decrepit printers, appointed at the Buffalo session, had not accomplished anything in the way of investigation of the proposed sites during the year—in fact, the committee had not met. A letter from John D. Vaughan, a member of the committee, addressed to the convention, is herewith reproduced:

As one of the special committee to whom was referred the resolution of "locating a home for indigent and decrepit printers," I have the honor to submit the following, which may be appended to any report on the subject, having been unable to confer with Messrs. Triplett and Wilkins, the other members of the committee.

There are many advantageous locations for such an institution, particularly in western Texas, southern California and throughout Colorado. From personal observation and reliable information, I may be justified in calling attention in particular to Austin, Los Angeles and Denver as health resorts embracing favorably known sanitary conditions. In addition to being centrally located on the continent, Denver possesses the desirable advantage of more salubrious climate. Located on an elevated plain, surrounded by picturesque mountain scenery, Denver is blessed with clear skies, pure air and water, warm sunshine and delightful breezes to cheer, invigorate and strengthen the invalid. Unequaled summer seasons and mild and pleasant winters have given Denver the distinction of being the sanitarium of the world. The invigorating air and limpid waters of the mountain streams and artesian wells can not be duplicated outside of Colorado, which contains within her limits more natural health resorts and curative mineral waters than are to be found elsewhere in the world.

The establishment of a home for indigent printers of America by the International Typographical Union, is at this time impracticable, in my opinion. To found and maintain such an institution would require the fortune of a Childs or a Drexel, or an immense revenue to be derived only by heavy

annual per capita assessments. The former is not available, the latter plainly inexpedient and unjust.

In lieu of the establishment of such a home, or the investment of the Childs-Drexel fund in the erection of a typographical hall or monument, it may be advisable to suggest that the fund be disposed of in the endowment of a hospital at Los Angeles, Austin or Denver, where a ward may be assigned for invalid printers. The execution of a scheme of this description may be accomplished through the fund now on deposit in Philadelphia, and it would not only afford relief to many worthy and needy printers, but it would also relieve the unions at sanitary resorts of the heavy, unequal and constant burden of caring for the sick of sister unions.

Also a communication from C. G. Wilkins of the committee:

As the junior member of the committee on permanent location for a home for indigent printers, I have endeavored to find the chairman of that committee (Mr. Triplett) by communication and otherwise, calling in the assistance of President Aimison in my efforts, which have been futile. President Aimison, however, will perhaps be able to give your body information in the premises. For this reason, and also that no assistance has been rendered by the officers of the International Typographical Union in helping the committee or any part thereof, I am reluctantly compelled to say that as far as any report from the undersigned is concerned none can be given.

American Federation of Labor—The report of the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the city of Baltimore, December 13-17, 1887, contained the information that 57 delegates were in attendance, representing 40 organizations, with 2,450 subordinate unions or branches, and a total membership of 600,340 in good standing. The credentials of two delegates from the Washington (D. C.) Federation of Labor were rejected, after a favorable report of the committee on credentials, for the alleged reason that the Washington Federation, being composed of 16 assemblies of Knights of Labor and but 3 trades unions, was not in

sympathy with the trade union movement. One of the rejected delegates from Washington, E. W. Oyster, being a member of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, was later appointed by President Aimison to fill a vacancy in the delegation from the International Union. This appointment, however, was virtually rejected by the convention, a motion being made and carried to defer action until receipt of credentials signed and sealed in proper form by the president and secretary-treasurer of the International Union.

The following paragraph from the report of the delegates to the convention of the federation will be of interest:

The report of the committee appointed to revise the constitution, as adopted, either leaves out or modifies almost all of the objectionable features of the old constitution. At the last meeting of the International Typographical Union considerable opposition was manifested to a provision in the old law requiring national and international unions to apply for a charter before they could be represented in the federation. A feeling seemed to prevail that to do so would be to acknowledge the supremacy of another organization, which a majority were decidedly averse to doing. Being in sympathy with this feeling, and believing that we expressed the minds of union printers generally on this question, we, while on the floor of the federation, gave that body to understand that the International Typographical Union would acknowledge allegiance to, or recognize the supremacy of, no other organization, nor would she apply for, or receive, a charter from that or any other body. This resulted in having this clause so changed that any national organization can become a member of the American Federation without compromising herself or lowering her dignity in the least. A fair construction of the constitution on this subject, as it now stands, is that bodies represented have allied, affiliated or federated themselves together for certain purposes in which all are supposed to have an equal interest, and each is to receive a "certificate of affiliation" as evidence of such fact, it being specifically set forth in the constitution that each is to remain supreme in the control of its own trade affairs.

Through being able to inaugurate concerted effort to secure legislation in the interest of trade unionists and laboring people generally, this organization can be made of great benefit if properly managed. Benefit will also result from bringing together, annually, representative men from the various national and international trade unions, where opinions may be exchanged, and the proper management and discipline of trade organizations discussed. Such meetings will result in all the participants gaining new and practical ideas, which will be especially valuable if each organization will adopt the plan of sending its executive officers as its representatives. Almost every national union has some feature of special excellence, and any one adopting the good points of all will become more perfect, and no better place can be found for becoming conversant with these good points than at meetings of this kind; hence, in recommending, as we do, that the International Typographical Union continue to affiliate with the various organizations comprising the American Federation of Labor, we would suggest that the president and two members of the executive council, but more especially the president, be sent as delegates to the next annual convention, which meets in St. Louis, Mo., December 10, 1888, for the reason that those officers are in better position to put in force anything of practical benefit they may be able to observe.

Executive Council Meeting — The sessions of the convention having extended over a period of six days, and the delegates being anxious to return to their homes, a resolution was passed that all unfinished business on the secretary's desk at the hour of final adjournment be referred to the executive council, which met immediately following adjournment. Several propositions of minor importance were passed upon at this meeting of the executive council, while others were laid over to be considered at a later date.

The Brotherhood — Three of the resolutions postponed were as follows:

By Messrs. Mansfield and Bushnell (San Francisco), by instructions of San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21:

Resolved, That any member of a subordinate union who shall

be convicted, after due and regular trial, of being a member of any organization which demands as a qualification for membership that the applicant shall hold membership in the International Typographical Union, or any union subordinate thereto, unless such organization has been authorized by the International Typographical Union, shall be expelled, *provided,* that nothing in this resolution shall be construed to apply to the Union Printers Mutual Aid Society of San Francisco, an association of printers formed for the purpose of caring for the sick and burying the dead.

By Mr. Nolle (Washington):

Resolved, That subordinate unions be instructed to incorporate in their by-laws the following: It shall be unlawful for a member to associate himself with any society or combination composed exclusively of printers having for their object the manipulation or giving out of positions, the shaping of legislation, or the controlling of the offices of the union. Any member found guilty of such an offense shall be expelled.

By Mr. Hays (Minneapolis):

Resolved, That should any organization be found to exist, and be proven to be in existence at any time, whose members are composed of union printers and whose object is to take advantage of any union printer who is not a member, or to in any way affect or control the legislation of the International Typographical Union, each and every person found to belong to such organization shall be declared unfair, and published in the list of unfair men.

Denver, Colo., was chosen as the convention city for 1889.

Officers, 1888 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, Edward T. Plank, San Francisco; first vice-president, L. C. Hay, Leavenworth, Kan.; second vice-president, Columbus Hall, Washington, D. C.; third vice-president, P. J. Weldon, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, W. S. McClevey, Chicago. Trustees Childs-Drexel fund—August Donath, Chester, Pa.; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago. District Organizers—Michael J. Nolan, Albany; O. R. Lake, St. Louis; John C. Hook, Memphis; J. J. Jones,

Pittsburgh; J. F. Keefer, St. Catharines, Ont.; John R. Winders, San Francisco; Charles W. Hills, Minneapolis. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—John B. Lawlor, Columbus, Ohio; Robert Y. Ogg, Detroit; James Pym, Boston; E. C. Ives, St. Paul.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

W. S. McCLEVEY, Chicago
Secretary-Treasurer International Typographical Union
June 10, 1887 – January 28, 1893

Conventions of the International Typographical Union from 1889 to 1900

(INCLUSIVE)

THIS chapter includes the conventions held at Denver, 1889; Atlanta, 1890; Boston, 1891; Philadelphia, 1892; Chicago, 1893; Louisville, 1894; Colorado Springs, 1896; Syracuse, 1898; Detroit, 1899, and Milwaukee, 1900, covering the administrations of Presidents Edward T. Plank, William B. Prescott and Samuel B. Donnelly. This period covers the intermediate history of the International Typographical Union and includes the work of reorganization following the Kansas City convention of 1888, the period of the introduction of the typesetting machine into the printing industry, together with the erection and early development of the Union Printers Home, publication of the Typographical Journal, the creation of a burial fund, the six-day law, the referendum and other interesting and important data.

Convention at Denver

[1889] — The attendance at the International convention in Kansas City, 1888, encouraged the delegates from western states to insist that the next session be held at Denver. A few years prior to this period such a proposition would have been considered impossible of accomplishment, but the gradual growth in numbers of the organization, the many new charters issued in the west and middle west, encouraged the belief that a convention in that section was not only quite possible but altogether desirable. That the judgment of the delegates attending the Kansas City convention in choosing Denver as the

next convention city was well-timed is evidenced by the fact that when the first session of the thirty-seventh convention was called to order by President Plank 94 subordinate unions were represented by 129 delegates.

Reorganization — Following the lead of the Kansas City convention, the delegates at Denver proceeded with the task of completing the thorough reorganization of the union. Numerous amendments to the constitution and general laws were offered, many of which stand as part of the organic law of the present time. It was at this convention that the Typographical Journal, the official paper of the union, was created, the first issue of that publication bearing date of Indianapolis, July 15, 1889.

Union Printers Home — Perhaps the most important action of the convention was the acceptance of a proposition offered by the Board of Trade of Colorado Springs, donating a site for the Union Printers Home. The following suggestions bearing on the subject were received by the convention:

THE ALBANY, DENVER, COLO., June 12, 1889.

To the International Typographical Union.

Understanding that you are considering the advisability of founding a home for the sick and indigent members of your union, we take the liberty of presenting the following propositions for your worthy consideration:

We offer to deed to your union, in fee simple, eighty acres of land lying within one mile east of the city of Colorado Springs subject to the following conditions:

FIRST. That your union begin the erection of a home on said land within the period of two years from the date of said deed, said home to cost not less than the sum of twenty thousand dollars, and to be completed within one year from the date of the commencement of said building.

SECOND. That your union shall have the right to sell any portion of said tract not exceeding sixty acres at any time after the date of said deed, the proceeds of said sale or sales to be placed in the hands of a trustee mutually acceptable, to be

applied by him, if by you desired, toward the erection of a home on this tract, or to be paid over to the present owners of said tract in event of failure to commence the erection of a home within two years, as above specified.

THIRD. That the taxes on said land for the two years shall be borne by the union (it being guaranteed that the taxes shall not exceed one hundred dollars per annum), the amount of said taxes to be reimbursed to the union in event of failure on your part to acquire said tract of eighty acres.

FOURTH. That the deed for said tract shall be placed in escrow with some mutually acceptable party, to be delivered to your union upon compliance with the foregoing conditions.

In behalf of the Board of Trade of Colorado Springs, by

LOUIS R. EHRICH, *President.*

THE ALBANY, DENVER, COLO., June 12, 1889.

To the International Typographical Union.

In further explanation of the accompanying proposition, we call your attention to the following facts:

FIRST. That the eighty acres offered for the location of your home is valued at four hundred dollars per acre.

SECOND. That the value of that part of the tract, available for purposes of sale, if the growth of the city of Colorado Springs in the next five years is at all proportionate to its growth in the past five, will, in the year 1894, represent a market value of from one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand dollars.

THIRD. That the cool, bracing summer climate, combined with its mild, equable winter climate, in addition to its superior social character and beautiful scenic surroundings, make Colorado Springs an ideal place of residence.

FOURTH. That the leading physicians of our country have virtually agreed in characterizing Colorado Springs as the most perfect natural sanitarium and health resort in the world for the cure of all forms of throat and lung diseases, diseases to which printers are especially liable.

FIFTH. That Colorado Springs is on the natural highway between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and that, geographically speaking, it is nearly in the center of the United States.

SIXTH. That in the acceptance of our proposition the union has everything to gain and nothing to lose; that it places

eighty acres of valuable land within your option of acceptance, giving you a period of two years in which to resolve to prosecute the erection of a home, or to relinquish the project; that the expenditure of twenty thousand dollars will supply an institution, well built of brick or stone, containing ample accommodations for thirty persons; that the proper maintenance of such an institution would not exceed seventy-five hundred dollars per annum, a tax of about twenty-five cents per year on each member of your union; that the establishment of such a home on the highway of continental travel would naturally draw to itself the attention of many wealthy and charitably disposed citizens, and that endowments and bequests would inevitably come which would assist you in building up a home worthy of the strength and influence of your union; that we are perfectly satisfied to extend to you the privilege of a two-year consideration of our proposition because we are persuaded that a mature deliberation as to what will be for the highest and best interests of your organization, added to a careful, conservative investigation as to all the relative advantages of location, will lead you to an irresistible conviction that your union ought to maintain a home for the sick and indigent of your craft, and that it ought to be located in the city of Colorado Springs.

In behalf of the Board of Trade of Colorado Springs, by
LOUIS R. EHRICH, *President.*

Other communications and resolutions offering sites for a home were received, but, in the judgment of the convention, the Colorado Springs proposition was the most acceptable.

Colorado Springs Selected — On the day following the receipt of the foregoing communications, President Ehrich of the Board of Trade of Colorado Springs addressed the convention in favor of locating the home in that city. At the conclusion of Mr. Ehrich's address, Delegate Lambert (Austin, Tex.) moved that the offer of the citizens of Colorado Springs be accepted by a rising vote. The proposition was formally accepted in this manner. A resolution was then adopted appointing the president, vice-presidents, and the secretary-

treasurer a special committee to arrange the details of formally accepting the proposed site, taking such legal steps as were necessary in connection therewith.

The proposition to accept the proposed site for the Union Printers Home in Colorado Springs was also approved by the referendum, the vote being 4,828 for, 1,532 against.

Relations With American Federation of Labor—President Plank in his annual report, referring to the International Union's relations with the American Federation of Labor, said: "At the last session of the International Union four delegates were elected as representatives to the American Federation of Labor, which met in St. Louis in December last. To these gentlemen was referred the report of their predecessors of the year preceding, and they were instructed to have the recommendations contained in the report adopted by the American Federation of Labor. The relations existing between the International Union and the federation are in an unsettled condition, and the whole matter was really placed in the charge of the delegates elected. The International Union had paid nothing to the federation for the previous year, and under the laws of the federation was not entitled to representation until payment was made. The matter was submitted to the council, and the conclusion reached was that we were bound to meet our indebtedness. The question was then submitted to the delegates, and it was finally decided to pay pro rata of expenses to June last and per capita from that date. Of the gentlemen elected as delegates, Messrs. Pym of Boston and Lawlor of Columbus declined to serve. Mr. Taylor of Louisville, being alternate, was furnished credentials in place of Mr. Pym. Messrs. Brennan of New York and Snyder of Topeka declined to serve; Mr. Michaels of Brooklyn could not be heard from after repeated efforts

(he being away from home), and, wishing a full delegation present, I appointed a St. Louis man on the day the federation met. Mr. Lake accepted the appointment and joined the other representatives. The convention was in session several days, and among other conclusions arrived at was one setting a time for the inauguration of an eight-hour working day. Another was the adoption of an amendment to the constitution providing for an assessment to raise means to aid the different organizations in cases of trouble.

"The following letter in reference to the inauguration of the eight-hour movement has been received from Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, under date of May 20th:

"My attention has been called to an erroneous impression that has gone forth that the resolution adopted at the St. Louis convention of labor implies a simultaneous strike of all the working people of the country for eight hours, May 1, 1890. I beg to assure you that nothing was further from the intention of the convention than the adoption of a resolution implying a general strike. I was in continual communication with the committee having that subject under consideration, I presided at the convention during the discussion upon this report, and not one of the advocates uttered a single remark that could bear such an interpretation. The fact of fixing upon a certain date was advocated because it would concentrate the efforts of the working people about a certain given point, it would crystallize the discussion of this important question and would encourage the workingmen to remain true to and become members of their respective trade organizations. You are no doubt aware of how ardent an advocate I am for the reduction in the hours of labor, but I assure you that in the present condition of organized labor no movement looking to a general strike upon so early a date would receive my countenance or support. We want 'eight hours,' we are determined to have 'eight hours,' we shall try to aid those who are in a condition by May 1, 1890, to obtain 'eight hours,' and hope to receive their assistance in return at some future time. The agitation for the reduction of the hours

of labor will not end in 1890. So long as there is a wrong in existence, so long as there is one person seeking employment and can not obtain it, so long will there be work for our organizations. * * * Trusting that your approaching convention may be largely attended (as I know it will be), that your deliberations be harmonious and successful, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

"Yours fraternally,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor."

Biennial Elections and Conventions — At the previous convention the laws had been amended, extending the term of office of all officials to cover a period of two years, instead of one year. It was also provided that conventions should be held biennially, beginning after the convention of 1889. This peculiar condition—holding conventions biennially, on odd years, and electing officers, biennially, on even years—created considerable confusion. During the progress of the convention at Denver an attempt was made to proceed with the election of officers for the ensuing term. President Plank ruled that such action would be out of order, the officers having been elected at Kansas City for a period of two years. This decision was upheld by a vote of 59 ayes, 57 noes, but the constitution was later amended providing for annual elections and annual conventions.

Pascoe Defalcation — Under the order of the Kansas City convention the president had been instructed to appoint a member of Philadelphia Typographical Union to prosecute David M. Pascoe, but it was later determined, upon legal advice, that the president could not appoint any one to prosecute Pascoe, but might do so himself. Acting accordingly, a warrant was sworn out by President Plank and Pascoe was arrested. An indictment was returned by the grand jury and the case proceeded to trial. Upon a ruling by the court that the ex-secretary's

books, having passed through numerous hands since they left his possession, could not be offered as evidence, thus destroying all chance of conviction, the case was dropped.

The Referendum — The constitution was amended so as to require a referendum vote on all proposed constitutional amendments and laws involving increased taxation offered in the future. This referendum proviso as originally enacted was as follows:

> Amendments to this constitution shall be referred by the convention of International Union to subordinate unions. The convention of the International Union shall have power to enact general laws for the government of the craft; *provided, however,* that laws involving an increased taxation shall be submitted to subordinate unions. Subordinate unions shall discuss the proposed amendments at their regular meetings in July and August and at the conclusion of the discussion at the August meeting, or within ten days thereafter, a vote shall be taken for and against the proposed amendments, and the vote in detail forwarded, under seal, to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, on or before September 30th, when the president, second vice-president and secretary-treasurer shall, at the headquarters of the International Union, canvass the vote and declare the result to the craft, and should a majority of the votes cast be in favor of the amendment it shall from that date be in force.

Executive Council — President Plank, in his annual report, called attention to the fact that section 6, article vi, of the constitution provided for an executive council consisting of the president, the vice-presidents, the secretary-treasurer and the seven district organizers. It was provided that the council should hold stated meetings in the city of Indianapolis during the first week in May and November of each year for the transaction of general business, and that it should assemble at any time at the call of the president, or at the request of five members, for the consideration of any special business named in the call. On account of the depleted condition of the union's

treasury and because of the great expense attached to a meeting, it had been found necessary to transact the council's business during the year by correspondence, it not having been possible to call the executive body together. One of the propositions submitted to the referendum by the convention provided for an executive council consisting of the president, vice-presidents and the secretary-treasurer, eliminating the organizers. This law was adopted by a three to one majority.

Insurance Plan — After the discontinuance of the insurance feature and the donation of $10,000 by Messrs. Childs and Drexel, many schemes to create a satisfactory insurance plan had been suggested, and in order to dispose of the question three propositions were placed before the referendum following the Denver convention—the first was known as the Cobb plan, introduced by Jacob Cobb, Cincinnati; another was called the cigar makers' plan, and a third requested a vote either for or against an insurance feature of any kind. The Cobb plan received 859 votes, the cigar makers' plan 841 votes and 3,805 votes were cast disapproving any insurance plan.

Minor Legislation — Minor legislation enacted by the convention included a provision, introduced by Delegate Sutton of Washington, D. C., that on all charters issued in future no other name be recognized than that of the city or town in which the union was located. It was also ordered that the constitution, by-laws, rules of order and general laws be printed in pamphlet form, separate from the proceedings. It was further provided that, in order to meet the introduction of typesetting machines in all offices within the jurisdiction of the International where typesetting machines were used, practical printers only should be employed to operate them, and subordinate unions were instructed to regulate the scale of wages on such machines. A resolution was adopted recognizing

the Inland Printer of Chicago as the technical trade journal of the printing industry and cordially recommending it to the support and patronage of the craft.

The Typographical Journal — Secretary - Treasurer McClevey, in issuing the first number of the Typographical Journal, said:

One of the best results of the recent session of the International Typographical Union is the birth of the Typographical Journal, the official paper of the International Typographical Union of North America. The immediate cause of its coming into existence was the adoption of the following amendment to article xiii of the constitution:

"SECTION 1. There shall be published monthly, by the secretary-treasurer, a paper of four pages, 14x10½ in size, to be non-political and non-sectarian, and to be known as the Typographical Journal, official paper of the International Typographical Union of North America, which shall be, so far as practicable, the International Typographical Union's official organ of communication to subordinate unions. It shall contain the substance of appeals and the president's decision thereon; reports of the auditing committees; balancing of the monthly bank accounts, monthly receipts, disbursements and arrearages; official orders; charters granted; charters suspended, and the causes; shall publish a list of names and addresses of corresponding and financial secretaries of subordinate unions free, and such unions as desire to publish a list of the names of their officers shall be charged therefor at the rate of one dollar per line per year; state of trade; notices of changes in the scale of prices; all applications for membership, and such other matter as may be of interest and importance to the craft generally; *provided,* nothing herein contained shall prohibit said officers from printing more than four pages of said paper when deemed necessary; *provided further,* that one copy of said paper shall be furnished free to each chapel, and three copies to the president, secretary and chairman of executive committee of each union; additional copies to be furnished to members of subordinate unions, or other persons, at twenty-five cents per year."

The Journal's field for usefulness is wide, its possibilities for good are great; and, coming as it does, as the official paper

of an organization whose record is the very essence of stability, it is destined to be still in its prime and full vigor when our present youngest members shall have passed away. It is established for the general good of all our members—not for the special benefit of any individual—and its successfulness is the concern of not only the management but of every member under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, and whether it shall penetrate every part of the field which lies open to it; whether the full strength of its power for organizing new unions shall be wielded; whether the looked-for solidarity of the unions already in existence shall be more thoroughly realized; whether all these shall be accomplished—and it is for the success of these that the Journal is established—depends largely upon the spirit of the co-operation afforded by the membership.

As the strength of an organization is measured by the degree of interest manifested in it by its members, so, too, will be gauged the power of the Journal. Let us all, then, do our part toward making it a paper much to be desired. Let the secretaries of the different unions perform promptly the duty of furnishing information as to the "state of trade, notices of changes of prices, and applications for membership" and take cognizance of and forward all "matters as may be of interest and importance to the craft generally," and thus make the Journal, what in the full sense of the term it is intended to be, the official representative of the International Typographical Union.

Atlanta, Ga., was selected as the convention city for 1890.

Delegates to American Federation of Labor and Paris Exposition — Philip Corcoran, St. Paul, Minn., was elected organizer for the seventh district, vice Charles W. Hills, Minneapolis. Thomas J. Harrison, Philadelphia, and J. D. Vaughan, Denver, were elected delegates to the American Federation of Labor. It was determined to send delegates to the International Typographical Congress and to the International Labor Congress, to be held in Paris during the exposition period. J. A. Caron, Montreal, and Thomas Crowley, Cincinnati, were elected

to attend the Typographical Congress, and W. S. Waudby, an honorary member of Washington, D. C., Union, was selected to represent the International at the Labor Congress.

Convention at Atlanta

[1890]—The thirty-eighth convention of the International Typographical Union convened in the city of Atlanta, Ga., June 9, 1890, 149 delegates representing 111 unions being in attendance.

President Plank congratulated the convention upon the excellent condition of the organization. He called attention to the many propositions which would be offered for consideration and dwelt upon the necessity of giving close attention to all subjects presented. The president took occasion to compliment and congratulate the membership upon the establishment of the Typographical Journal and, after commenting upon the usefulness and saving realized by the issuance of the Journal, recommended "that the Typographical Journal be issued semi-monthly and the secretary-treasurer authorized to insert advertisements appropriate for such a journal."

American Federation of Labor—The relation of the International Union with the American Federation of Labor was next treated in the president's report, the subject of that relationship being of general interest at the time. A portion of the report is herewith reproduced:

At the thirty-seventh session of the International Typographical Union its attention was called to the fact that the American Federation of Labor, at its session in December preceding, had set a time for the inauguration of an eight-hour working day, and had submitted to a vote of the membership an amendment to the constitution of that body providing for an assessment to raise means to aid the different organizations in cases of trouble. The amendment was in effect that an assessment of two cents per member per week may be levied

for a term of five weeks. The International Typographical Union took no action relative to the establishment of a shorter workday, or submission of the amendment relative to the assessment to a vote of our members.

At the session of the federation in Boston last December the International Typographical Union was represented by Messrs. Robert Ogg, of Detroit; E. C. Ives, of St. Paul; John Vaughan, of Denver, and H. M. Ives, of Topeka. In their instructions, those gentlemen were informed of the following resolution adopted at the Denver session: "That the delegates to the Boston session of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to advocate a reduction of per capita tax to not exceed one dollar per month for each one thousand members," and that it was in accord with previous instructions and recommendations of the International Typographical Union to secure decrease of her per capita tax. Their attention was also called to the fact that the International Typographical Union has given unmistakable expression to its determination to preserve its autonomy and jealously guard and control matters pertaining to our craft, as illustrated by its refusal to lose its identity in the Knights of Labor, or take a charter from any other organization. Your representatives were not successful in securing a decreased per capita tax. The article relative to assessments was declared to have been adopted, and under it a claim was made upon your officers early in the year for an assessment of two cents for each of our members. There being no authority for the payment of this money, it remains unpaid. Recently a claim has been presented for an assessment of ten cents per member (which is the limit of assessments which may be levied in one year as represented to us), and it has not been paid for the reason given above. The latter assessment included the former one of two cents.

Under date of May 16, 1890, the following letter from the American Federation of Labor was received by your secretary-treasurer:

"Dear Sir and Brother: In compliance with the decision of the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, held December last, the executive council selected the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to make the demand for the inauguration of the eight-hour workday May 1, 1890. As you are well aware, the demand was made on

the date named, and that in a large number of cities and towns the demand has been acceded to. Official information from the headquarters of the United Brotherhood states that there are nearly 13,000 members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America yet on strike to enforce the demand, and in all likelihood they may be out on strike for several weeks yet to come. The brotherhood pledges itself to exhaust every dollar in its own treasury before calling upon the American Federation of Labor for any of the funds raised by the assessment, but urges that should the necessity arise the funds should be available. A call for the first assessment of two cents per member was made, and the moneys paid in are in the hands of the treasurer of the federation. In compliance with the decision of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, I now call upon the affiliated national and international trade unions to remit the balance of the remaining five weeks' assessment of two cents per week per member, in order to carry out our obligations and to be used if necessary to attain complete success in our eight-hour struggle. Should the funds raised by this assessment not be required by the carpenters and joiners for the attainment of success in their struggle, it may be required to be used in the struggle of the trade or trades next selected to make the demand. Should they not be, the moneys will remain intact, to be either used in the struggle that may affect our organization or subject to be returned to the organizations which forwarded them, subject to the decision of the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, should no necessity for the fund exist.

"The amount due from your organization is two thousand dollars. This is based upon the last report made to this office. Should any increase or diminution in your membership have taken place since then, please make the change and remit at your earliest convenience. It is superfluous for me to add how important a prompt response to this call is, and although having attained so large a degree of success in our movement, and the encouragement it gives to the whole working classes of the country and the world for organization and improved conditions for the toilers, we must not allow our movement to receive a set-back from a lack of promptness in responding to the call for aid. Now, more than ever, is it essential that the trade unions of our country should recognize the solidarity so necessary for the success and advancement of our movement.

"I desire to add that this call is the last that can be made for assessments in one year under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

"Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*"

In reply thereto the president of the American Federation of Labor was advised that, as the officers of the International Typographical Union were not authorized to pay the assessment, the matter would be referred to this convention, and the subject is now laid before you for your consideration. The matter of our relations with and duty toward the American Federation of Labor is one demanding your careful and earnest consideration, and should be promptly acted upon by you.

The convention ordered that the assessment levied by the federation be paid.

Organization — The report of the president also showed that during the year 34 charters had been issued, 11 were revoked and 15 surrendered. Of the charters surrendered, 11 were from pressmen's unions, "the reasons for which," says the report, "is probably traceable from the attempt to secede from the jurisdiction of the International Union and build up an organization composed exclusively of those engaged in that portion of the business."

Strikes — The past year had been productive of many cases of trouble in the matter of strikes, lockouts, etc., and the defense fund had been very heavily drawn on because of these troubles. The president deplored the fact that the idea was so prevalent among the membership that to strike was the best remedy existing for real or imaginary grievances, especially in view of the emphatic declaration that the International Union recognized strikes as detrimental to the best interests of the craft. That careful legislation and conservative and cautious action was necessary was urged upon the delegates. The convention amended the general laws, limiting strike benefits and conserving the defense fund.

Pressmen — The report of Vice-President Hall drew attention to the repeated efforts to detach the pressmen from the International Typographical Union. In commenting on the situation, Mr. Hall said:

Eleven unions have gone out from among us since the date of my last report, and but four have been added. This has involved the loss of 469 members. The reason for this diminution is to be found in the assiduous endeavors being made to build up the International Printing Pressmen's Union—an organization enjoying the favor of the typothetae. It was my fortune last year, under date of November 15, to address a circular to the pressmen of the United States and Canada, calling their attention to the close connection between these two bodies. My assertions were denied in the same month by T. J. Hawkins, secretary-treasurer International Printing Pressmen's Union, but striking proof of them is afforded in the fact that both organizations will meet in Boston on the first Tuesday in September, 1890, a simultaneous determination on the part of those concerned in it.

This is said by way of warning to all pressmen contemplating leaving the International. Whatever momentary encouragement the International Printing Pressmen's Union movement may receive, its backers and their followers must finally perceive their error. The times favor extended combination among trade as well as other organizations. The smaller unions, either local or national, are finding their only safety in numbers and universal, compact organization. With this natural tendency, it must be that those who are now lured away by vain promises and false hopes, through consequent misfortunes, will be compelled to return. Whatever causes of complaint pressmen may in the past have felt they had against the International Typographical Union have all been removed by its later action.

Recently repeated efforts have been made to detach the pressmen in the government printing office from the International Typographical Union and cause them to join the International Printing Pressmen's Union. Foremen and assistant foremen of the day force have brought pressure to bear upon members of our body for continuing therein, and solicited them to join the International Printing Pressmen's Union. This has proceeded so far that, to end the annoyances to which our

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

EDWARD T. PLANK, San Francisco
President International Typographical Union
June 14, 1888 – June 13, 1891

brothers are subjected, I feel compelled to ask you to officially call the attention of the public printer to the matter. Our members should not be exposed to danger because of their belonging to the International Typographical Union.

A forcible attempt has been made by the seceders from the International Typographical Union to carry into the International Printing Pressmen's Union the property of the older organization. This has led to a lawsuit brought by us to protect our rights, and the supreme court of the District of Columbia has granted an order restraining James E. Hardy and Frank Frazer, the president and secretary of the new union, from turning over the property of Washington Printing Pressmen's Union No. 1, International Typographical Union, to the International Printing Pressmen's Union, and also from using the name of Washington Printing Pressmen's Union No. 1 in the official transactions of any body not acting under the International Typographical Union.

Stereotypers — The report of the third vice-president was a very encouraging document, showing a gain of five new unions of stereotypers and electrotypers during the year, with a total membership in that branch of 455.

Printers Home — Acting upon the recommendations contained in the reports of the trustees of the Childs-Drexel fund, and of the special committee appointed at the Denver convention to arrange for the transfer of the Home site from its donors to the Union, the convention adopted a law creating the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers, as follows:

FIRST. The Home shall be incorporated under the laws of the state of Colorado.

SECOND. The Home shall be governed by a board of trustees, thirteen in number. The trustees to be elected each year for a term of five years. The present trustees of the Childs-Drexel fund to serve as trustees of the Home for five years; the present trustees of the Home to be continued in office for four years, and seven trustees to be elected by this body; one for three years, three for two years, and three for one year. Any person within the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union shall be eligible as trustee.

THIRD. The moneys now known as the Childs-Drexel fund shall be transferred to the board of trustees of the Home to be used by them in building and maintaining the Home, as also all moneys now subscribed and which may be subscribed and paid in as contributions during the present fiscal year.

FOURTH. A per capita tax shall be levied—the vote upon which shall be taken before the 31st day of August, 1890.

FIFTH. The treasurer of the board of trustees shall give a bond in the sum of $50,000 for the faithful care of the moneys intrusted to him; said bond shall be procured from a solvent guarantee company, at the expense of the International Typographical Union.

SIXTH. The board of trustees shall have power to regulate and determine the uses and purposes of the Home; they shall meet and organize within ten days after adjournment of this convention, and shall issue to local unions an address outlining the proposed manner of conducting the Home, etc.

SEVENTH. A sum of money, not exceeding $100, shall be appropriated from the funds of the union to defray the expenses necessary to the carrying out of the preceding section.

EIGHTH. The trustees shall present annually to this union a complete and comprehensive printed report of their proceedings, together with such recommendations as may be deemed necessary for the future security and welfare of the Home.

NINTH. The president, secretary and treasurer of the trustees of the Home shall attend the annual convention of the International Typographical Union.

TENTH. The Home shall be known as the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers.

Home Trustees — Complying with the provisions of the above law, a board of trustees consisting of thirteen members was elected and a proposition to levy an assessment of $1 per capita, submitted to the referendum, was approved, thus insuring sufficient funds to complete the erection of the main building of the Home in accordance with the plans proposed.

The Referendum — The spirit of reorganization and the desire to strengthen the International organization was still manifest at the Atlanta convention, 25 refer-

endum propositions in all being submitted to the membership. The result of the vote upon these questions showed a lively interest taken by the members at large in the various subjects presented for consideration, 23 of the 25 propositions being carried. Two proposed amendments to the constitution were defeated—one being to increase the salary of the president of the International from $1,400 to $1,800 per annum and the second to establish a mileage relief system similar to the relief system of the cigar makers' union.

Minor Legislation — New features of general interest added to the constitution included an amendment giving an opportunity to the smaller unions of being represented at the annual sessions of the International body by combining with other unions of less than 100 members in the selection of a delegate. The recommendation of President Plank suggesting the semi-monthly issuance of the Typographical Journal, and accepting suitable advertisements for the paper, was concurred in, and the wholesome provision to the effect that the charter of any subordinate union failing or refusing to pay its per capita or any moneys, or any part thereof, within three months after becoming due, should be suspended, was also adopted.

Six-Day Law — A new general law was submitted by Mr. Walter, of Cincinnati, as follows:

> No compositors on newspapers shall be permitted to work more than six days per week if substitutes can be obtained.

Miss F. L. Taylor, delegate from Cincinnati Union, moved to amend the proposed law by striking out the words "six days" and inserting the words "five days on an average." On a yea and nay vote, both the amendment and the original section were laid on the table.

Following the defeat of the proposition Miss Taylor introduced another amendment to the general laws.

No member of a subordinate union shall work on a morning newspaper more than five days in any one week where a substitute can be obtained; *provided,* that a member may give notice to the chairman of the chapel of an intended protracted absence and for one month either before or after such absence he may work as often as he chooses.

The proposition was referred to the committee on laws, which reported the same with an amendment striking out the word "five" and inserting the word "six," thus proposing a six-day law. On motion of Delegate Riland, Omaha, the proviso was stricken out. The proposition as amended was adopted by a vote of 91 ayes, 14 noes. A motion to submit the law as adopted to a popular vote of the membership was laid on the table. An amendment was adopted including six-day evening papers publishing a Sunday morning edition in the category of seven-day morning papers. During the discussion of the proposition, the following telegrams were read:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, June 11, 1890.

MISS FRANCES L. TAYLOR, International Typographical Convention Hall, Atlanta, Ga.

Your five-day amendment is creating intense indignation among your friends.

ALEXANDER DUGUID.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, June 11, 1890.

MISS FRANCES L. TAYLOR, (care W. S. McClevey), Kimball House.

Many thanks to you and those who stood by you in efforts in behalf of five-day rule. Move reconsideration.

MANY CINCINNATI PRINTERS.

Delegates to Paris Congress — The reports of the delegates to the International Typographical Congress and to the International Labor Congress, held in Paris, France, were submitted to the convention. Both were interesting documents, containing much information regarding conditions of labor in Europe, and it was

ordered that the same be printed in full in the minutes of the convention.

The convention adjourned to meet in Boston, Mass., in June, 1891.

Officers, 1890 — Officers for the ensuing year, including organizers and trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers, were elected as follows: President, Edward T. Plank, San Francisco; first vice-president, H. J. Loser, Nashville; second vice-president, J. Von Buettner, Galveston, Tex.; third vice-president, P. J. Weldon, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, W. S. McClevey, Chicago. District organizers—Edmund Beardsley, Brooklyn, N. Y.; George Harry Stone, St. Louis, Mo.; Samuel R. Freeman, Birmingham, Ala.; Victor B. Williams, Chicago; James C. Reynolds, Ottawa, Ont.; John R. Winders, San Francisco; Michael A. Cummings, St. Paul. Trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—August Donath, Washington, D. C.; J. D. Vaughan, Denver, Colo.; W. S. McClevey, Indianapolis; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago; Edward T. Plank, Indianapolis; Columbus Hall, Washington, D. C.; Amos J. Cummings, Washington, D. C.; William Aimison, Nashville; James G. Woodward, Atlanta, Ga.; George W. Morgan, Atlanta, Ga.; Will Lambert, Austin, Tex., and W. H. Parr. Toronto, Ont. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—Alexander J. Mullen, Minneapolis; Frank L. Rist, Cincinnati; G. B. M. Houston, Lynn, Mass.; Thomas P. White, New Orleans.

Convention at Boston

[1891] — The thirty-ninth convention of the International Typographical Union met in Faneuil Hall, Boston, June 8, 1891, with 170 delegates in attendance, representing 120 subordinate unions.

The report of President Plank showed a gratifying growth during the year, there having been chartered 38 typographical, 10 pressmen's, 6 stereotypers' and electrotypers' and 3 pressfeeders' unions.

American Federation of Labor.—Of the relations of the Typographical Union with the American Federation of Labor, the report said, in part:

The movement last year in the building trades to establish a short-hour workday taxed the resources of the federation, and when the season was drawing to a close correspondence was opened with President Gompers relative to the support which might be looked for and the time when such support, moral and financial, could be given to a movement for a shorter workday for our craftsmen. In reply I was informed that the matter would be referred to the executive council of the federation, at its meeting at Detroit, on December 7th last, and unquestionably by that body referred to the convention to be held the next day. As the general law (section 131) provides that if conferences of the executive council with the officers of the federation be favorable to the adoption of a movement in the direction of shorter hours it shall be submitted to a popular vote of subordinate unions, it was thought best to get a personal conference with the executive council of the federation, and Mr. Gompers was requested to withhold the correspondence until he should hear further from us. The executive council did not meet as anticipated, and though I was in Detroit during the convention it was impossible to obtain the interview desired, as no meeting of the council took place until after the convention adjourned. In the meantime the miners made a claim for the support of the federation the present season, and when the council met the correspondence with us was laid before it and Mr. Gompers wrote to me later that he was directed to communicate to us the adoption of the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That in view of the selection of the miners by the convention to demand the enforcement of the eight-hour workday on May 1, 1891, the American Federation of Labor is not in a position to promise any financial support to the International Typographical Union pending this movement,

and that it hopes, in the near future, to be able to select the International Typographical Union to make a similar demand and give it the federation's support."

Referring to the assessments which might be levied by the American Federation of Labor, the report said:

As the authority to pay assessments is not expressly conferred by our laws (though it is implied by section 131, general laws), your officers have not paid the assessment. The above is the only assessment yet levied this year as is learned by recent letter from Secretary Evans. It would be well, in my opinion, to authorize your executive officers (by resolution to that effect) to pay such assessments as may be levied by the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with the constitution of that body, and thus relieve them of the uncertainty of their duty in many cases. To pay out to the federation large sums of money as assessments is very apt to make the officials hesitate where authority to pay is not more clearly defined than it is in our laws at present.

The convention authorized the payment of the assessment levied by the federation.

The report of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor contained a synopsis of the proceedings of the Detroit session from which is taken the following paragraph:

We have submitted to the attention of members an extract from the report of the eight-hour committee, which was adopted, wherein the federation reaffirms its intention to secure the eight-hour workday for all affiliated crafts, taking up one at a time. The miners were selected this year and should the members of the Boston session deem the time propitious to ask for the eight-hour day, they should lose no time in presenting their claims to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee to whom the report was referred made no recommendation further than that the same be accepted.

The Referendum — Under the heading "Constitutional

Amendments," attention was directed to the workings of the law requiring all constitutional amendments to be referred to the subordinate unions for ratification or rejection, and the opinion was expressed that, as all such amendments were sent to the referendum, there was a tendency among delegates to be less careful in considering such amendments than they probably would be if their action was a finality. On the other hand, it was apparent that the membership in voting upon the proposed amendments was apt to give less consideration or thought to matters that had already been passed upon and approved by the delegates.

Membership, etc. — A recapitulation of the financial affairs of the union for the year showed a satisfactory condition, although the expenditures had somewhat exceeded the receipts. The average membership during the year, based upon the amount of per capita tax received, was 25,165. That the Typographical Journal had proved to be a valuable asset was shown by the report of the secretary-treasurer, it being pointed out that 14 new unions had been started as a result of mailing sample copies of the Journal. An unusual number of strikes and lockouts had occurred, 75 disturbances of that character having taken place during the year, 27 of which had been supported by the executive council.

Pressmen — The second vice-president, in his report, deplored the lack of general data and the absence of fraternal feeling necessary to the furtherance of the interests of the pressmen. He said:

> There is but one way to preserve intact the pressmen membership of our organization, and that is to frame our laws and so consolidate the pressmen with the printer, in our social and fraternal relations, as to make each branch of the trade feel the protection and help of the other.
>
> I would suggest that local unions be requested to give more attention to unionizing pressrooms connected with union print-

ing offices, and that a more determined effort be made to induce pressmen to become members of typographical unions in towns where no pressmen's union exists; and, furthermore, that pressmen would take more interest in the Journal and bring into its columns for discussion matters pertaining to their branch of the printing trade.

Commenting upon the status of the seceding pressmen, the vice-president said:

These men are certainly not lacking in union principles, and yet we can not receive their cards or recognize them as union men. I think it would be wise for the International Typographical Union and the International Printing Pressmen's Union to come to some understanding whereby each organization could recognize the cards of the other, and which would sooner or later result in consolidation; for surely nothing good can come from an internal war among the union pressmen of the country. By meeting upon a basis of fairness and fellowship an understanding can very likely be reached, as the printer and pressmen are of one calling and natural allies, and can only find their highest interests by mutual co-operation.

The committee to which was referred the report of the second vice-president subsequently submitted the following, which was adopted:

Your committee would recommend that it be enjoined upon typographical unions everywhere to use every possible effort to unionize pressrooms.

Your committee would also recommend that the interchange of cards between the International Typographical Union and the International Printing Pressmen's Union be not permitted.

Copyright Law — The committee on copyright legislation appointed at the previous session reported that a bill acceptable to the International Typographical Union had passed the congress and become a law. By the terms of the law, it was provided that in future every book copyrighted in the United States must be manufactured here. "Not only will the first edition be put in type in this country," said the report, "but any subsequent edition

during the existence of the copyright—28 years; and the copyright may be renewed so as to make the period of existence of the copyright 42 years." Continuing, the report said, "The Thurman amendment which would have permitted the unlimited importation of books, subject to the tariff duty, if any, was eliminated and in its stead was inserted a provision permitting the importation, subject to duty, if any, of two copies, for use, and not for sale."

The report contained a number of extracts from the senate and house proceedings and the correspondence between the committee and the representatives. Numerous accounts of the efficacy of the committee's labors were received from publishers, authors and others, conceding that the printers were the principal factor in the fight which culminated in the enactment of the law.

In concluding its report, the committee made the following recommendations:

We are, therefore, somewhat apprehensive for the future of that (typesetting clause) feature of the new law; and to the end that our officers may at any time have authority to move in defense of that clause, your committee recommends that the present session clothe the officers of the International Typographical Union with power to appoint a committee and take all other necessary precautions in the future, should it become necessary, to preserve the integrity of the typesetting clause of the new international copyright law.

The new law will not become operative until July 1, 1891. It will probably require a year and a half or two years' time to fully demonstrate its advantages to our craft. It is important that our officers should have data with which to make comparisons to prove the utility of the law to the book printers. We, therefore, recommend that this body require its officers to ascertain the number of compositors employed on July 1, 1891, in the principal book publishing houses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago, the price of composition, the number of hours of the day's work in each house, the number of time hands, piece hands, pressroom data, and such other information as will be useful in the work of comparison.

The committee to whom the foregoing was referred subsequently submitted the following as its report, which was adopted:

On the first recommendation of the committee on copyright, that the International Typographical Union officers appoint a committee to take necessary precautions to preserve the type-setting clause in the international copyright law, the committee reports favorably.

On the second recommendation of the same committee, that the union require its officers to ascertain number of compositors employed, hours of work, price of composition, and other data, in publishing houses in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago, committee reports favorably.

Important Legislation — Of the legislation enacted by the Boston convention perhaps the most important was the creation of a burial fund, the amplification of the six-day law and the increase of the per capita tax to 25 cents per month, including 10 cents per month to be set aside for the maintenance of the Union Printers Home.

Nine-Hour Day — A proposition to declare a nine-hour day in the printing industry was submitted to the referendum and failed of adoption, the vote in its favor lacking 332 of that required for ratification. The total vote cast on the proposition was 12,896. Under a ruling of the International president that a three-quarter vote was necessary to ratify, it would have required 9,672 affirmative votes. Of the total vote, 9,340 were in favor and 3,556 against the proposed law. That the proposition had been submitted without due consideration was apparent because of the near date when it was proposed to declare the law in effect and because of the many existing agreements with employers which would not expire until after the date for the law to go into effect and for which no provision was made. The result of the vote on the nine-hour proposition, however, marked a stage in the growing sentiment for a shorter workday.

While the measure failed to receive endorsement by a three-quarter vote, the evidences of the near approach to the time when the final effort would be made were unmistakable. The positive instructions to prepare therefor were expressed in the vote. Editor McClevey of the Typographical Journal, in announcing the failure of the proposition, said that through correspondence received at his office it was evident that the members in general were favorable to the shorter day movement, and he could not recall a single instance where objection was made to the measure itself, and that this feeling was also shared by not a few of the employers who recognized the drift toward the shorter workday, conceding that their acquiescence could be withheld but a short time longer.

Amendments to Constitution — Changes in the constitution, all of which were adopted by the referendum, were as follows:

(1) Authorizing the issuance of charters to unions of editors and reporters; (2) providing that a member to be eligible to election as a delegate must reside within the jurisdiction of the union which he seeks to represent, and be a member thereof at least six months prior to the date of election; (3) amending the certificate of election as delegate to cover the foregoing requirement; (4) making the president of the International a delegate to the American Federation of Labor; (5) providing for hotel expenses of the president when compelled to travel on account of business; (6) creating a salary for the vice-president representing the stereotypers; (7) striking out the six months' exemption for the payment of per capita tax allowed newly organized unions; (8) striking out the stated hours of meeting of the conventions and placing the power to fix the hours of meeting and adjournment with the delegates; (9) striking out

the section prescribing the acceptance of invitations unlawful; (10) instructing the president to collect and publish data relative to sick, out of work and death benefits; (11) the creation of a burial fund; (12) authorizing the president to appoint a member of the local union to assist in canvassing the vote on amendments; (13) providing that all laws shall be in effect on and after November 1, except when otherwise provided; (14) levying an assessment of 10 cents per month for the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers.

Burial Benefits — The burial benefit law was without question the most important of the new measures. It was a new departure by the International and marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the organization, an era of greater attractiveness, stronger adhesion and increased utility. Commenting editorially, the Typographical Journal said that the introduction of a measure of this character by the International Union brought with it the introduction of business principles which must be strictly adhered to by subordinate unions.

Priority — A "priority" law, introduced by Delegate Seaman, Cincinnati, and amended by the laws committee, was made a special order of business by the convention and a prolonged debate followed. The proposed law had been discussed from time to time by correspondents in the Typographical Journal and much interest was manifested in the disposition of the question by the Boston convention. The proposed law, after the consideration of numerous amendments, was defeated.

Typesetting Machines — That the membership was beginning to awaken to the possibilities of the typesetting machine is evidenced by a report on that subject submitted by a special committee of investigation. The report is herewith reproduced, it having been adopted by the convention.

Your committee appointed to consider the need of additional legislation in the matter of typesetting machines beg leave to report as follows:

From statistics presented to them, they are satisfied that the manufacture and introduction of apparatus for mechanical typesetting is rapidly increasing, and that under certain conditions machines can be economically operated.

It therefore behooves this body to enact such laws as will secure to the members of our subordinate unions a fair share of the lessened cost of production resulting from their use.

We are of the opinion that the principal factor in the economical operation of typesetting machinery is the employment of highly skilled and intelligent labor, and that this is to be found in the ranks of our union.

We find that the disregard of the equitable claims of organized labor by the proprietors or manufacturers of some machines renders it difficult for their competitors who are well disposed toward our body to give as full consideration to our wishes as they otherwise would do.

We find that the cost of production on machines varies to such an extent with the circumstances of their operation as to prevent us making a general and tabulated report on this matter.

Our recommendations in this matter are:

First. That the executive council be empowered to negotiate with the manufacturers of the various typesetting machines, to the end that none but members of the subordinate unions may be employed as operators on them; and that a list of all such manufacturers as are willing to co-operate with the executive council in this matter be furnished to the secretary of every subordinate union for the information of its members.

Second. That the scale of prices and other regulations regarding the operation of machines be left to subordinate unions.

Third. That a weekly or time scale be adopted for the operation of machines.

Fourth. That the work upon machines, being of a more exhaustive character, both physically and mentally, than hand composition, that the hours of labor upon them be reduced to the lowest possible number—eight hours being the maximum.

Fifth. That, as under certain circumstances the operation of some machines may result in the impairment of the health

of the operator, this body take steps that will insure the hygienic conditions being as perfect as possible.

This committee acknowledges its obligations to Messrs. Myrick Waites (No. 13), Boston, and Franklin P. Eddy (No. 33), Providence, R. I., for valuable information furnished.

Union Printers Home — The report of the board of trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers was a document covering many pages of the proceedings and including a volume of correspondence together with many matters of statistical interest regarding the expenditures made for the erection of the Home buildings and the contracts entered into. It also contained a set of rules and regulations for the government of the Home. The document was referred to a committee, which reported that all legal instruments necessary in connection with the Home had been executed by competent persons, learned in the law, and that every precaution had been taken to assure the organization, through its board of directors, possession of the valuable property that was being acquired. Regarding the composition of the board, some desire had been expressed to reduce its number. After consideration of this question, it was ordered by the convention that the board be requested to reduce the number of trustees from thirteen to seven. Regarding the dedication of the Home buildings, the convention concurred in the suggestion that the birthday of George W. Childs be celebrated thereby.

Philadelphia was selected as the meeting place for the convention of 1892.

Officers, 1891 — Officers for the ensuing term were elected as follows: President, William B. Prescott, Toronto; first vice-president, James McKenna, New York; second vice-president, J. Von Buettner, Chattanooga, Tenn.; third vice-president, P. J. Weldon,

Chicago; secretary-treasurer, W. S. McClevey, Chicago. District organizers—Edmund Beardsley, Brooklyn; J. F. Klunk, Kansas City; Samuel R. Freeman, Birmingham; Victor B. Williams, Chicago; J. W. Patterson, Ottawa, Ont.; John R. Winders, San Francisco; Charles Abernathy, Ogden, Utah. Trustees Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—August Donath, Washington, D. C.; J. D. Vaughan, Denver, Colo.; W. S. McClevey, Indianapolis; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago; Edward T. Plank, Indianapolis; Columbus Hall, Washington, D. C.; William Aimison, Nashville; James G. Woodward, Atlanta; George W. Morgan, Atlanta. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—O. A. Williams, Pittsburgh; William C. Boyer, Omaha; W. E. Shields, Washington, D. C.; Frank A. Kidd, Chicago.

Convention at Philadelphia

[1892]—The fortieth convention of the International Typographical Union assembled in the Drexel Institute at Philadelphia, June 13, 1892, with 187 delegates in attendance.

Review of Officers' Reports

In his annual report President Prescott congratulated the craft on the progress made during the year, both in the increased number of unions and members and in the degree of animated spirit and ability to cope with unforeseen obstacles which had so astonished its detractors and won the respect and admiration of all. While there had been no diversion from the policy of settling disputes between employers and employes by means of conference or arbitration, the union had resolutely and persistently insisted upon the recognition by employers of the laborer's right to a voice in determining what remuneration

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

WILLIAM B. PRESCOTT, TORONTO
President International Typographical Union
June 11, 1891 – October 31, 1898

he should receive for his labor and the conditions under which it might be sold. The report deplored the fact that there still remained in the trade many who considered it beneath their dignity to consult with their employes on matters of mutual interest. Continuing, the president said:

If I were asked what points in our armor were the most vulnerable, I should unhesitatingly reply that lack of ample means for effective resistance and inability to concentrate our forces in aiding each other in maintainig our just and equitable rights and privileges were our weakest points. Much as we may deprecate conflicts, they can not be avoided unless we consent to accept conditions repugnant to our ideas of true manhood. If we are to successfully cope with our adversaries and render assistance in the moral, mental and material improvement of our members, we must realize the truth of the axiom that wealth is power and is the god of industrial battles, and have at our disposal a plethoric treasury; that the existence of a large fund for defensive purposes—demonstrating our ability to prolong a struggle once entered into—would have a salutary effect on unfair employers is amply demonstrated in the case of Pittsburgh, where the most pugnacious of the employers freely admit that had they any idea that our resources were so inexhaustible as they afterward proved to be there would have been no strike. Taking this case as a fair illustration, it is for us to consider which is the greater economy—to amass a large defense fund, which will save us from strikes, add to our respect for ourselves, and consequently gain the respect of others, or to spend more money in difficulties which the lack of a proper defense fund has brought upon us? Of course, a large defense fund means higher dues—and higher dues it must be if we are to keep upward and onward with the march of the age and ultimately attain those objects for which we are striving. In the past much has been accomplished on slim treasuries, but the conditions have changed. Formerly non-union men could not be so easily mobilized, nor were we menaced by organized efforts in that direction, and it is manifest that we can not hope to improve our position by ignoring the difficulties that surround us. Let us look all such matters square in the face and provide the necessary remedy. The conclusion of progress

on this line means the establishment of what is known as a strong organization—an organization that can achieve results, and in whose welfare every member and every dependent on that member is vitally interested, in a financial sense. If we take the trouble to look at sister organizations, both in this country and in Europe, we find that those unions which have the minimum of difficulties, whose wishes are deferred to by employers, and whose members take the most interest in their organization's welfare, are strong unions, charging dues largely in excess of ours, and that this has in a large measure contributed to their success is undisputed.

Organization Work — Organization work for the year had proceeded vigorously, 46 charters having been issued, although 22 had been surrendered and 9 suspended. The president directed attention to the need for greater activity in the field of organization, also to the extraordinary efforts of self-seeking men to mislead printers working outside of the beneficial influences of the organization, which of necessity and as a matter of self-preservation imposed upon the union the high and important duty of seeing to it that the country printers were not misled by these parties and manipulated to the detriment of themselves and the debasement of the craft. Continuing, the president said:

I am convinced that the first step necessary to the accomplishment of appreciable results in this direction is a thorough reformation of our laws governing districts and organizers. When the state deputy system was discarded and the present extensive district scheme adopted it was thought the extended area would make it possible to secure the services of more active and suitable men than were previously obtainable. While the change may have attained the desired end, the parsimonious appropriation placed at the disposal of our organizers precluded the achievement of notable results. Another baneful feature is the one-year term—altogether too short a term for such an official as organizer. A novice, be he ever so energetic and enthusiastic, barely gets thoroughly acquainted with the territory over which he has supervision, or the manifold duties

which the office imposes upon him, in less than twelve months, and as the law now stands, his term expires just as he is best fitted to do himself justice and perform effective work for the organization.

A most convincing argument in support of the contention that our present district system is inadequate to meet the exigencies which confront us is that during the past year there have been organized six state unions and one sub-district union, and this in face of the fact that such combinations are purely voluntary, not being fostered or even recommended by International law. The printers of Indiana are the pioneers in this movement, and the union in that state has been instrumental in producing good results, not only in organizing new unions but in assisting the several subordinates owing it allegiance to rid themselves of deterrent influences and in fusing life into those which, through lack of interest or other cause, gave evidence of decay. There are many of our members who seek the abolition of our present cumbersome district system, substituting therefor a state organization, and with them I agree, but would not at present vest such bodies with more power than is sufficient to make them an effective part of our proselyting machinery.

Apportionment of Funds — Under the heading "Defense and Burial Funds," the president called attention to the inadequacy of the apportionment for these funds and suggested that the assignment to each be increased 2½ cents, such increase to be secured by reducing the tax for the Childs-Drexel Home to 5 cents per month. The recommendation was concurred in by the convention and approved by the referendum.

Nine-Hour Day — The president also called attention to the large affirmative vote cast on the nine-hour proposition. He said that events of the past few years had demonstrated that if a decrease in the hours was to be obtained, steps must first be taken by the union, and that it was useless to wait for some distant date when any considerable number of employers would be found willing to inaugurate a reduction of their own volition. Experi-

ence did not justify the hope that the much desired reform would be secured without a struggle, and it was suggested that if any proposition be submitted to the membership, that it be requested only to consider a plan whereby the necessary funds could be accrued and the bare question of whether a demand for shorter hours should be made, naming of a day and preliminary arrangements being left in the hands of a committee, which should be vested with power to meet and confer with any parties desirous of effecting a settlement. This committee, acting in conjunction with the executive council, could so arrange matters that the union would receive material assistance from the American Federation of Labor and could also obviate the necessity of prematurely notifying the world of its intention to demand a shorter workday and the date on which it was proposed to put the proposition in effect. The necessity for being well equipped financially before any move was made was apparent to all. In conclusion, President Prescott said:

Our competitive system does not permit the average employer to concede shorter hours or increased wages from philanthropic motives, or the self-gratification of seeing a worthy theory in active operation. I am aware that many will look upon the suggestion that we attempt a settlement by conference or arbitration as an empty one, owing to the apparent contempt with which previous delegations charged with the same mission have been treated by some representative employers, but I submit that contempt for such a principle on the part of others should rather stimulate us to a more persistent and earnest advocacy of it, and not dampen our ardor. Certain it is that something more potent than resolutions is necessary before a shorter-hour proposition will be treated with that consideration from employers which its justice and importance demands. When a move is made in that direction, our preparation from the initial step should be such as to convince every opponent of the reform that we are fully cognizant of the obstacles to be overcome, and have the will, ability and determination to surmount them.

Pressmen — The report of the second vice-president stated that pursuant to a resolution of the International Union, passed at the Boston session in 1891, a committtee to visit the so-called International Printing Pressmen's Union had performed that duty, but from the tone of the correspondence which passed between the committee and the seceders it was concluded that an affiliation was not desired by the pressmen. A table was submitted showing that there were 22 pressmen's unions in operation under charter of the International Union, with a membership of 1,210, and that in addition to this there were 237 pressmen attached to various typographical unions, making a total of 1,447 pressmen under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union. The same report showed the existence of 4 pressfeeders' unions.

Finances — Membership — Burial Fund — The financial transactions of the International during the year far exceeded those of any similar period in the life of the organization. The report of the secretary-treasurer showed receipts aggregating $113,134.49 and attention was called to the fact that this amount had been collected without friction. It was also worthy of note in this connection that the decrease in the number of derelictions of financial officers of subordinate unions and the high degree of business progress which prevailed in conducting the affairs of the union was attributable to the fact that the laws of the organization covering such matters had been materially strengthened. It was also shown by the report that the average membership during the year was 28,187, an increase of more than 3,000 over that of the previous year. In referring to the burial fund, the report said:

The first seven months' practical operation of the burial fund demonstrates the inadequacy of the percentage of per capita tax apportioned for meeting current liabilities of said

fund, as will be seen by reference to the statement of receipts and expenditures made a part of this report, wherein it is shown that the disbursements are $2,836.58 greater than natural revenue yielded—this amount being paid from the general fund pursuant to authorization by the executive council, and agreeably to the first estimates contemplating a deficiency. A careful estimate shows that the revenue required to enable the burial fund to meet its liabilities will necessitate a change in the apportionment so that the fund shall receive not less than 7½ cents per capita.

A table was also submitted giving the age, cause of death and the number of deaths at given ages. The total number of deaths during the seven months which the table covered was 228 and the average age at death was 41 years; the greatest number of deaths at any one age occurred at the age of 28. Of the total number of deaths almost one-half were caused by tuberculosis and kindred diseases.

State Unions — The organizers of the various districts submitted very complete reports of the work in their respective jurisdictions. State unions had been organized during the year in New York, Massachusetts, Michigan and Pennsylvania, and other state unions previously in existence were reported to be in a healthy condition. The organizer of the fourth district recommended the formation of allied trade councils wherever possible, the events of the year having proved the necessity of such combinations. The reports were all referred to the committee on president's address, but were not reported by that committee.

American Federation of Labor — The report of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor gave an interesting and complete summary of the proceedings of the session of the American Federation held at Birmingham, December, 1891. The delegates disagreed with the delegates attending the Detroit session of the

federation as to the manner of voting to the effect that the "voting should be according to number of delegates—and one vote for each delegate," and recommended a "vote according to membership as the only way to defeat schemers for their own aggrandizement and perpetuation in power." The report was concluded with an expression of the belief that the federation of labor should be reorganized in the near future, on a wider basis than then constituted, and it was contended that its then narrow lines of action would never be successful in emancipating labor.

Constitutional Amendments — Perhaps no convention in the history of the International Union was productive of more legislative enactments than the session held in Philadelphia in 1892. Thirty-five amendments to the constitution were favorably considered by the delegates and were adopted by the referendum. A summary of these amendments follows:

(1) To permit members of the allied crafts to become members of typographical unions in cities where unions of their respective crafts do not exist; (2) making a constitutional provision of the right of officers to refuse to issue a charter if they have reason to believe the organization will not be permanent, and requiring that the names of applicants for charter shall be published in the Journal at least thirty days prior to the issuance of charter; (3) changing the date for holding the annual conventions from June to October; (4) creating the office of additional organizer, who shall be a practical bookbinder; (5) providing for the election of second and third vice-presidents by the pressmen and stereotypers, respectively; (6) striking out the provision requiring annual reports from subordinate unions; (7) changing the rate of per capita tax from 15 to 25 cents—which will include the revenue for the Childs-Drexel Home; (8)

changing the fiscal year to commence with April and end with March; (9) requiring that every member shall pay per capita tax, even though he be not working within the jurisdiction of any subordinate union; (10) changing the apportionment of the revenue so as to increase to 7½ cents each the defense and burial funds and reduce the amount heretofore allotted to the Childs-Drexel Home to 5 cents; (11) setting aside certain days of each annual session for the transaction of matters of interest to compositors, exclusively, and specifying days when measures of interest to the allied crafts may be introduced; (12) a change of phraseology regarding auditing accounts of the Childs-Drexel Home; (13) providing that the Journal shall contain not less than eight pages; (14) to transfer article xiv to the general laws; (15) providing that the president of a district union may be notified in case of a disagreement between a subordinate union and an employer which in the opinion of the union may result in a strike; (16) requiring the organizer in case of a difficulty in cities where allied trade councils exist to call meetings of the allied trades; (17) repealing the section requiring the executive council to call into consultation the presidents of the allied trades in case of trouble involving said crafts; (18) striking out section 1, article xv—the subject being covered by proposition 10, (19) creating new article providing for the support of the Childs-Drexel Home, and providing that moneys for the Home shall be paid over to the treasurer at least once a month; (20) ratifying the action of the trustees in transferring to the board of trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home the land at Colorado Springs, defining eligibility to admission to the Home, requiring a report from the trustees annually, prohibiting the trustees from amending the articles of incorporation, constitution or by-laws of the corporation except as directed by the Interna-

tional Typographical Union, and providing that the laws of the Home shall be published in the digest of laws of the International Union; (21) amending certificate of membership so as to show the date to which bearer has paid per capita tax; (22) exempting the allied crafts from the operation of the law providing for district unions; (23) creating new district, comprising Oregon, Washington and British Columbia; (24) providing that the various allied trades shall form trade districts; (25) making it compulsory on the part of unions of each district to form district unions; (26) providing that the vice-president representing each of the allied crafts shall be president of the respective allied trade district; (27) providing for the organization of state unions; (28) requiring that only such amendments as are favorably acted upon by the convention shall be referred to subordinate unions; (29) adding to elective officers, nominees for membership on the board of trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home, and an agent of the International Union for the purposes of the Home; (30) making any member of any subordinate union eligible to election as trustee of the Home; (31 and 32) making the president and secretary-treasurer of the International Union president and secretary of the Childs-Drexel Home, respectively; (33) prescribing impeachment proceedings which may be applied in case of offenses by any member of the board of trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home; (34) prescribing the duties of the agent of the International Union in case the trustees of the Home fail to comply with the instructions of the International Union; and (35) requiring that detailed reports of expenditures of the board of trustees and proceedings of meetings of said board shall be published in the Journal.

Six-Day Law — Priority — The above is an epitome of the changes in the organic law as the result of the

fortieth session of the International Union. Other legislation comprehended in the general laws of the organization worthy of notice was the repeal of the six-day law adopted at the Atlanta convention and the final passage of a priority law. The action of the convention in repealing the six-day law was received throughout the jurisdiction with many formal protests and the enactment of the priority law also brought forth strong opposition. Feeling among the members on these two propositions was so pronounced that the executive council determined that before the action of the Philadelphia convention should have effect the two propositions should be submitted to the referendum, and, immediately following the referendum vote on the thirty-five constitutional amendments, a vote was had on the priority law and the repeal of the six-day law. The action of the convention in passing the priority law was affirmed by the referendum by a majority of 1,661 votes, and the action of the delegates in repealing the six-day law was reversed by a majority of 2,094 votes.

Strike Fund — While President Prescott had strongly urged the creation of a strike or resistance fund preparatory to the demand for the nine-hour workday, and while the committee to which the president's recommendation was referred outlined a plan contemplating an assessment of 1 cent per day upon all members of the union, beginning September 1, 1892, the proposition was defeated by the referendum, and the inauguration of a shorter workday received another setback.

Minor Legislation — Minor legislation was enacted, including a provision requiring subordinate unions to elect three auditors, instructed to examine the books of the financial officers of subordinate unions quarterly, and report to the secretary-treasurer of the International within fifteen days after such examination. By a resolu-

tion adopted, the executive council was instructed to ask for a conference with the officers of the National Machinists' Union, with a view to bringing about co-operation in offices where typesetting machines were used. The executive council was empowered to make any arrangement deemed best for the interest of the craft.

Union Printers Home — The relations of the International Union with the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers, under the charter of the latter body, were not what the International had intended they should be, nor what the craft thought they were. At the Atlanta session, it was generally understood that the trustees of the Home were elected to act in the capacity of agents for the members of the International in the erection of the buildings and in the management and control of the property. It was learned, however, that this intention had not been carried out, and the fact was reported to the delegates at Philadelphia. The publicity given the matter by the executive council at the time resulted in a complete rearrangement of the relationship of the board of trustees of the Home to the International Union.

Pittsburgh Strike — Although the referendum had defeated the proposition to establish the nine-hour day in all jurisdictions, by failure to return a three-quarter majority, in several subordinate unions the sentiment in favor of a shorter workday was such that incipient strikes were proposed by the more enthusiastic members of the organization, and in the city of Pittsburgh the book and job printers and pressmen presented a scale of wages which called for a reduction of hours from ten to nine. A meeting of the employing printers was immediately called and an organization formed to resist the demands of the local printers and pressmen. This local organization of employers made application and received a charter from the United Typothetæ, the latter body promising

both money and men to assist in defeating the demands of the union.

A special meeting of the two unions involved was called to hear the report of their committee and to decide upon what future course to pursue. After a full and free discussion, it was determined to refuse to return to work on October 1, 1891, unless the demand for a reduction in hours was granted. The employers failing to concede the nine-hour day, a strike was inaugurated on the day set, involving 140 printers and 40 pressmen. This strike was the first real clash by the typographical union and the typothetæ, and its history, extending over a period of more than a year, gave real evidence of the determined purpose of the union to secure the shorter workday. During the progress of this struggle appeals were made for financial assistance and voluntary contributions amounting to many thousands of dollars were forwarded to Pittsburgh Union.

After the strike had been in progress for a period of two months, the executive council of the International Union convened in Pittsburgh for the consideration of methods for carrying the strike to a successful conclusion. A thorough investigation was had into the existing conditions in that city and, the conduct of the strike being satisfactory, it was ordered by the executive council that a proposition be submitted to a vote of the entire membership levying an assessment of 10 cents per week, commencing January 1, 1892, and to be declared off at the discretion of the council. This proposition was endorsed by the referendum by a vote of 10,909 ayes, 3,259 noes. The assessment was carried for a period of several months, when it was declared off and, later on, an assessment of 5 cents per capita was voted and continued until the necessity for financial assistance in Pittsburgh had passed, when the executive council declared it off.

While the strike for the nine-hour day in Pittsburgh was not entirely successful, considering that the effort was purely local and that the union met with stubborn resistance from the typothetæ, the results obtained were highly satisfactory.

The Injunction — During the progress of the Pittsburgh strike, the typographical union for the first time in its history felt the heavy hand of the injunction judge. The application to the court filed by the typothetæ against the members of the local typographical and pressmen's unions, restricting them from picketing and from conversing on the street with non-union employes of the typothetæ offices, was handed down by Judge Porter. When the fact became known that an injunction had been issued against members of the strike committee there was no small amount of indignation expressed by many of the most influential and intelligent leaders of organized labor in Pittsburgh, and in order to give vent to the pent-up indignation which the court's decision had produced a mass meeting was called to protest. Previous to the meeting members of the typographical union formed in line at headquarters and about 700 men proceeded to the meeting hall, passing en route all of the large non-union offices. In order to permit the men to parade, all of the morning newspapers in the city suspended work for an hour. The German Typographical Union of Pittsburgh also turned out to a man. Many persons of prominence attended the meeting and strong resolutions of protest were adopted. The effect of the injunction was more firmly to cement the ranks of the strikers, and activity following the injunction and the mass meeting was noticeable to a marked degree for a long period thereafter.

Chicago was selected as the meeting place for the convention of 1893.

Officers, 1892 — Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, William B. Prescott, Toronto; first vice-president, James A. J. Hanifin, Nashville; second vice-president, H. C. McFarland, Washington, D. C.; third vice-president, P. J. Weldon, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, W. S. McClevey, Chicago. District organizers—George J. Curtin, Lynn, Mass.; J. F. Klunk, Kansas City; F. N. Whitehead, Galveston; W. M. Jones, Louisville; J. W. Patterson, Ottawa, Ont.; C. E. Hawkes, Seattle; F. M. Pinneo, Salt Lake City. Trustees Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—W. B. Prescott, Toronto; W. S. McClevey, Chicago; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago; Edward T. Plank, San Francisco; Columbus Hall, Washington, D. C.; James G. Woodward, Atlanta. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—W. B. Prescott (president); R. M. Campbell, Memphis; P. J. McIntyre, Denver; H. P. Spaulding, Boston.

Secretary McClevey Resigns — On the 18th day of January, 1893, Secretary-Treasurer McClevey tendered his resignation to President Prescott, as follows:

I hereby tender my resignation as secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, to take effect as early as practicable.

In severing my official connection with the organization I desire to express to you personally, and to the other officers of the International Union, my assurance of appreciation of the courtesies shown and advice given during our official life—which have been ofttimes and valuable—and desire also to express gratefulness for the kind forbearance on the part of the officers of local unions, and for the assistance rendered by so many of the members—all of whom have contributed to any success which I may have attained during my successive terms. Assuring you that I am not insensible to the honors which have been conferred upon me, and also of my gratification that our separation is made with such mutual good feeling and well wishes, I am, etc.

Mr. McClevey had occupied the position of secretary-treasurer since 1887. He was chosen at a time when the business of the office was in great confusion, but he soon reduced it to order and system, conducting it throughout his term of office on sound business principles and to the satisfaction of all who had dealings with the office. Having been proffered a more desirable position, Mr. McClevey tendered his resignation as secretary-treasurer, which the executive council, after the books were examined and found correct, accepted, appointing A. G. Wines, St. Louis, Mo., as Mr. McClevey's successor.

Convention at Chicago

[1893] — The forty-first convention of the International Union was called to order by President Prescott in Madison Hall, Chicago, on Monday, June 12, 1893. The roll call showed 229 delegates, representing unions from all the allied trades.

After the announcement of committee appointments by the president, Delegate John Leddy informed the convention that Harry E. Gamble, chairman of the New York delegation, had come to an accidental death by drowning on the day previous. A special committee was appointed, with instructions to report suitable resolutions expressing the sentiment of the convention, and to make arrangements for burial services.

Review of Officers' Reports

In his annual address, President Prescott urged the delegates to give the officers' reports careful perusal, for the reason, as he said, that he felt convinced that they would demonstrate that notwithstanding the fact that the craft was in the midst of what might be termed a period of transition, due mainly to the rapid introduction of

machinery, the International Union had made satisfactory progress in both method and accretions of membership. It was pointed out that at no time in the previous history of the union had the benefits of organization been more manifest. The union was the instrument by which the ever present spirit of selfishness had been curbed during the introduction of typesetting machines. The president also said that machines would undoubtedly exercise a most potent influence in the economy of the trade, but that fact should not dismay the membership, but rather serve as a stimulus to renewed effort in preserving and strengthening the organization. It was urged upon the delegates to heed the mistakes of past conventions and make such amendments to the organic laws as were necessary to place the union in the most favorable position successfully to cope with the many difficult problems the future undoubtedly had in store for the organization. Continuing, the president said:

My experience as an official has convinced me that we devote too much time and energy to the rectification of trivial evils, which, when remedied at considerable expense, it may be, relieve but very few and vindicate no abiding principle, but effectually obscure weightier and more important problems, relegating the greatest and most beneficial reforms that can be obtained through the medium of trade unionism. While other crafts were giving their entire attention to devising ways and means for securing shorter hours and obtaining work for their idle members, we, for the most part, concerned ourselves about minor matters, affecting only those in employment, apparently forgetful that our real, serious menance is the unemployed. Of all classes of members comprehended in our organization, none should receive more attention than the constantly increasing class that tirelessly and unavailingly seeks employment. No combination of employers, however grasping and heartless, can inflict upon us the injury that it is possible for idle craftsmen to impose. The axiom that, in conflicts between employers and employes, it is the worker that gives victory to our adversary

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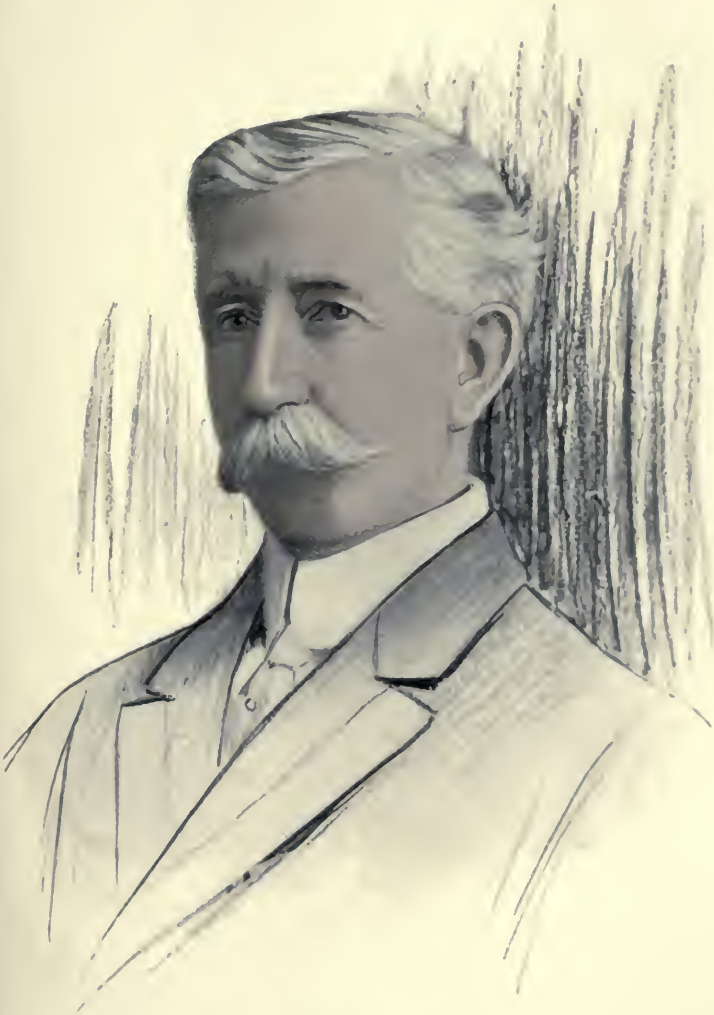

A. G. WINES, St. Louis
Secretary-Treasurer International Typographical Union
January 28, 1893 – November 15, 1896

should be constantly borne in mind. So deep-seated is the penchant for picayunish legislation that nothing but an educational campaign in the higher, broader and nobler aims of trade unionism is competent to eradicate the evil. Being an old organization, there has been engrafted on our system and policy methods and ideas that, under existing conditions, retard rather than accelerate our progress. It is sincerely hoped that on returning home from the convention you will labor earnestly to prevent the consideration of unprofitable and animosity-breeding trifles which consume the union's time, and have the members devote their attention to the greater questions that are awaiting solution. If it be found on investigation that our old, though perhaps dignified, methods are inadequate to meet the exigencies of the occasion, new departures must be made, for these points are pressing themselves upon us with an insistence which bodes us no good if they are longer disregarded. In urging the adoption of measures of a strengthening and precautionary nature, I am aware that the avoidance of conflicts with employers is a cardinal principle with the International Typographical Union, and it is with this object in view that I counsel you, for I realize that success in any undertaking favors most frequently the comprehensive, compact and well-disciplined labor organization.

Organization Work — Under the head of "Organization," the president urged that this particular work was most important—sufficiently so to justify the creation of a regular system of carrying on this activity and the placing of an active member, with capacity for organization, at its head. Referring to the fact that the office of general organizer had been abolished a few years before, after it had been in existence for a period of four years, it was pointed out that the records did not show just what prompted the Kansas City convention to take that action, but the presumption was that, with the establishment of permanent headquarters, and making the president a salaried official, the work of the general organizer could be taken over and handled from the headquarters

office. It was also stated that the failure of the general organizer to give satisfaction at times was perhaps due more to lack of funds than to any other cause.

Black-balling — The president deprecated the custom of permitting an insignificant number of members of a subordinate union to reject applicants, and held that while in fraternal societies, where social qualifications are of paramount importance, such restrictions doubtless served a useful purpose, but in a business organization, such as a trade union should be, their existence was hurtful. The basic principle of the union was that the majority rule, and there was no good reason why the principle should be departed from in this instance unless it was shown that three, four, five, or one-fourth of the members, are better fitted to judge of the wisdom of admitting applicants than a majority. Many cases had come to light where an obstinate and silent minority, by persistently black-balling a candidate, had not only frustrated the will of the majority but had prevented the unionizing of offices. Repeatedly International officials had received complaints showing that a few members had not failed to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded to vent their personal spleen on applicants and not infrequently this was because of offenses committed by the friends or supporters of the applicant.

Charters — The report showed that charters had been issued to 46 subordinate unions, embracing 811 charter members; 16 unions, embracing 252 members, had lapsed, and 10 unions, with 120 members, had been suspended.

Allied Trades — After reviewing the various funds, which apparently were in a satisfactory condition, the president referred to the laws governing the allied trades, deeming them inadequate to meet the exigencies which constantly arose. He concluded that the most feasible and acceptable plan for obviating any dangers which

might lurk in the continuance of the prevailing methods in this respect would be the investure of special powers in the executive council, giving that body authority to call out affiliated crafts should the rights of any one organization be invaded. This would not necessarily give rise to the abuses that at first sight might seem probable, as the members of the council, hedged in as they were by the constant necessity of conserving the funds, and being removed from the influence of local conditions, did not rush in heedlessly and inaugurate a movement unless it could be shown that prospects of success were bright. The tendency of such a move would be to bring the various crafts closer together, with concerted action on all scale matters as an ultimate. While the action suggested contemplated a centralization of power that would be distasteful to many members, no other remedy, apparently, was at hand to destroy the germs of discontent that were plainly discernible in the shiftless law and policy of the organization at that time.

Shorter Hours—Under the heading of "Shorter Hours," the president said:

If one may base judgment on the volume and tone of articles that have recently appeared in the craft press, the demand for shorter hours is gathering strength, and daily becoming more urgent. The great feeling in this direction was manifested in the issuance of a call for a convention to be held in Cincinnati last October. Though this assemblage was without semblance of authority so far as the International Union was concerned, I accepted an invitation to attend and participate in the deliberations, which resulted in the adoption of a plan, the main features of which are commended to your favorable consideration. In it provision is made for the accumulation of a large sum of money and accretion of members before any demand is made. And though propositions looking to gradual reductions until we reach nine, or even eight hours, will be laid before you, the adoption of any one of them will not relieve us of

the necessity of providing ways and means. Experience justifies us in assuming that no matter how slight and gradual the reduction we propose, it will generate opposition, and failure at the outset on a proposition of this nature would have a disastrous effect on all subsequent movements comprehended in the scheme. In canvassing this situation you should not lose sight of the fact that while this reform is the most desirable we can hope to obtain, many employers consider that alone sufficient reason for offering vigorous opposition. They conjure up a succession of ills that are expected to follow its inauguration, and appeal to the cupidity of their fellows, wholly oblivious of the fact that in other industries—and even in our craft in Great Britain and Australia—a reduction of the hours of labor has had anything but a detrimental effect upon the employer's interests. In dismissing this subject, I can but reiterate the admonition of last year, viz., that no plan be approved for submission to a general vote that has not for a condition precedent to its adoption the accumulation of sufficient funds to meet any emergency that may arise. If our members are not prepared to devote time, energy and money for this purpose, it indicates either that they do not fully realize the situation or that the agitation is being carried on by the more advanced and far-seeing, who will have to continue the campaign of education until such time as we are almost unanimously convinced of the advisability—aye, necessity—of adopting practical measures for pushing this controversy to a satisfactory conclusion.

Copyright Law — Referring to the copyright law, it appeared that no progress had been made in gathering information as to the effect of the operation of the law for the reason that the United States labor commissioner, whose co-operation had been secured in the matter, had urged delay on account of the fact that the law had not been long enough in operation to gather reliable data.

Reorganization — The question of reorganization was considered at some length by the president and it was pointed out that a decided sentiment prevailed favorable to a change in the direction of enhancing the general attractiveness and cohesiveness of the organization by

the adoption of some benefaction. It was urged that any propositions sent to the referendum should be presented in a simple and clear-cut manner, thus avoiding the possibility of the convention's work being abortive when submitted for ratification by the membership. President Prescott urged the establishment of a sick benefit fund and a provision for biennial sessions and suggested that these two propositions be submitted to subordinate unions. The experience of a majority of the staple and successful trade unions, and over sixty subordinate unions and the numerous chapel organizations, was ample justification for the adoption of a sick benefit law. This law would not only help materially in securing new members, but would assist greatly in retaining them. Much as it might be deplored, large numbers of craftsmen were not sufficiently discriminative or far-sighted to perceive the mighty influence organization has on wages and conditions, and an immediate and tangible benefit must be shown in order to secure their attention. Once their attention was obtained, the greater the hope of success in convincing them of the efficacy of unionism. The inability to discern the necessity of combination among workers appeared to be inherent in some natures, and from a spirit of self-interest the union, wherever possible, should bend to those constitutional failings which no amount of logic or argument can eradicate.

In making this suggestion, the president estimated that 10 cents per month per capita would enable the union to provide a benefit of $5 for a period of five weeks if the fund were surrounded with the stringent restrictions which ordinary business precaution would dictate.

Machinists — In accordance with instructions by the previous convention, directing the executive council to confer with the officials of the machinists' union with a view of bringing about co-operation between machinists

and printers in offices where machines were operated by union men, the president reported that negotiations were opened with the International Machinists' Union which resulted in the presentation of a proposed agreement to the executive board of that union. It had been impossible to conclude the adoption of the agreement, however, because of the fact that the machinists' union insisted upon inserting the following clause:

> The International Typographical Union of North America shall insist that none but union men be employed in the manufacture of linotype machines.

Seceding Pressmen—The report of Second Vice-President McFarland opened with reference to relations with the pressmen and the secession of about one-third of their membership from the ranks of the International Union and asked that ways and means be devised to bring together again, in bonds of amity and fraternity, the diverging and combating bodies of pressmen. Continuing, the report said:

> This is the day of the machine. The machine is not coming, it is with us, and it behooves us as craftsmen to get closer together, en masse, and take care of it in a manner to show our appreciation of so important an invention and reap whatever benefits it may be possible for labor to derive from labor and dollar-saving machines. The web press is with the pressmen as the typesetting machine is with the compositor. They are boon companions, and with a dissatisfied typothetae as their main ally, are capable of terrible devastation to our ranks. While the output of production will increase an hundred fold, our numercial strength will remain about the same. The job printers and pressmen are about the only ones of the allied trades who have not been seriously affected by recent invention. In view of the immense strides of invention, we must view with alarm any effort to divide or disrupt our present organization. I am firm in the belief that all persons who contribute labor to the production of a common output should be allied together, with due reference to their respective branches, to assist capital

in regulating the price and the hours of labor and mutually assist each other in adversity and the fight for justice and right. I feel satisfied that it would be almost an impossibility for any one of our allied trades to undertake alone the fight for hours and wages.

It was reported that the efforts to bring about an affiliation with the seceding pressmen had so far proved unavailing, but it was urged upon the convention to continue efforts in that direction. In this connection a basis of organization under the International typographical charter was presented. It embraced features which it was believed would effectually destroy all differences and lead to a harmonious affiliated organization. The plan embraced a somewhat more independent organization of pressmen than had prevailed, although the general authority of the International Typographical Union was to be fully recognized.

Stereotypers.—The report of the third vice-president, Clarence S. Roberts, was somewhat brief, no matter of special International concern having transpired among stereotypers during the year. Two unions had been organized during the term, at Philadelphia and Toronto No strikes occurred during the year.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report—In opening his report, Secretary-Treasurer Wines said: "I must acknowledge that it was with much delicacy and diffidence that I assumed the cares and responsibilities of the office to which I was called and assigned by the executive council, doubly so because of the many and important duties to be therein performed and of the fact that I was to assume the carrying out in detail of the plans and actions of my worthy predecessor, to whom the organization is indebted for the correct business manner in which the affairs of the office had been conducted for the five years previous to my entry."

A recapitulation of the accounts for the year followed. A cash balance above $25,000 and financial transactions evidenced a healthy increase of business over any former year. The report submitted showed that the receipts for the year aggregated $128,000. In pace with the financial prosperity of the organization, there had been a healthy increase in membership. The average during the fiscal year ended April 30, 1893, as shown by the payment of per capita tax, was 30,454, as against 28,187 the previous year, an increase of 2,267. A table was submitted showing that the total number of deaths during the year was 449. The average age at death was 41½ years. The greatest number of deaths occurred at the age of 28. Of the total number of deaths, almost one-half (219) were caused by tuberculosis and kindred diseases.

Constitutional Amendments — Of the legislation proposed at the Chicago convention, 22 constitutional amendments were approved by the delegates and sent to the referendum. All of the amendments were carried by substantial majorities, including the repeal of the priority law. A summary of the amendments follows:

(1) Removed the necessity for publishing the names of applicants thirty days prior to issuing a charter; (2) in jurisdictions where pressmen's unions were in existence and other allied craftsmen were not sufficiently numerous to secure independent charters, they could apply for membership in pressmen's unions; (3) permitted issuance of charters to web-pressmen under certain conditions; (4) authorized the issuance of charters to bindery girls; (5) permitted the admission of applicants to newspaper writers', feeders', mailers' and web-press helpers' unions who had not served four years' apprenticeship; (6) identical in phraseology and effect with the second proposition; (7) required credentials of delegates to be returned to the secretary-treasurer on or before

April 15; (8) provided for biennial sessions of the International conventions, to take effect after the Louisville meeting; (9) authorized the International officials to make arrangements for convention meetings; (10) made provision for alternating dates in the constitution, so that they would harmonize with the mandate calling for October meetings; (11) provided for the publication of convention proceedings in the Typographical Journal, thus dispensing with the necessity of publishing them in book form; (12) relieved the secretary-treasurer from mailing two copies of "the regular official blank report," which was not more specifically set forth elsewhere in the laws; (13) required that organizers should publish the names of applicants for provisional membership in the Journal and if, after thirty days, no valid objection was filed they could issue cards to such applicants on the payment of $1 as initiation fee; (14) extended the scope of an organizer's duty by authorizing him to visit towns where no unions existed; (15) increased the constitutional amount allowed organizers for organizing purposes to $200 per year, but which could, as before, be increased by the executive council; (16) struck out a superfluous instruction to the secretary-treasurer, known as section 6, article xvi, which found its way among the constitutional provisions without authority; (17) gave the executive council power to appoint organizers in districts where vacancies occurred from any cause whatever; (18) repealed section 2, article xix, and substituted in lieu thereof a provision which reduced the area of districts and doubled the number, making sixteen in all; (19) relieved subordinate unions from the necessity of attaching themselves to district and state unions, making such affiliation optional; (20) made it a duty of the executive council to submit to popular vote any proposed law or amendment which was supported

by twenty subordinate unions; (21) repealed the priority law and vested foremen with the right to employ and discharge help at will, provided such discharge did not contravene any local law and was not for maintaining union principles; (22) empowered subordinate unions, in conjunction with the executive council, to test the practicability of the McKellar system of type measurement.

Nine-Hour Day — The convention submitted to the referendum another proposition to establish the nine-hour day. Like previous votes on the same question, a majority was returned in favor of the plan, but the requisite three-fourths affirmative vote was not polled. It was explained, however, that the distressing condition of labor throughout the country and the heavy pressure upon the trade caused by the introduction of machinery had largely influenced the membership against adopting the nine-hour day at that time. An unfortunate incident, the failure of the Indianapolis National Bank, which held upward of $30,000 of International Typographical Union funds, had a depressing effect on the situation.

Typesetting Machines — The committee on typesetting devices presented a majority and minority report, the minority report referring only to section 138, general laws, as follows:

> The International Typographical Union demands that in all offices within its jurisdiction, where typesetting machines are used, practical union printers shall be employed to run them, and also that subordinate unions regulate the scale of wages and time on such machines.

This report of the minority was adopted and part of the majority report, as follows:

> At the outset of the president's report, the typesetting machine question is dealt with, and from data and information furnished your committee by the executive council and delegates prompts us to incorporate the following in our report relative to typesetting devices:
>
> Circulars were sent out and replies were received from thirty

unions where machines are in use, employing 555 men, operating 282 machines. These machines are reported to have displaced 463 men and given employment to forty non-union men as operators. The tendency of migration would appear to be to the larger towns, as few are recorded as having gone to the country, but the great bulk remain at home and secure work there. This procedure bears most heavily on the peripatetic printer in the last analysis.

The advantage of thorough organization where machines are introduced is shown in Boston, where the hours are given as seven on newspapers and nine in book offices, and one non-union news office.

Section 138, general laws, places eight hours as the maximum number. In several cities this provision is not lived up to.

A vicious feature that is fastening itself upon machine offices and machine operators is the bonus system, whereby the operator is paid so much per hour or week, as the case may be, and receives extra pay per thouand for every thousand set over and above a certain stint. This permits of the operators earning big money for the time being, but it causes a greater displacement of labor, encourages what may be aptly termed "hoggishness," and has a tendency to cause over-exertion on the part of operators, which ultimately impairs their health and morals.

The compensating wage advantage will be but temporary, as wages are but the amount on which the workers as a class are prepared to subsist, and the abnormal high rates of pay which obtain in some places are sure to hasten a reduction, with the result that we will in a few years be getting a smaller percentage of the product of our labor than would be the case if abnormally high wages were not paid at present. The present period of inflated wages can not be maintained much longer, and when the period for reductions is upon us we should remember that the main and most important question for consideration is the conservation of our organization. Failure to recognize the conditions that confront us will lead not only to our losing the control of the machines, but the disruption of the union.

Sec. 139. That none but members of the typographical union be allowed to operate or learn to operate machines, provided that apprentices may work on machines in last year of apprenticeship, who shall be paid two-thirds of the wages of regular operators until their time of apprenticeship shall have expired. Local laws must govern apprentices on machines.

SEC. 140. No member of a subordinate union should be allowed to accept work in any newspaper or job printing office where a task, stint or deadline is imposed by the employer on operators of typesetting devices. Any infraction of this provision shall be punished by expulsion.

SEC. 141. Subordinate unions shall insist that expert machinists having charge of typesetting devices be members of the local machinists' union, where said union exists.

SEC. 142. Operators are prohibited from accepting a bonus per thousand above the regular scale.

We recommend that the executive council be directed to confer with officials of the National Machinists' Union with a view to bringing about co-operation between machinists and printers in offices where machines are operated by union men.

International Fund — Sick Benefits — Following the suggestion contained in the annual address of President Prescott that the union establish some benefaction which would add to the attractiveness of membership in the organization, the convention submitted to the referendum a proposition to create an International fund of not less than $5 per member, out of which should be paid all the expense and benefits of the International Union, the fund to be held pro rata by the subordinate unions. Through the fund thus created it was proposed to amplify the death benefit to the extent of paying $50 on death of members of 6 months' standing, $100 on 5 years, $150 on 10-year members, $200 on 15-year members, and, as a further benefit, it was proposed that members incapacitated by sickness should be paid $5 per week for a period of 13 weeks. These three propositions, properly segregated, were placed upon the referendum ballot, and a vote taken subsequent to the convention. All three of the propositions met with defeat.

Five-Day Law — Under the provision of the constitution regulating propositions to be submitted to the referendum, a sufficient number of subordinate unions, at the suggestion of New York Typographical Union

No. 6, petitioned the executive council to submit an amendment to the general laws establishing a five-day week.

The fact that typesetting machines had so affected conditions in newspaper composing rooms as to displace several thousand members from their regular employment was the incentive behind the suggestion for relieving the condition by enacting a five-day law. The measure, however, was defeated by the referendum by a vote of 7,564 ayes, 5,473 noes.

Typographia Amalgamation — In obedience to instructions of the Philadelphia convention, the executive council drafted a basis on which the organization could unite with the German-American Typographia. On being submitted to the membership, the proposition was approved by a vote of 8,324 ayes, 3,333 noes. Following the adoption of the treaty by the referendum of the International Union, it was approved by the membership of the Typographia. It will be seen by the agreement that the office of fourth vice-president was created, this officer to be the secretary-treasurer of the German branch, with headquarters at Indianapolis. The amalgamation treaty is herewith reproduced:

First. The members of the German-American Typographia shall, in accordance with their present laws and customs, elect by general vote a fourth vice-president and three members, who shall constitute an advisory board, said fourth typographia vice-president to be the secretary-treasurer of the German branch, whose headquarters shall be located at Indianapolis; he shall have general supervision of such features of the German branch as are not contemplated by the existing laws of the International Typographical Union; he shall decide all questions which may arise between members and unions regarding benefit features and the practices thereunder. The advisory board shall decide all appeals from the decision of the fourth vice-president and any person feeling aggrieved at the decision of the advisory board may take an appeal to the International

Typographical Union in convention assembled, when the case shall be referred to a committee composed of all the delegates from German unions, and a finding of a majority of the committee shall be recorded as the decision of the International Union, which shall be final.

SECOND. The fourth vice-president shall receive from the International Typographical Union the sum of $500 yearly in part payment of that official's salary, the balance thereof and all running expenses attaching to his office to be provided for by the German-American Typographia. Provided, however, that the residue remaining in the International Union's general fund to the credit of the German members shall revert to the advisory board, to be applied to defraying the legitimate expenses of that branch.

THIRD. All laws or rules governing or appertaining to the benefit features of the German-American Typographia in force January 1, 1893, to remain in force and be subject to amendment as prescribed on the aforementioned date.

FOURTH. Upon all other subjects, other than those mentioned in paragraph 3 and type measurement, together with laws and customs governing foremen, the laws of the International Typographical Union in force January 1, 1893, and as thereafter amended, shall prevail; *provided,* this shall not be construed to prohibit the special privileges granted members of the German branch as to their rights under traveling cards, as hereinafter more specifically set forth.

FIFTH. Members in good standing desirous of transferring their membership to a union of the opposite language, shall be entitled to receive the International Union certificate, which shall be furnished upon payment of current month's dues; which certificate shall be deposited with the proper officers of the union of opposite branch within forty-eight hours. The conditions under which such certificates are issued and received shall be: Members of the German branch depositing certificates with English unions shall have option of retaining membership in the German union for beneficial purposes, such beneficial membership to be retained by the payment to the local German union of all dues imposed by the German union for purely beneficial purposes, viz.: that part of the dues apportioned for the maintenance of the sick and funeral funds; and such members upon redepositing their certificates with the German branch shall be entitled to all benefits the same as though their mem-

bership in the German branch had, in every respect, been continuous; German members of English unions, retaining benefit membership in the German union, shall have the right to participate in the discussion of, and to vote upon, all proposed amendments in the laws and rules governing or bearing upon the benefits to which he is a contributor; members of the German branch, depositing a certificate with the English union, who may fail to pay to the German union the dues required to maintain benefit membership, and at the time and in the manner prescribed by the laws and rules of the German union, shall be deemed to have severed their connection with the German union, and upon redepositing their certificates shall, as to benefits, be considered new members, viz.: subject to the laws requiring that members shall be such for certain specified terms to entitle them to benefits; benefit members of the German union who may be working within the jurisdiction of an English union, and who may, for any cause, be expelled from said English union, shall be deemed to have been simultaneously expelled from the German union, and shall be deprived from benefits from date of expulsion, it being understood that said expelled member shall have the right of appeal, and that if upon appeal he be reinstated, such reinstatement shall also apply to the German branch as well, and he shall be continued in benefits without prejudice; members in the English union not benefit members of the German branch, depositing certificates with the German union shall be considered new members, and shall be subject to the laws requiring that members be such for certain specified terms to entitle them to benefits; in all cases a duly accredited certificate shall of itself be sufficient to entitle the holder to membership in any union in which he may desire to deposit, shall entitle the depositor to all benefits (unless he be physically disqualified), and no union shall have power to reject such certificate.

Sixth. The laws and rules governing and bearing upon benefits in the German branch shall be amended in the manner prescribed by the constitution of the German-American Typographia, and no member shall have the right to vote thereon, except members of the German-American Typographia and benefit members attached to English unions, both to vote at the time and in the manner prescribed by the constitution of the German-American Typographia.

Seventh. While the members of the German branch shall,

as heretofore, have absolute control of their out-of-work, sick, traveling and death benefits, except as otherwise stipulated herein, the laws of that organization regarding strikes and strike benefits are to be superseded by the laws of the International Typographical Union upon strikes and strike benefits.

EIGHTH. In any city or town affording employment to seven or more printers on German work, those so employed shall organize a German branch.

NINTH. German unions shall attach themselves to allied trades joint standing committee, and any differences as to jurisdiction between English and German unions shall be referred to this body for adjudication, but nothing herein shall be construed as preventing the aggrieved party from taking an appeal from its decision to the executive council.

Union Printers Home — That the direction and maintenance of the Union Printers Home was not accomplished without numerous difficulties will be seen from the report of the committee on Home affairs submitted to this convention. While the main building had been completed and the Home had been formally opened for the reception of residents, much dissatisfaction was apparent and rumors of incompetency on the part of those having in charge the erection of the buildings and the management of the Home's affairs were current. The matter was considered in executive session by the delegates. At the conclusion of their deliberations, however, a brief committee report was ordered to be made public, a part of which follows:

We have examined much correspondence relative to the building of the Home, establishing gross negligence by those to whom its construction was intrusted. There has been a general denial of responsibility by those interested, each shifting the culpability of faulty construction, but each and all connected immediately with it seem in some way and to some extent to be to blame. The contractors, except the plumber, appear to have construed to their own interest, without protest or interference, every doubtful portion of the plans and specifications and to have deviated from them at will, obtaining, in violation of the contract, several thousand dollars, and this was done, though the

Home had in its employ those whose duty it was to have guarded and protected its interests. It is unprofitable, in your committee's opinion, that we further pursue this portion of our investigation, as we do not believe that the recovery of money so apparently unjustly obtained is probable, but we suggest that this matter be referred to the trustees for their careful consideration. Your committee, with the information and testimony before them, are not able to single out individuals upon whom the blame should rest.

The expert's report indicates that the Home is not only defective but dangerous. We are not able, from lack of time and witnesses, to substantiate or disprove his statements, but were furnished the information that he is a gentleman of repute in his profession. There was also corroborative evidence of members who have visited the Home that the building is defective in construction, and to preserve it from further injury it should be repaired without delay. The estimated cost of the repairs required is $4,260.96. We would therefore recommend that the board of trustees of the Home employ a competent architect and advertise for bids for such repairs as may be needed, the cost of the same to be paid out of any Home fund in their possession not otherwise appropriated.

We believe that the Home should be continued as contemplated by its charter and as at present conducted; to provide and maintain a home for afflicted and aged and infirm union printers. The necessity has not in the opinion of your committee yet arisen for the separation of those who go there for the purpose of a home from those who are classed as hospital patients.

Death of former President Hammond — During the progress of the convention, a communication was received from New Orleans announcing the death of former President William J. Hammond. The following resolutions were adopted by the convention as a mark of respect to the memory of Mr. Hammond:

WHEREAS full of years, loved and honored by his fellow citizens and idolized by the printers of the country, to whom he bestowed the best years of his vigorous manhood, William J. Hammond, of New Orleans, has passed over to the side of the silent majority; and

WHEREAS the early history of the International Typographical Union is bound up in the history of William J. Hammond, its early administration is glorified by his name, and its perpetuation is the best monument to his memory, therefore

Resolved, That the death of William J. Hammond, which occurred during the deliberations of this session, has cast a gloom over the whole International body and heartfelt sorrow among the oldtime printers of the land.

Resolved, That a copy of this preamble and resolutions be engrossed, and a copy forwarded to the family of Mr. Hammond, and another to New Orleans Typographical Union No. 17.

Resolved, As a mark of respect to the memory of William J. Hammond, that when this convention adjourns it do so out of respect to the memory of Mr. Hammond.

Death of Harry E. Gamble — The report of the committee to draft resolutions on the death of Harry E. Gamble was read and adopted.

The president appointed the following gentlemen as a committee to accompany the remains of Mr. Gamble to New York: Messrs. Winders (San Francisco), Deck (Chicago) and Runkles (Omaha).

Louisville, Ky., was selected as the meeting place for the convention of 1894, the date of meeting being changed from June to October.

Officers, 1893 — Officers for the ensuing term were elected as follows: President, William B. Prescott, Toronto; first vice-president, J. W. Hopkins, Pittsburgh; second vice-president, H. C. McFarland, Washington, D. C.; third vice-president, W. B. Lewis, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, A. G. Wines, St. Louis. District organizers—E. A. Keyes, Albany; M. T. White, Lincoln; O. A. Eylar, Dallas; V. B. Williams, Chicago; George W. Dower, Toronto; J. L. Robinette, Sacramento; F. M. Pinneo, Salt Lake City; C. E. Hawkes, Seattle. Trustees Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—W. B. Prescott, Toronto; A. G. Wines, St. Louis; James J.

Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago; Edward T. Plank, San Francisco; Columbus Hall, Washington, D. C.; F. A. Colby, Colorado Springs. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—W. B. Prescott (president); William J. Miller, Boston (mailer); Henry Dorsey, Dallas (pressman); C. L. Drummond, Fort Wayne.

New Organizing Districts—The Chicago convention having submitted to the referendum a proposition to increase the organizing districts from eight to sixteen, and the same being approved, the law became effective November 1, 1893. The new districts, together with the organizers, were announced in the Typographical Journal as follows:

First District—P. A. White. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Second District—E. A. Keyes. New York and New Jersey.

Third District—A. W. Thomson. Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and District of Columbia.

Fourth District—George Stoll. Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina.

Fifth District—M. C. Wallace. Georgia, Florida and South Carolina.

Sixth District—Robert Y. Ogg. Michigan and Wisconsin.

Seventh District—V. B. Williams. Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky.

Eighth District—J. J. Aberle. Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Ninth District—W. E. O'Blenness. Missouri, Iowa and Arkansas.

Tenth District—H. W. Dennett. The Dakatos, Manitoba and Minnesota.

Eleventh District—M. T. White. Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Indian Territory and Oklahoma.

Twelfth District—H. B. Johnson. Texas and New Mexico.

Thirteenth District—J. W. Purcell. Montana, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah.

Fourteenth District—J. L. Robinette. Nevada, California, Arizona and Sandwich Islands.

Fifteenth District—C. E. Hawkes. Oregon, Washington and British Columbia.

Sixteenth District—George W. Dower. All the provinces of Canada except Manitoba and British Columbia.

Convention at Louisville

[1894]—The forty-second convention of the International Union was called to order by President Prescott in Louisville, Ky., Monday, October 8, 1894, delegates

being present representing typographical, pressmen's, stereotypers' and electrotypers', web pressmen's and pressfeeders' unions and the German-American Typographia.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

The president, in opening his annual address, called attention to the period of business depression that enveloped the printing industry immediately following the adjournment of the forty-first session at Chicago. In the universal contraction of business it was not to be expected, he said, that labor organizations would escape, and with extreme regret it was admitted that many had suffered both in numbers and finances. Notwithstanding this condition, and the added havoc produced by the introduction of machinery, the president congratulated the craft on a substantial increment of actual paying members—about 1,000—exclusive of 1,000 German-speaking printers who had affiliated in accordance with an agreement satisfactory to both that body and the International Union. Though it had been necessary to grant unusual latitude to individuals and to subordinate unions in localities where the currency stringency had reached its acutest stage, the financial business of the organization as a whole had been conducted with promptitude and accuracy. This was due in a great measure to the intelligent application of business methods, which had been a noticeable feature of polity beginning with the administration of Secretary McClevey. Had the organization pursued the haphazard system of transacting business which formerly prevailed, undoubtedly the union would have been seriously shaken by the financial depression. The paramount lesson to be drawn from this was that the union should continue adding attractive, cohesive and strengthening features, conducting them in accordance with the most approved business principles.

While the union might, with pardonable pride, congratulate itself on the splendid demonstration of stability made by the membership, it would be an ineffectual and cowardly evasion of a manifest duty to assume that under existing circumstances this would continue. The membership should be directing its best thought to devising ways and means of meeting the changed conditions resultant from machinery having been introduced into the craft.

Organization Work — Under the head of "Organization," it was reported that there had been no diminution of effort in this direction during the year, though results had been far from encouraging, conditions being such as to exclude the possibility of establishing unions in many places that under ordinary circumstances would be promising fields. More literature had been distributed than ever before in the history of the craft, but the responses were so few that it deterred and discouraged the officials handling this work. It was apparent that printers throughout the country were despondent, and the general uncertainty prevalent as to the stability of their situations caused them to look askance at those who advocated organization, but it was hoped that the seed sown would bear fruit when trade revived. When the extent and scope of the commercial disaster became manifest, organizers were advised to devote particular attention to the conservation of existing unions, and to this policy was attributed in a great degree the very satisfactory showing made by the International during this period. The president again renewed his recommendation that a traveling organizer be placed in the field, subject to the direction of the executive council or president. Such an official could not only organize subordinate unions where none existed, especially among the allied crafts, but could be of great service in strengthening weak organizations by creating enthusiasm and

instructing officials in the proper method of transacting business. Speaking further on the subject of organizers, the president strongly urged the greatest care in selecting for these positions men of good judgment, energy and force of character; men who possessed strength to ignore the taunts of the disappointed and the disgruntled—who could meet honest and legitimate criticism calmly and dispassionately and treat with contempt the jeers of the uninformed and the unthinking.

Including the German-American unions, 61 charters had been issued during the year, embracing a total membership of 2,182. Twenty-seven charters had been surrendered, affecting a membership of 582, and 13 charters had been suspended, embracing 176 members.

American Federation of Labor Political Platform.—Referring to the report of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, the president called attention to the political platform submitted by that body to affiliated unions, with the request that delegates to the next federation convention be instructed on this important subject. The platform of the federation contained eleven planks, ten of which were endorsed, as follows: Compulsory education; direct legislation; a legal eight-hour workday; sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and home; liability of employers for injury to health, body or life; the abolition of contract system in all public work; the abolition of the sweating system; the municipal ownership of street cars and gas and electric light plants for public distribution of light, heat and power; the nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads and mines, and the principle of referendum in all legislation. The following plank in the federation's platform, "the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution," was amended as follows: "The abolition of the monopoly system of land owning and

substituting therefor a title of occupancy and use only."

Two additional planks were also incorporated by the convention and approved by the referendum, as follows: "The state and national destruction of liquor traffic" and "the abolition of monopoly privilege of issuing money by individuals or corporations and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people."

Indianapolis Bank Failure — Referring to the failure of the Indianapolis National Bank, which carried deposits of the International Union amounting to more than $30,000, the president said:

On July 25, 1893, your officers and the citizens of Indianapolis were surprised to learn that the Indianapolis National Bank had suspended payment. At first it was not thought by the commercial world and the general public that any loss would accrue to the depositors, as the institution carried on a very lucrative business and was conducted by an experienced man, whose probity was undoubted and who was regarded as the financial nestor of the city and surrounding country. The statements presented to the public and controller of the currency indicated a prosperous concern, but a searching investigation showed that almost inconceivable rascality had been indulged in, and as a result the assets had been impaired to a very great extent. It is unnecessary to recount here the criminal prosecution and discharge of incompetent government inspectors that were culpably negligent in the performance of their duty. The affairs of the defunct institution were placed in the hands of a receiver who has declared two dividends amounting to 35 per cent on the total claim and expects to realize 20 to 25 per cent more. This will make a net loss of about $12,000. With the idea of again reducing this amount, your president and secretary-treasurer had a suit instituted against the directors as individuals to recover the balance from them on the ground that we were induced to do business with the bank on the strength of what were ultimately shown to be misleading sworn statements as to the condition of its affairs. It seems to be the general impression among the legal fraternity that we have an excellent case and several others have since been entered on the same theory. The cost of the suit will

be comparatively small, as the lawyer having the case in hand accepts it on the following terms:

"I will prosecute the claim of the International Typographical Union, of which you are, respectively, president and secretary-treasurer, on these terms. Retainer, $100 paid at start. On compromise before trial an amount equal to 25 per cent of the difference between face value of the claim and the total amount of dividend declared by receiver.

"On collection by process of court after judgment an amount equal to 50 per cent of the difference between the face value of claim and the total amount of dividend declared by the receiver; provided, however, that in no event shall my contingent fee exceed $7,500."

From this it will be seen that we are called upon to risk little in comparison with the possible return. An explanation as to why so much money should be kept in one depositary is due the craft, though I am not sensible that any one cognizant of the standing of the Indianapolis National Bank will question the business discretion of those who relied upon its stability and the fidelity of the management. Its stock was 35 to 40 per cent above par and up to the day of suspension eagerly sought after by financial investors, and among its depositors were such astute business institutions as the New York Equitable Life Insurance Company, the Standard Oil Company, several large railroad corporations, many prominent and successful merchants and Masonic and Odd Fellows trusts. Our failure to distribute the funds among the banks was, and is, due to the fact that the law requires that interest shall be procured where possible. The account is necessarily an open one—subject to check—and under the Indianapolis clearing house rules interest is not allowed on this class of deposits. We succeeded in securing interest, however, on condition that all our business was done with one concern.

Typesetting Machines—President Prescott spoke at some length on the subject of typesetting machines and their effect on the printing trade, dwelling particularly upon the fact that the introduction of machinery was coincidental with and perhaps in a small measure attributable to the depression through which the country had been passing. Based on the most reliable

information obtainable, about 3,500 members of the union had been deprived of employment by the 1,450 machines then in use. True to the history and ethics of real trade unionism, the organization had not antagonized the introduction of machines, but had, admittedly with some reluctance, formulated scales and entered into agreements suitable to the changed conditions. Many new questions had arisen to harass and aggravate, but in dealing with these questions the future of the craft had been kept in mind while accepting the inevitable and securing the best terms possible. It was a foolish evasion of facts to attempt to deny the unwelcome truth that the machines for a time had placed the union at a decided disadvantage with employers, but this condition could be overcome by the application of the basic principle of unionism—hearty acquiescence in the will of the majority. It had been advocated in some quarters that the International Union secure control of patents of existing machines, or offer inducements for the invention of new ones, renting them to publishers and others, but these suggestions were dismissed as chimerical.

One bright spot amid the gloom that surrounded the introduction of machinery was the fact that in a majority of instances employers had shown a disposition to engage their old employes as operators, thus affecting the least possible disturbance in the personnel of affected unions. While the International had been unable to condone any subordinate union legislation that sought to deprive cardholders of their legal rights, whatever influence the officers had had been exercised in urging employers to forego the importation of staffs and advising unions to impress this upon members, even going to the extent of urging the adoption of liberal students' scales in order to attain this end.

Machinists — At the Philadelphia convention, in 1892,

the executive council had been instructed to enter into negotiations with the National Machinists' Union "with a view of bringing about co-operation between the machinists and printers in offices where machines were operated by union men." The executive council of 1892 undertook to give effect to the instructions, but finally referred the matter to the forty-first convention at Chicago, 1893, as the machinists' union demanded that the International Union pledge itself to "insist that none but union men be employed in the manufacture of linotype machines." The Chicago convention's action was a reiteration of the Philadelphia convention's mandate, coupled with a suggestion that the constitution be amended so as to permit the issuance of charters to machinists having care of typesetting machines. The constitution was not amended, however, and when the executive council again took the matter up it did not succeed in securing an agreement with the machinists. This question was most perplexing, and especially so while attempting to legislate upon it. It was estimated that of the 125,000 machinists in the country not more than 25,000 were under the banner of organized labor, even these being divided into three organizations, the most popular of which was the International Association of Machinists, with a membership of 20,000, but which was not connected with the American Federation of Labor on account of the constitutional barrier against colored men. The National Machinists' Union (with which the executive council was instructed to negotiate) had about 1,000 members. The balance were local, unaffiliated organizations and Knights of Labor. It will be seen from this that if an agreement had been entered into it would, per force, have been with the least potent of the two organizations, ignoring the one whose members the union would most likely come in contact with. The wisdom displayed

in entering into any agreement under such circumstances was questionable, to say the least, especially when it was remembered that the typographical union jeopardized an average of ten situations to the other contracting party's one. Another inevitable feature of such a treaty would have been that only members of the contracting machinists' union might be employed. At the same time experience was demonstrating that many persons who had never served an apprenticeship at the machinists' trade, but through some fortuitous system became acquainted with the mechanism of typesetting machines, had made excellent managers of machine plants. These men were mere machine tenders, but their success was a warning to the union that as the mechanism of the typesetting devices became simplified it would not take expert machinists to fill such positions; in fact it was even then predicted that the day would soon come when operators would be required and expected to take charge of their machine much as pressmen do of their presses, the machinist only being called in to repair some serious mishap. In concluding his remarks on the question of making any agreement with the machinists' union, the president gave it as his opinion and firm conviction that the interests of all would be best subserved by requiring that machinists or machine tenders should affiliate with the International Typographical Union, at the same time admitting that by so doing the union would be compelled to violate or ignore the safe union doctrine of trade autonomy and naturally become embroiled in disputes with the machinists' organization and possibly with the American Federation of Labor. It was suggested that the incoming officers be instructed to continue negotiations as the opportunity might offer and also that section 143, general laws, be repealed, which action would not only relieve the members of local unions of irksome

conditions, but give the officers greater latitude and freedom with which to carry on negotiations and protect the interests of the organization.

Allied Trades Councils—Vigorous work had been carried on during the year in the matter of forming allied printing trades councils, repeated urgings from headquarters having brought about the institution of these bodies in twenty-one cities. This action had produced a beneficial effect and evidence of it was had through the fact that publishers and employers generally were outspoken in their objection, in several places positively refusing to recognize such a body, some employers even going so far as to deny the right of organization to mailers, stereotypers and others on the ground that a very high degree of skill was not necessary to master the trade in question. It was pointed out that just in proportion as the union's adversaries feared a compact and cohesive organization of all the printing trades should the membership urge and uphold it, for there was no element of justice or right in the main causes of objection. The attitude of the employers was not the only nor the most serious obstacle to the progress of the allied trades movement. The unsatisfactory relationship between some of the trades was more to be feared. This was particularly noticeable in the case of trades having close connection with book and job printers. Many members of the International were working for firms who had pressrooms and binderies filled with non-union help (bookbinders and bindery girls especially), who were relied upon in cases of trouble to remain at work. This was not as it should be, but the high dues of the typographical union precluded perfect organization of such meagerly-paid vocations as feeders and bindery girls. The relations with the bookbinders were not such as were conducive to concerted action with that trade. For many

years organization of that craft was prosecuted in an altogether desultory manner, some bookbinders attaching themselves to isolated local unions, while others had become affiliated with the Knights of Labor. At the thirty-fifth session of the International Union, 1887, in compliance with the request of some bookbinders, the constitution was amended permitting the issuing of charters to bookbinders. In the seven years that had elapsed but eight charters had been issued, and of these four had gone out of existence. Early in 1892, a call was issued asking these heterogeneous organizations to send delegates to Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a central body. At this gathering the International Union was represented and an invitation was extended to the delegates to throw in their lot with the printers, but craft pride, and calumnies circulated by enemies of the typographical union, together with the desire to have a pliable organization, in order to harmonize conflicting interests represented, contributed to the rejection of the typographical union's proposal. A low-dues organization was instituted, which allowed an affiliated body to retain its allegiance to any central body with which it was connected. On two occasions following the Philadelphia meeting the officials of the typographical union endeavored to open negotiations with the bookbinders, but their efforts were fruitless.

Shorter Hours — Referring to the agitation for shorter hours, the president said:

As the necessity of securing shorter hours of labor becomes more urgent it may be safely presumed that the question will be presented for your consideration. It will be remembered that last year there was submitted to the membership a proposition declaring that on and after November 1, 1893, nine hours should constitute a day's work, and levying an assessment of six cents per week for a period of fifteen or twenty weeks. As this would undoubtedly have precipitated a strike, a three-fourths

vote was required to adopt, and this the proposition did not receive, the vote being 7,927 for, as against 6,464, a total of 15,056, something less than one-half of our membership. While this was discouraging to the advocates of reform, the vote should not be taken as meaning, as is urged in some quarters, that our membership is not in favor of shorter hours of labor, but the complexion of the vote can be attributed to several reasons, the main one being the unpropitious condition of trade, while many thought the amount of money that could possibly be accumulated under the assessment feature too small to justify our entering on what would undoubtedly be a fierce and perhaps protracted struggle. As it has ever been the policy of our organization to reach a settlement of such questions by means of conferences, your president took advantage of the United Typothetae's annual convention last September and appointed a committee of members of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 to confer with that body. In reply to a communication the typothetae informed us that no committee would be appointed to consider the hours of labor. The previous year this subject was not only referred to a committee but exhaustive debate was entered into. This evidences that the causes which go to make shorter hours such a necessity at this time also serve to impart hope to the opposition and should warn us that adequate preparation is more necessary than ever. In a business where the profits are not usually inordinate, and in which the cost of material and rent are such potent factors in the cost of production, it is futile to suppose employers will make a change so long as there is a seeming opportunity for successful resistance. Therefore it will be your duty to formulate some plan for submission to the membership which contains, as a pre-requisite to the adoption of a shorter work-day, a means for accumulating a large fund for the purpose of prosecuting the fight. The most cursory observer of recent events in the labor world must be convinced that to overlook this most essential feature will but be a prelude to a worse state than the existing one. Though the industrial outlook is not encouraging just now, I submit that this is the proper time to make preparation, for the history of trade unions has ever been that after periods of depression there is a reaction in their favor, and such trades as are fully prepared to take advantage of the tide of industrial activity at its flood never fail to receive a measure

of those improved conditions for which we are incessantly battling. Now is the time to buckle on our armor and prepare for the fray.

Pressmen and Bookbinders — Referring to the embroglio of the pressmen, the president called attention to the fact that this unfortunate schism had lasted for five years, and that it was agreed by all reputable trade union authorities that when less than one-third of the pressmen members decided to secede from the typographical union that they committed an offense against the canons of unionism and in the estimation of many well qualified judges inflicted material injury upon themselves and their craft. Notwithstanding the untenable position they assumed, the International Typographical Union had sought to harmonize the differences by dispatching committees, charged with propositions, to two pressmen's conventions. These envoys failing in their mission, the president took advantage of a secession movement in Chicago and offered a proposition on his own responsibility, which was rejected under circumstances calculated to convey the impression that the pressmen did not desire a peaceful settlement. Previous to this incident the policy of the executive council had been in keeping with that of the convention and efforts to displace seceders were discouraged as much as possible in the hope that common sense and reason would assert itself in their ranks. Speaking directly to the subject, the president said:

While firmly believing that in leaving our fold these pressmen were not only guilty of gross breach of faith with us, but injuring themselves, I also realized that with two organizations claiming supremacy over that branch, history would in a short time be repeating itself, and as an ultimate there would be an era of wage reductions arising from the fight for supremacy. It has always been thus in other trades when men were environed as the pressmen are, and I know of no alchemy which

would justify us in believing we would enjoy exemption from the evil. It is a fact that in a war between labor organizations the workers only are victims. In order to effect a peace in this instance it was imperative that a conference be held so that an arrangement as to future action could be come to, and the rights of pressmen who remained loyal to our organization protected at all hazards. If we took action of our volition—as was suggested by some—and deprive all pressmen of membership in the International Typographical Union, we would not only be doing an unjust and illegal act, but be guilty of cowardice in betraying men to the mercy of those who had threatened vengeance on them on account of their adhesion to the obligation taken in common with the rest of us. I could not bring myself to the belief that our grand old organization would besmirch its escutcheon by such base treachery. Having ample evidence that under a passive policy there was little hope of a settlement, and believing that the seceders' indifference was due largely to the belief that we either could not, or would not, protect and advance the interests of our pressmen members, your officers determined upon the inauguration of a vigorous organization campaign, and to fully protect our pressmen in all their rights. Several small, and of themselves unimportant, happenings about this time indicated that individual members of the other organization had decided, if possible, to obtain control of newspaper stereotyping rooms, in violation of our laws and invading the rights of our members. At this juncture what is known as the Akron affair occurred. Though my course in this matter has generated much adverse criticism, based on false premises and misrepresentations, I have no apologies to offer. My action is amply justified by a desire to maintain union principles and union laws and can seemingly be regarded as a most politic procedure. Twice had the seceders informed us officially "that it was not advisable to bind pressmen or pressmen's unions to any obligations or compact" with our organization. The craft is to be congratulated on their having assumed a more reasonable attitude. That it was a disagreeable duty none will deny, but the interests of the Akron printers as well as considerations of public policy demanded that it be done.

The seceders' convention being held at Toronto last June, I arranged to have the proposed basis of settlement adopted at Chicago, and which was rejected by them at their previous convention, presented again. The outcome of this was the

appointment of conference committees which met at St. Louis, August 22, and agreed on a basis of settlement which is embodied in the second vice-president's report.

In urging your approval of this agreement and sending the necessary amendments to the referendum, I do not do so on the ground that it is desirable, but rather on the theory that it is the lesser of the two evils that confront us. The compositors and other branches have questions pressing with great insistence for solution and with an internecine quarrel waging they will, in all likelihood, be settled in a manner unsatisfactory to us, even though justice and logic be on our side. So far as it refers to lockouts and strikes, the proposition provides for greater unity of action than has prevailed heretofore, and it is thought the executive methods are workable. Time will, of course, develop imperfections, but with officials possessed of a determination to be equitable and advance the interests of all, and exercising ordinary prudence, these defects can be overcome and requisite changes made. I will not attempt to conceal the fact that from my standpoint our pressmen are making a sacrifice (though it is averred that a majority of them now favor the secession movement), but their patriotism and unionism will, I am sure, prompt a hearty acquiescence in the will of the majority, whatever that may be. If either organization rejects the treaty now under consideration, a vigorous fight lies before us, for we can not afford to cover ourselves with shame by deserting even a small number if they are being persecuted or harassed by an enemy. If we should be so unfortunate as to become involved in such a fratricidal strife the quasi-traitorous members who have not yet learned the initial principle of unionism will have to be taught it, by suasion if possible, but by more stringent methods if necessary.

The report of the pressmen's vice-president, H. C. McFarland, was a comprehensive document, relating in detail the efforts of the pressmen holding charters under the International to bring about a satisfactory agreement or amalgamation with the seceding members—the International Printing Pressmen's Union. The report was explicit. It justified the course of the administration in the Akron affair and included letters of endorsement from President Gompers of the American Federation

of Labor and other members of the executive council of that body.

Running through the proceedings of the convention were numerous efforts, both on the part of the delegates representing typographical unions and those representing pressmen's unions, to adjust the differences existing between the International body and the International Printing Pressmen. The matter, however, finally failed of adjustment, but the executive council was left at liberty to carry on negotiations looking to an amicable settlement of the dispute.

In July, 1895, some nine months after the adjournment of the Louisville convention, through the medium of the Typographical Journal, the executive officers reported that an agreement or an alliance between the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders had been drafted and agreed to by the committees representing the three organizations named. This proposed agreement, together with three other propositions—first, to change the size of the Typographical Journal; second, to empower the executive council to consummate an agreement with either the pressmen or the bookbinders' organizations, should either one of those bodies refuse the agreement, and, third, to ratify an agreement with the International Association of Machinists, a document that had also been agreed upon by the committee representing the machinists—were referred to the referendum. Of the four propositions, all were confirmed by the referendum with the exception of the proposed agreement with the machinists. The agreement between the three international unions of the printing trades was as follows:

First. That the International Typographical Union recognizes the right of the International Printing Pressmen's Union

to charter, regulate and control printing pressmen, pressfeeders and helpers in pressrooms in the United States and Canada; also that the International Typographical Union recognizes the right of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders to charter, legislate and control all branches pertaining to the bookbinding trade; *Provided further,* that the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders recognizes the right of the International Typographical Union to charter and control the compositors and other branches of the printing trade at present connected with that body.

SECOND. Each party does and will recognize the jurisdiction and authority of the other as set forth in clause 1 of this agreement, and each party further agrees to withhold recognition from any and all other persons following as a vocation the branch of the printing or bookbinding craft under control of the other party to this agreement.

THIRD. The parties to this agreement hereby finally and forever abandon all right or pretense to organize, aid or abet morally or financially, in whole or in part, a union, individual or clique of individuals employed at branches of the business under the control of the other parties to this agreement.

FOURTH. Local unions of the International Printing Pressmen's Union shall receive and admit to membership on presentation of the International Typographical Union certificate of membership, without prejudice or fee, all pressmen, pressmen's helpers, web pressmen and feeders who are at the date of taking effect of this agreement members of unions chartered by the International Typographical Union. Pressmen's unions chartered by the International Typographical Union in cities where no union of the International Printing Pressmen's Union now exists shall have issued to them a charter by the International Printing Pressmen's Union without charge or fee.

FIFTH. Local unions of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders shall receive and admit to membership upon presentation of an International Typographical Union certificate of membership, without prejudice or fee, all bookbinders who are at the date of taking effect of this agreement members of unions chartered by the International Typographical Union. Bookbinders' unions chartered by the International Typographical Union in cities where no union of the International

Brotherhood of Bookbinders now exists shall have issued to them a charter by the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders without charge or fee.

SIXTH. All funds of each party to this agreement remain independent of each other except when voted for defensive purposes as hereafter provided for in clause 11 of this agreement.

SEVENTH. Grievances requiring joint strikes must be decided by the executive boards or councils of an equal number of each party, and by agreement between the boards after united request of local unions representative of each party to this agreement where grievance exists.

EIGHTH. Local vote for general strike must be had in regular or special meeting, of which meeting and contemplated action there shall have been at least twenty-four hours' notice given by the executive committees of local unions to all members of the local unions involved in strike.

NINTH. Upon failure to effect an amicable settlement of any dispute in which the members of the contracting parties to this agreement are involved, or likely to become involved, it shall be the duty of the officers of the respective unions to notify the presidents of the unions party to this agreement in duplicate communications, who shall either in person or by proxy proceed to the place of the difficulty and jointly endeavor to effect a peaceable settlement, failing in which they shall join in a report to the executive councils of their respective International unions, which shall for the purposes of this agreement at all times be composed of an equal number of members, and if, on a vote being taken, it is shown that a majority of the bodies acting conjointly are of the opinion that the inauguration of a strike is absolutely necessary, the presidents in person or by proxy, or one of them, as may be agreed upon by the executive councils, shall again attempt to effect a settlement, and if unsuccessful shall, through the officers of the various unions, order a general strike of all members of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen's Union and International Brotherhood of Bookbinders working in the office or offices affected, and any member disregarding this order shall be promptly expelled for ratting by his subordinate union.

TENTH. For the purpose of expediting business it shall be

permissible for the executive councils to select one of their members who shall be known as chairman and to whom all communications shall be addressed, and whose duty it shall be to poll the votes of the joint councils as promptly as possible, notifying the unions interested of the result and subsequently preparing a copy of all answers received and forwarding it to the members of the councils.

ELEVENTH. When a joint strike shall have been inaugurated by the parties to this agreement, the initiating union shall pay those involved as follows: The sum of $7 per week to married men, or the heads of families, and $5 per week to single men or women for the period of eight weeks; after that time beneficiaries shall apply to their respective unions for further relief.

TWELFTH. Strikes may be declared off by a majority vote of the executive councils.

THIRTEENTH. Local unions called out in strike may receive aid from their own International funds without subjecting such funds to demands from locals calling for assistance.

FOURTEENTH. Any local of either party to this agreement may strike as heretofore without consent of local unions existing in same place, but in such case co-operation of allies can not be made compulsory further than to refrain from filling places thus made vacant.

FIFTEENTH. In case of dispute between the parties to this agreement a disinterested board of arbitrators consisting of three members shall be selected, one by each organization, whose award shall be binding on all parties.

SIXTEENTH. The joint allied printing trades council shall have control of the printing trades label which shall be granted to all offices complying with the regulations of the allied printing trades council. That the allied printing trades label shall only be granted to offices that are union throughout.

SEVENTEENTH. It is the duty of subordinate unions of the International Typographical Union to use all honorable means to induce all non-union pressmen and bookbinders within their jurisdiction to affiliate with the nearest union of their respective organizations. In case of strike or lockout such members shall be governed by the terms of this agreement.

EIGHTEENTH. This agreement shall be perpetual, and shall be accepted or rejected as a whole; *provided*, amendments may

be proposed hereafter by either party, and on ratification by the other party in such manner as its laws provide, shall become a part of this agreement.

Following the referendum vote adopting the foregoing amendment, the Typographical Journal said, editorially:

Whether the vote on the proposition recently submitted is gratifying or not to the reader, it will have to be admitted by all that the efficaciousness and comparative inexpensiveness of the referendum has again been demonstrated. A burning question has been settled in an emphatic manner, and much more satisfactorily than it otherwise could have been. By agreement the jurisdiction proposition does not become operative until January 1, 1896, which affords ample time for the arrangement of details, provided it is concurred in by either of the other organizations, of which there is not much doubt. On the date mentioned all bookbinders and pressmen now affiliated with the International Typographical Union will sever their connection with us so far as being contributing members is concerned. The pressmen as a whole do not appear to have been much exercised about the result, as their vote is light and not very decisive on the question about which they have been creating so much pother the last five years. That some will object to recognizing the agreement is a foregone conclusion, if we can judge from the tone of communications which are being received. Painful though it may be, our duty is plain. The terms of the agreement must be adhered to, and it is hoped that those who feel disposed to object will give the matter serious consideration, always keeping in mind that the test of good unionism is subserviency to the majority's will in all trade affairs. Here the majority has undoubtedly spoken.

The defeat of the machinist proposition was not unexpected. Those who had given the subject any thought felt it would be impossible to draft an agreement allowing our members to take charge of machines unless we reciprocated by permitting machinists to become operators. This was a stumbling block to formulating an agreement in the winter of 1892. Though the machinists were anxious to enter into an arrangement, neither the old or new executive boards would do so without a reciprocal section, even after being warned that such a provision meant defeat for the measure. They argued that to go into any

"jughandled" arrangement would be unfair to their constituents, though admitting that under the compact finally agreed upon their members would gain little or nothing. Much has been said—and it was anticipated—about machinists flooding the operators' market. These fears were to a very great extent groundless. It takes more than a knowledge of mechanics to become an expert operator, and some of those who were most vociferous in announcing their views and denouncing the propositions are living demonstrations that, even under the most favorable conditions and with the kindliest-hearted of employers, all men can not become successful operators. This was one of the humors of the controversy. Another is that some machinists object to the proposition on the ground that it requires so slight a degree of mechanical skill to oversee a machine plant that such situations would be in the hands of oldtime printers. They argue that publishers and foremen would naturally prefer to employ those acquainted with ways of printing offices than novices. And we think more weight attaches to their contentions than those of us who reasoned on similar lines. The result of the vote is to allow subordinate unions to enter into such agreements as they see fit. If any do so, they should be careful not to enter into an alliance which will bring them in conflict with the great labor organizations, and see that the other contracting party has a sufficient bank account, or the means of obtaining one, to discharge its financial obligations under the agreement. This is the time for business, and not sentiment.

Stereotypers — The report of the third vice-president, W. B. Lewis, representing the stereotypers and electrotypers' trade district, was a brief document, showing that that branch of the International had passed through the crisis created by depressed conditions in the trade in a satisfactory manner. Although only one new union was chartered during the year, there had been no loss in membership. In concluding his report, Vice-President Lewis said that the stereotypers and electrotypers' trade district system had given the utmost satisfaction and he had no hesitancy in pronouncing it a success and predicting that it would be the means of promoting and solidifying the unions of stereotypers and electrotypers.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — The report of the secretary-treasurer showed that the financial transactions of the International during the year continued to exhibit an increase over previous years and it was remarked that the business transactions of subordinate unions with the general office had been uniformly prompt and accurate.

The supply department established at headquarters had demonstrated its efficacy in assisting subordinate officers in the performance of their duties and to its effectiveness was credited the added promptness and accuracy of detail so necessary to the proper conduct of the affairs of the organization. While there had been an evident decrease of membership in many of the leading labor organizations of the country during the money stringency of the year, there had been a gradual and steady increase in the membership of the International, 31,379 members being reported in good standing at the close of the fiscal year. Of the total number of deaths, 507, the greatest number occurred at the age of 24 and 33 years, there being 24 in each case recorded. The average age at death was 41¼ years. There were 248 deaths from tuberculosis and kindred diseases.

Constitutional Amendments — Nineteen constitutional amendments were submitted to the referendum, eighteen of which were ratified—the one being defeated proposing a return to annual sessions of the International. A summary of the amendments follows:

(1) Required that credentials of delegates-elect be returned to the secretary-treasurer within fifteen days after election; (2) the purpose of this amendment was to return to annual sessions, but was defeated, as stated above; (3) provided for the alteration of certain designated sections so as to have the constitution conform with biennial, instead of annual, International conventions; (4), (5), (6), (7) gave constitutional effect to certain provisions

of the treaty of amalgamation entered into between the International Typographical Union and German-American Typographia which was approved by the membership; (8) provided for publication of list of arrearages of subordinate unions in the Typographical Journal, instead of in circular form; (9) fixed the date when the secretary-treasurer should send out delegate certificates of election; (10) permitted the officers to deposit the funds in more than one bank; (11) struck out superfluous instructions to the secretary-treasurer, in section 5, article vi, as the same were given under standing orders; (12) referred to free distribution of copies of the Typographical Journal to certain persons therein defined; (13) relieved the president of the impracticable duty of collecting data as to strength and financial conditions of various organizations for publication in the Journal; (14) provided for the payment of sixty dollars upon the death of a member from the burial fund, instead of fifty dollars; (15) provided that in the case of feeders and bindery girls the payment from the burial fund should be forty-five dollars only; (16) fixed the monthly dues payable to the International fund by feeders and bindery girls at fifteen cents, instead of twenty-five by other members; (17) related altogether to the dues of feeders and bindery girls. [Their dues being fifteen cents, instead of twenty-five cents, paid by other members, no portion of the per capita tax received from them was accredited to the Childs-Drexel Home fund, nor were any of the members classed as feeders and bindery girls eligible to the privileges of the Home]. (18) Regulated the issuance of "certificates of membership" and "withdrawal cards" and fully explained the status of members privileged to the uses of the same, who were entitled to them, and upon the conditions active membership might be resumed by those holding them; (19) provided for meetings of newspaper hands as one

branch, and book and job hands as another. [The proposition applied only to subordinate unions, which, by a majority vote, adopted it and was merely a privilege granted by the union for the meeting of members engaged in the several branches for the purpose of discussing and providing legislation for their own particular class. No definite action could be taken upon constitutional matters, scale of prices, etc., without referring the same to the union as a whole, and obtaining the lawful constitutional consent thereto. The proposition was intended merely to empower unions to provide means for discussion and education.]

General Laws — Of several amendments to the general laws the following is worthy of notice:

"Foremen of printing offices have the right to employ help at will and may discharge help: first, for incompetency; second, for violation of the rules of the office, chapel or union; third, for neglect of duty; fourth, in order to decrease the force. It shall be further understood that if a workman be competent to sub in an office, he is competent to hold a regular situation. In all cases where a compositor or machine operator is discharged he shall be furnished a written statement of the cause by the foreman, if demanded, and should an increase of force be rendered necessary within sixty days, those so discharged by reason of such decrease of force shall be reinstated."

Union Printers Home — Laws affecting the legislation of the Union Printers Home were passed, as follows:

That the names of all inmates of the Childs-Drexel Home be placed upon the mail list of the Typographical Journal.

That the superintendent of the Childs-Drexel Home be and is hereby instructed to inaugurate such measures as will tend to reduce the expenses of said Home without crippling the efficiency of the same. Such action of the superintendent to be subject to the approval of the finance committee.

That the superintendent of the Home furnish, for publication in the Typographical Journal, a monthly statement of admissions to and expulsions from the Home, together with causes of same, names of unions sending inmates, and such other information as may be of interest concerning the condition of the inmates.

That charges against the management or any officer of the Childs-Drexel Home must be of a specific nature, and made in the regular manner provided by the rules of the institution and endorsed by the union which secured the admission of the inmate preferring the same.

That in purchasing supplies for the Childs-Drexel Home, the superintendent shall invite bids from different wholesale houses and a yearly contract be made for furnishing the same; said supplies to be furnished as desired by the superintendent or recommended by the finance committee. Contracts to be approved by the finance committee before becoming effective.

The committee on admissions is instructed to exclude persons suffering from tuberculosis in the last stages and from infectious and contagious diseases.

That inmates be required, when able, to perform such duties as may appear proper to the superintendent, subject to the judgment of the attending physician.

Where an inmate is discharged for misconduct, the amount appropriated shall be charged to the local union recommending him.

The following is substituted for section 10, standing resolutions:

Where applicants are admitted to the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers the expense of transportation shall be defrayed by the local typographical union, when the applicant is unable to pay the same.

Out-of-Work Fund — A proposition to create an "out-of-work" fund presented at the Louisville convention met with defeat at the hands of the delegates, the body refusing to submit the question to a referendum vote. On March 15, 1896, during the interim before the next convention, New York Typographical Union proposed an amendment increasing the per capita tax 25 cents per

month for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an out-of-work fund. That the measure was unpopular is shown by the fact that it failed to receive the necessary endorsement from twenty subordinate unions and in the Journal of July 1, 1896, it was announced that only seventeen unions had favored submitting the proposition.

Nine-Hour Fund — Another proposition to prepare for the inauguration of the nine-hour workday was submitted to the referendum following the Louisville convention. It was proposed that an assessment of 1 per cent be levied on the wages of all members, for such time as was deemed necessary by the executive council, to accumulate a fund to be known as the "shorter workday fund" and to be used for the purpose of inaugurating a shorter workday in the book and job trade. Like similar propositions passed by previous conventions, it met with defeat.

Deaths of Messrs. Childs and Drexel — Following the Chicago convention, the craft had been called upon to mourn the death of two friends and benefactors, Anthony J. Drexel and George W. Childs. These gentlemen occupied a position unique in relation to organized labor. Though the printers of the city of Philadelphia previously had experienced manifestations of the good will of Messrs. Childs and Drexel, the unconditional donation of $10,000 to the International Typographical Union at the Pittsburgh convention of 1886 insured a warm place in the hearts of trade unionists in general and the printing fraternity in particular, for these men had been among the first of their class on this continent to give material recognition to the trade union movement. As an indication of the esteem in which Mr. Childs was held by the organization, the convention adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the membership throughout the jurisdiction be asked to contribute 50 cents, on or before May 12, 1895, the

anniversary of Mr. Childs' birthday, such sum to be forwarded to Typographical Union No. 2 at Philadelphia, to be used in the erection of a suitable memorial to the memory of George W. Childs.

Six-Day Law — Another referendum proposition, emanating from Seattle, proposed to amend the general laws by adding the following to section 123 (the six-day law): *"Provided,* that members holding situations in seven-day offices shall have the disposal of the entire seven days and the designating of substitutes for certain days or the exemption of 'rotary situations' or any other rule affecting the subversion of this provision shall be unlawful." The amendment was carried by the referendum, the vote being 4,522 ayes, 1,556 noes. About one-half of the subordinate unions made no returns on the proposition.

Colorado Springs was selected as the meeting place for the next convention.

Officers, 1894-1895 — Officers were elected as follows: President, William B. Prescott, Toronto; first vice-president, Theodore Perry, Nashville; pressmen's vice-president, F. J. Boyle, St. Paul; stereotypers' and electrotypers' vice-president, C. B. Lahan, Chicago; German-American Typographia vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; secretary-treasurer, A. G. Wines, St. Louis. Organizers—S. H. Dyer, Springfield, Mass.; Thomas F. McHale, Albany; James A. Power, Washington, D. C.; W. H. Wells, Norfolk; Jacob Eitel, Savannah; John D. Flanagan, Grand Rapids, Mich.; J. K. Brewer, Springfield, Ill.; J. A. Lane, Knoxville, Tenn.; John P. Marnell, St. Louis; H. S. Woodward, Minneapolis; S. De Nedrey, Omaha; A. M. Butler, Dallas; J. W. Purcell, Butte, Mont.; E. A. Parker, San Francisco; C. E. Hawkes, Seattle; G. W. Dower, Toronto. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—W. B. Prescott, Toronto (president); W. M. Higgins, Louisville; August

McCraith, Boston; J. W. Bramwood, Denver. Trustees Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—W. B. Prescott, Toronto; A. G. Wines, St. Louis; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Frank S. Pelton, Chicago; Henry Dorsey, Dallas (to take office one year later); Alexander Duguid, Cincinnati; L. C. Shepard, Grand Rapids, Mich., and F. A. Colby, Colorado Springs.

Convention at Colorado Springs

[1896]—The forty-third convention of the International Typographical Union assembled in Durkee Hall, Colorado Springs, on Monday, October 12, 1896. The session was opened by G. C. Ash, president of the local union, who introduced W. A. Platt, editor of the Colorado Springs Gazette. Mr. Platt welcomed the delegates and guests on behalf of the press of Colorado Springs. President Prescott briefly responded to the addresses and then declared the convention ready for business.

The Brotherhood

After the list of delegates had been read by the secretary-treasurer and a committee appointed to consider the irregular credentials, Delegate O'Rourke, of New York, rising to a question of privilege, offered the following preamble and resolution, which were unanimously adopted, by a rising vote:

Whereas it having become known that there has been and is still in existence one or more secret societies, composed wholly or partly of printers, having for an object the control or influence of the various local unions and the International Typographical Union, both in the matter of legislation and in the election of officers, in the interest of the members of said society or societies; and

Whereas in order that the members of the various unions represented here by delegates may have that regard for, and regain the lost confidence in, the proceedings of this body and

the officers thereof, which is essential to the welfare of the craft; therefore,

Be it resolved, That before proceeding to any of the regular business of this convention each and every member of this body be required to take and subscribe to the following oath:

I ..... (repeat name individually) do solemnly swear, before Almighty God, by everything that I hold sacred and holy, that I will not from this time forth belong to any association, secret or otherwise, that has for its object, directly or indirectly, the influence of the legislative or other acts, or the election of the officers, of any local unions to which I now or may hereafter belong, or the influence of the legislation or other acts of this convention, or the election of any officer or officers of this body; and I do also swear that I will not hereafter belong to any such body, whether known by the name of Brotherhood, Caxton League, Wahnetas, or any other name whatsoever, or any other such body, with or without a name, or any such body that may have technically dissolved itself at the adjournment of its meetings; and, furthermore, I do solemnly swear that I will do all in my power to break up any such body that may come to my knowledge either at this or any other convention of the International Typographical Union, or in any of the local unions; and to all of the above I pledge my most sacred honor.

REVIEW OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

The reports of the various officers were duly presented and referred to appropriate committees. The president's address was not only an exhaustive review of the affairs of the International but was replete with suggestions to further strengthen and upbuild the organization. In opening his report, President Prescott said:

I am not unmindful of the fact that I am addressing the representatives of a labor organization that has within the past half decade successfully withstood such a flood of adverse circumstances and conditions as few, if any, industrial organizations have been called upon to contend with. Within that period the wave of secession among pressmen reached its apex; a depression of unparalleled severity decimated the ranks of young and immature labor organizations; and the newspaper branch

of our business has been revolutionized by machinery. Notwithstanding that few similar bodies in the past have emerged from like conflicts so well fitted to meet the exigencies that business reverses or improvements in the methods of production have begot, during the time mentioned our average paying membership has increased over 7,000, the high-water mark having been reached in 1894. But even now, making allowance for the defection of pressmen and bookbinders agreeably to our wishes as expressed by popular vote, our union is stronger numerically and financially than ever before in its tempestuous and beneficent career of nearly half a century. It is a sterling tribute to the firm grasp the older members had on the principles of unionism and the thorough manner in which they inoculated the younger and rising generation with them that we are able to say that, judged by material and actual advancement, the International Union has never been more successful than during the most trying period of its existence—the last two years. That there have been mistakes of judgment can not be gainsaid, but we have resisted the flood of demands for decreases in wages and increases of hours in a reasonably satisfactory manner. This must not be taken as a complete measure of our accomplishments, for with few exceptions we have improved the conditions of those so fortunate as to secure situations on the introduction of machines. It is undeniable that our operator members today are receiving more per hour for their services than ever before.

After noting the dark days the union had passed through and pointing to the probability of still darker ones in the future, the president continued:

The question for decision and your earnest consideration is not whether what is is satisfactory, but whether existing conditions can not be improved upon. It has been well said that discontent is the mother of progress, and those who fondly nurse and enunciate the delusion that our past achievements testify to our invincibleness, and therefore change is unnecessary, are the most dangerous of all within or without our ranks. They differ from the renegade and marplot by preaching the insidious, pleasing and consoling philosophy of idleness, advancing the theory that there is no need of improvement, consequently the drudgery and painstaking efforts of our law-makers and self-sacrificing

local officers should go for naught. In an intelligent discontent, coupled with a determination to improve our system of organization so as to adequately meet possible—aye, probable—contingencies, lies the hope of our future prosperity. The absolute necessity and general desire for a strong organization with almost unlimited capital to support it in times of stress and danger is evidenced by every local union that becomes involved in difficulty, even though it may have previously scouted the idea. In their direst distress members look to the parent body for succor and help, irrespective of their former views on "local autonomy."

Organization Work — Under the head "Organization," emphasis was given to former protests against what was called antiquated methods of organization. The system of district organizers was regarded as faulty and responsible for many serious mistakes and should be supplanted by the appointment of paid organizers. It was thought that it would be incomparably better to have one or two men devote their entire time to the work—that such officials would soon become adepts in treating with employers and managing strikes.

The report showed that 60 charters had been issued from August 31, 1894, to September 1, 1896, bringing into the fold of the International Union 1,063 members. Twenty-six unions had been suspended for non-payment of dues; 45 unions, representing pressmen and bookbinders, surrendered their charters in accordance with a jurisdiction agreement, taking with them 1,378 members; 18 unions, representing 162 members, surrendered their charters between August 3, 1894, and September 11, 1896.

Union Printers Home — The difficulties attending the management of the Home were reviewed at length. After calling attention to the inadequate accommodations prevailing at the Home, the president said:

It will be your duty to submit to your constituents some scheme having for its object the perpetuation of that institu-

tion, for so far as my information extends the most consistent and rabid opponent of the Home will not seriously maintain that a majority of the craft are favorable to its abandonment or even continuance in its present unfinished and unsatisfactory condition. The preponderance of opinion among the membership favors placing it in such shape as will afford shelter for all fellow-craftsmen embraced in the proposition adopted by an overwhelming majority in 1889—caring for sick and indigent members. It is hoped neither you nor the members will be enticed from the straight and honorable path by the alluring bait of securing endowments from the wealthy by a species of refined and fashionable medicancy. Eleemosynary and other societies may find it congenial to sustain so-called "charities" in such a way, but in my estimation it is not in keeping with the tenets of trade unionism to beg favors at the hands of either erstwhile enemies or present friends. So far as known this is the first venture of the kind ever attempted by a purely economic labor organization, and let us write failure upon its doors rather than be recreant to the underlying principles of unionism—self-reliant independence and honest manliness.

The Label—In relation to the label, the many difficulties in the way of its general use were gone over, as well as the efforts made to protect it from infringement. A vigorous and persistent campaign to continue its use was suggested.

Important Recommendations—Further efforts to establish a shorter workday were earnestly urged and a complete system of reorganization was proposed, the main features of which were the election of International officers by popular vote and the abolition of conventions. Strengthening the system of gathering statistics was advised, as was also a continuance of the campaign in the interest of governmental ownership and control of the telegraph. In relation to the cost of administration, the president said:

It is almost impossible to convey a fair idea of the magnitude of the routine work now devolving upon the chief officers, but some conception of it may be obtained when the work done

at this time is compared with that which fell to the lot of the officers eight years ago. Then it was reported that the correspondence for the year aggregated 3,700 letters, while now the monthly average since November, 1895 (when an accurate record of such matters was first kept), has been 5,244 packages, exclusive of the Typographical Journal and similar literature. With this increase in correspondence and incidental business there has necessarily been an increment in the expense account, but an examination of the figures will show that the members are getting as good, if not better, service at a vastly cheaper rate per capita than ever before.

Stereotypers — The report of Vice-President Charles B. Lahan, representing the stereotypers' and electrotypers' branch of the union, showed that 5 charters had been issued during the year and that 3 had been surrendered, leaving 23 in existence. No events of special importance marked the history of the stereotypers during the period.

Typographia — The report of Vice-President Hugo Miller contained the information that the German-American branch of the International Union was in a flourishing condition notwithstanding the introduction of machines and the commercial depression.

Secretary's Report — Secretary-Treasurer Wines' report was a complete and comprehensive exposition of the fiscal affairs of the union for the two years ending June 30, 1896, each year's business being arranged separately and all being itemized. Commenting on the business for the term, the report said:

Notwithstanding the depression in commercial and business circles during the past two years, our finances show a healthy condition, and to the membership itself, which has promptly met its obligations to the International, the credit is due for our present prosperity. The receipts for the two years aggregate $187,945.56, while the expenditures for the same time total $182,860.80, showing a gain of $5,084.76 in our assets. This large sum has been collected without any degree of friction,

indicating that our financial condition, though the resources are inadequate to existing needs and the system unsuited to an organization of our present magnitude, is of greater stability than at any previous time in the history of the International.

The expenditures show $48,087.18 to have been paid during the two years in strike and lockout benefits; $45,755 in burial claims, while $36,500.72 was transferred to the Home fund. These beneficiary features undoubtedly add strength to the organization and are the means of holding together many of the smaller unions, as well as bringing into our ranks some who, but for these features, would never affiliate with us. Each and every member of the International can well be proud of the showing made during the past two years, for, although the membership shows a decrease from 31,379, in 1894, to 29,295, in 1895, and 28,838 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1896, it must be remembered that we have had to contend with machines as well as the business depression. In addition to these obstacles, legislation permitting the withdrawal from our ranks of the pressmen, feeders, bookbinders and bindery girls (some 1,500 in all) was enacted. It is not surprising under these conditions that our membership should show a decrease.

With some regret I refer to our claim against the Indianapolis National Bank. A dividend of 10 per cent has been paid since my previous report, reducing the claim to $16,857.12, or 55 per cent of the original sum. Three dividends, aggregating 45 per cent, have been paid, and at least one and perhaps two more will be paid, which will reduce the claim and loss several thousand dollars.

Typographical Journal— In relation to the publication of the Typographical Journal, which was dwelt upon at some length, the following is extracted:

The cost of publishing the paper in its present shape is somewhat greater than in the old form, but its appearance is much improved and it is now justly accorded a place in the front ranks of magazine literature, as becomes the journalistic representative of America's greatest and grandest typographical association. By referring to the official figures it will be found that the cost of the paper for the past two years aggregates $16,907.48. The revenue for the same length of time was $5,490.19, leaving the net cost for the two years $11,417.29, or

39 cents and a fraction per member. When it is remembered that of the 23,000 papers printed each month over one-half are, by requirements of law, distributed free to local officers and chairmen of chapels, the cost of the paper is not exorbitant.

Deaths — The report also showed that during the period covered there were 813 deaths, the average age at death being 40 years. The benefits paid out on account of these deaths amounted to $45,755.

Organizers — The reports of the organizers for the sixteen districts gave with more or less detail the history of events in their respective districts during the two-year period.

American Federation of Labor — The delegates to the American Federation of Labor presented a compact and interesting summary of the proceedings of that body and the report of the committee on governmental ownership and control of the telegraph gave a comprehensive history of its work. While no definite results had been reached in this line of work, the committee believed substantial progress had been made.

Home Trustees — The report of the trustees of the Union Printers Home, coupled with that of the superintendent, was complete in all of its details and afforded ample information as to the operations of those officers in caring for the aged and infirm members. There were 68 inmates on June 30, 1896. For the ten months of the last year and with the retirement of Superintendent Schuman in April the cost per week for each inmate was $7.35. In concluding their report, the trustees said:

The unwarranted and unfair attacks that have been made upon the management have materially detracted from the peace and tranquillity of life among the inmates of this beneficent institution, and made it more difficult for your trustees to attend to their duties than under more favorable conditions. It has been our earnest endeavor to administer the affairs of the institution to the end that our efforts might redound to the credit

of our organization and add to the comfort of those domiciled at the Home.

Out-of-Work Fund — The second day's proceedings were largely taken up in consideration of a report from the laws committee, the most important feature of which was a proposition to establish an out-of-work fund, which was approved and later presented to the referendum. Like similar propositions to create an out-of-work fund, it failed of endorsement by the membership.

Unique Incident — Unique in the history of the organization was the session of the third day, which was held on the summit of Pike's Peak, where the delegates were taken for a day's sight-seeing.

While in session on the Peak the convention adopted resolutions extending thanks and appreciation for the splendid entertainment afforded the delegates and visitors by Colorado Springs Union and the press of Colorado Springs for courtesies extended. After this action Delegate Morrison, of Chicago, offered the following:

Resolved, By the International Typographical Union in convention assembled on the summit of Pike's Peak, this 14th day of October, 1896, that we believe in the free and unlimited coinage of—

Delegate Howell, of Portland, Ore., raised a point of order that the resolution was political in character and should not be entertained.

The chair (First Vice-President Theodore Perry presiding) held the point of order not well taken.

Delegate Kavanaugh, Salt Lake City, appealed from the decision of the chair. Pending a decision of the appeal the convention adjourned to meet at Colorado Springs at 8 P. M.

At the evening session, Delegate Browne, of New York, moved that that portion of the morning's business relative

to free and unlimited coinage of silver be expunged. The motion was carried.

MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS

Typesetting Devices — The committee on typesetting devices submitted a report to the Colorado Springs convention adverse to the granting of a charter to New York local association No. 1 of the Associated Typesetting Machine Engineers, and recommended that they apply to the International Association of Machinists for a charter, representatives of each of the rival machinists' organizations having been given a hearing before the convention.

Referendum Elections — Another important action was the adoption, over an adverse recommendation by the committee, of an amendment relating to the election of officers. According to its provisions all officers were to be elected by popular vote, any person of one year's continuous membership to be eligible to any official position.

Minor Legislation — Among a number of minor measures adopted was an amendment strengthening the law forbidding any member to apply for work to any person other than the foreman; the obligation was extended to cover secret organizations and an amendment was adopted providing that no person should be eligible to apprenticeship in a machine office who was not a journeyman printer and a member of the union.

Upon an adverse report of the laws committee, a large number of proposed amendments were rejected, including one to change the time of meeting from October to June and to remove the headquarters from Indianapolis.

Increased Per Capita — A number of recommendations from the committee on Childs-Drexel Home were concurred in, chief among which was an advance of 5 cents in the per capita tax, to be used for the benefit of the

Home. The management of the Home was complimented and the officials and employes eulogized.

Hospital Annex — A resolution was adopted levying an assessment of 50 cents on each member of the union to provide a fund to build a hospital annex to the Home, the assessment being due and payable on Christmas day, 1896. This proposition was favorably acted upon by the referendum by a vote of 8,490 ayes, 6,750 noes.

Civil Service — Resolutions were adopted condemning the application of civil service regulations in the government printing office as being detrimental to the union's interests, and asking that such regulations be discontinued.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Twenty-nine constitutional amendments were submitted by the Colorado Springs convention of 1896 to the referendum, 24 of which were adopted and 5 defeated. A summary of the various amendments follows:

(1) To create an out-of-work benefit fund; defeated. (2) Increasing the per capita tax to 30 cents per month, providing that 10 cents of that amount should be paid into the Home fund; adopted. (3) Abolishing biennial conventions, and providing that, upon request of five unions, the president should submit the question of holding a convention to a vote of the membership, and, upon the proposition meeting with the approval of a majority of those voting, that the president should call a meeting of the International Typographical Union, to be held at such place as the executive council might designate; adopted. (4) Providing that delegates should serve until their successors were elected; adopted. (5) Providing that the executive council should submit propositions or amendments semi-annually to the referendum, upon the petition of five subordinate unions, also specifying the time in which subordinate unions should take a vote

on the propositions submitted, and providing for the publication thereof; this amendment also increased the number of unions necessary to compel the submission of a question at any other time from twenty to fifty; adopted. (6) The object of this amendment was to abolish the system of submitting questions to the referendum; it was defeated and the law stood as amended by proposition No. 5. (7) Allowing subordinate unions sixty days, instead of forty days, in which to make returns on referendum votes; adopted. (8) To abolish the referendum; defeated. (9) Providing for the election of International officers by popular vote and specifying the manner in which the nominations should be made and elections held; also providing that any member who was in continuous good standing for one year in a subordinate union should be eligible for election to an International office; and that the election board should be composed of three members of Indianapolis Union No. 1; adopted. (10) To strike out the section fixing the date on which election of delegates should be held; defeated. (11), (12), (13) Providing that the allied crafts not then having vice-presidents of the International body should be entitled to such officers, who should serve without salary and be consulted when the interests of their respective crafts were involved; adopted. (14) The object of this amendment was to have the executive council consist of five members, and thus avoid the unwieldiness which would result from making the additional vice-presidents provided for members of that body; adopted. (15), (16) These amendments provided that the first vice-president should attend all sessions of the International Union, and fixed the salary of that officer at $150 per year and traveling expenses to the conventions; adopted. (17) Providing a new form of obligation for subordinate unions; adopted. (18) Providing an obligation to be

administered to every delegate to the International Union immediately after the report of the committee on credentials of that body was acted upon; adopted. (19) Under this amendment all allied craftsmen were required to make application to the nearest union of their craft; adopted. (20) This amendment insured the election of one member of the allied crafts as a delegate to the Federation of Labor; adopted. (21) Making the law conform to the practice of depositing International funds in more than one bank; adopted. (22) Striking out a repetition appearing in section 6 of article vi of the constitution; adopted. (23) Granting power to the executive council to transfer money from one fund to another whenever necessary; adopted. (24) Amending the law so that the executive council could use its discretion as to the character of advertisements appearing in the Typographical Journal; adopted. (25) Fining subordinate unions $15 for each failure to make annual returns or other reports required by the International Union or its executive council; adopted. (26) To strike out section dividing the jurisdiction into districts for organizing purposes; defeated. (27) To strike out all of the article making provision for district and state unions, except section 10; adopted. (28) To strike out the section providing that business of special interest to the allied crafts be confined to certain days at International sessions; adopted. (29) Providing that the number of delegates to which a subordinate union is entitled must be determined by the average membership on which per capita was paid during the twelve months immediately preceding issuance of call; adopted.

Various amendments to the general laws were enacted, among which was the following:

Any member holding a position in an office is entitled to employ in his stead, whenever so disposed, any competent mem-

ber of the International Typographical Union, without the consultation or approval of the foreman of said office. A fine of $25 shall be imposed upon foremen for violation of this law.

NINE-HOUR DAY STRUGGLE

After a prolonged discussion of the much talked of shorter workday, favorable action was finally had on the following:

Resolved, That on and after ..... the maximum hours of labor in book and job offices under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union be fixed at nine hours per day, or fifty-four hours per week.

That subordinate unions be requested to levy an assessment which shall be under such unions' entire charge for the purpose of local disbursement only.

That no part of such assessment levied be placed in the International Typographical Union defense fund.

That local unions, in case of a strike for the inauguration of the shorter workday, be empowered to pay no strike benefits until members have been on strike two weeks.

That the co-operation of the different affiliated organizations be requested, with the intention of securing the same hours of labor for pressmen, stereotypers, mailers, bookbinders and photo engravers.

That, if the above legislation is passed by a majority vote of the referendum, a special committee of five be appointed for its enforcement.

This proposition was endorsed by the referendum by a vote of 8,332 ayes, 2,364 noes, and in accordance with the instructions of the convention contingent upon the approval of the shorter workday proposition by the referendum, President Prescott appointed the following nine-hour committee: James J. Murphy, New York; C. E. Hawkes, San Francisco; Gordon H. Russell, Chattanooga, Tenn.; David Hastings, Hamilton, Ont., and R. B. Prendergast, Chicago. This committee met at headquarters in Indianapolis on May 3, 1897, James J. Murphy being elected chairman and C. E. Hawkes, secretary. In the

first report submitted it was pointed out that the committee had been limited in the matter of assessments to a request from local unions, which request could be complied with or not, at their option. It was unanimously agreed by the committee that no general demand for a shorter workday, such as was contemplated by the resolution, would be effective unless backed up by funds of reasonable proportions, and the committee was at that time unable to satisfy itself that such a fund could be obtained in the manner proposed. It was felt that the membership would have to be asked at some day in the future to vote on another proposition for an assessment which would be levied on and collected from all alike, the fund so raised to be available solely for the purpose of establishing the shorter workday.

Pending the preparation and submission of the proposition referred to, the committee decided to inaugurate an active propaganda in favor of a shorter workday, and in behalf of this to send a circular to each subordinate union inviting its co-operation in a manner and in accordance with a plan which was to be explained in the circular as a part of the complete plan which the committee had prepared. It was also decided that efforts should be made to enlist the assistance of the pressmen in the movement and to ask the executive council to provide funds to enable the chairman of the committee to attend the convention of the International Printing Pressmen's Union in Detroit and lay the matter before it.

According to the Typographical Journal of July 1, 1897, following the visit of Chairman Murphy, the pressmen's convention placed that branch of the business in line on the shorter workday question. After due consideration of the proposition it was decided to appoint a committee to co-operate with the International Typographical Union. This committee was composed of Henry Dorsey,

Dallas, Tex.; Daniel A. McDonald, Chelsea, Mass.; Lawrence F. Gibbons, Philadelphia; Will G. Loomis, Detroit, and Henry L. Kreutzer, St. Louis.

In order to create additional interest among the members of subordinate unions in the struggle for the shorter workday, the general committee petitioned local bodies to appoint shorter workday committees in each local union. This request met with only partial success, in many jurisdictions no response being made to the appeal of the general committee.

On November 3, 1897, after a campaign extending over many months, the committee, through the International officers, submitted the following proposition to the referendum:

That an assessment of one (1) per cent be levied on the earnings of all members under the jurisdiction of any subordinate union for a period of five months, beginning with February 1, 1898. The funds so raised shall remain in the possession of each union, for local disbursement only, and under the supervision of the shorter workday committee.

That where the nine-hour workday is already established, the assessment shall be one-half of one per cent, and the funds so raised shall be placed at the disposal of the International Typographical Union shorter workday committee through the executive council, for the assistance of those unions which shall have exhausted their funds, and for the general purposes of the committee. In the case of unions securing the shorter workday without the use of all the funds raised for the purpose, one-half of the remainder shall be placed to the credit of the executive council, for the use of the shorter workday committee, as above.

If, in the opinion of the shorter workday committee, and the executive council, the struggle gives promise of being a long one, those bodies, acting jointly, are hereby empowered to submit to popular vote the question of levying a further assessment on all earnings during the progress of the contest; they are further endowed with power to name the date on which the votes shall be polled, as well as arrange other necessary details looking to an expeditious decision. It is incumbent on

subordinate unions to follow the directions of the executive council and shorter workday committee in the manner of taking this vote, all other laws and parts of laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the committee, assisted by the various local committees, the membership again refused to levy an assessment for the purpose of creating a fund to carry on the shorter workday campaign. While the action of the referendum was disappointing, the committee determined to continue its labors, feeling confident of ultimate success. Independent action by subordinate unions was strongly urged. Many successes in securing the nine-hour day followed the efforts made in this manner. In March, 1898, the committee issued the following self-explanatory circular to the membership:

The International Typographical Union shorter workday committee has fixed the date on which the shorter workday shall go into effect "in all book and job offices under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union." The day is not far distant—positively before the end of the present year.

The committee deemed it expedient to create a general fund for the assistance of weaker unions in case of serious trouble, and submitted such a proposition, but the membership decided to stand by the original resolution and oblige each union to rely upon its own resources.

You are, therefore, now called upon to levy an assessment immediately for the purpose of enforcing the shorter workday within your jurisdiction.

The responsibility for the terms under which you gain the shorter workday rests upon your members, and each and every individual is urged to prepare for any emergency. Provide a local fund of sufficient size to warrant and support a demand for a continuance of the present scale under a reduction of hours. Remember, any loss in this respect will be chargeable to your own indolence or indifference.

If you have not already done so, appoint at once an active and energetic shorter workday committee of five, whose special duty it shall be to attend to all matters in this connection and

advise with the International Typographical Union shorter workday committee on local conditions and as to the progress of the work in your section.

Do not get alarmed. Build up and strengthen your union in every way, and replenish your treasuries.

There must be no shirking or evading of responsibility. Every union man has now an individual duty to perform.

One united effort and the ten-hour day is a thing of the past.

An effort to secure the co-operation of the bookbinders in the demand for the nine-hour day was duly described by David Hastings, one of the members of the International shorter workday committee, as follows:

The convention of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders was opened in Foresters' hall, Temple building, Toronto, on Tuesday, May 3, about fifty delegates being in attendance from all parts of the United States and Canada. At the suggestion of Chairman Murphy, of the International Typographical Union shorter workday committee, I attended the convention as a representative of that committee, and was cordially received by President Boden and Chairman Weimar of the bookbinders' shorter workday committee. With the latter I had a long conference on the evening of Tuesday, comparing notes as to the progress made toward securing the shorter workday for the printers and the allied crafts. Mr. Weimar undertook to arrange for me to address the convention on the following day, and accordingly, on Wednesday, I returned to Toronto, and in the afternoon was admitted to the convention and addressed the delegates on the subject of the shorter workday and the means to be adopted to obtain it with the least possible friction with the employers and the greatest possible certainty of success when the attempt is made. I endeavored to impress upon them the wisdom of working to perfect not only their own organization but that of the other allied crafts as well. I also touched on the desirability of being prepared with funds in the event of the employers seeing fit to put up a fight against a reduction in the hours of labor in our trades, and advised them to authorize their committee to co-operate with the International Typographical Union committee, and with that of the pressmen, when the date set by our committee arrives. I understand that this course was adopted, and as

Mr. Weimar, the chairman of their committee, was elected president by the delegates there can be no reason to doubt that the bookbinders will be in line all right for the shorter workday.

At the Syracuse convention, 1898, nearly two years after the appointment of the shorter workday committee, a report was made by that committee that it had, assisted by committees from the Pressmen's Union and the Brotherhood of Bookbinders, signed an agreement with a committee representing the United Typothetae of America providing for the inauguration of a shorter workday.

Secretary-Treasurer Wines' Retirement — The following resolution, submitted by President Prescott. was adopted by a rising vote:

Resolved, That the especial thanks of this convention are due to A. G. Wines, retiring secretary-treasurer, for the faithful and masterly manner in which he has discharged his duties as secretary-treasurer of the International Union.

Immediately following, Mr. Lambert of Bay City, Mich., on behalf of the delegates and friends, presented Secretary-Treasurer Wines with a gold-headed walking stick.

Officers, 1896-1897 — Officers were elected as follows: President, William B. Prescott, Toronto; first vice-president, Theodore Perry, Nashville; second vice-president, G. W. Williams, Boston; third vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Bramwood, Denver. Organizers—H. T. Elder, Boston; J. E. McLoughlin, New York city; E. E. Calhoon, Springfield, Ohio; Charles G. Kizer, Norfolk; E. M. Evans, Atlanta; Edward Beck, Detroit; G. W. Harris, Chicago; M. T. Burton, Memphis; J. W. Cline, Kansas City; H. W. Franklin, St. Paul; J. A. Staples, Topeka; W. M. Reilly, Dallas; R. G. Sleater, Salt Lake City; H. H. Watts, San Francisco; G. H. Howell, Portland; George W. Dower, Toronto. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

J. W. BRAMWOOD, Denver
Secretary-Treasurer International Typographical Union
November 16, 1896 – February 1, 1909

W. B. Prescott, Toronto (president); Edward Hirsh, Baltimore; D. J. Sullivan, New York city; Frank Morrison, Chicago. Trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—W. B. Prescott, Toronto; J. W. Bramwood, Denver; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Henry Dorsey, Dallas; Alexander Duguid, Cincinnati; L. C. Shepard, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs.

AFTER THE COLORADO SPRINGS CONVENTION

After the Colorado Springs convention, 1896, had adjourned, and during the two-year period intervening before the Syracuse convention assembled, the initiative and referendum was employed by the membership much after the fashion of a child enraptured by possession of a new toy. In addition to twenty-nine constitutional amendments submitted by the convention, the election of officers was had by referendum vote for the first time. Initiative propositions of some character were before the membership almost continuously during this period.

Percentage Dues—Agreeably to instructions given by the Colorado Springs convention, the executive council prepared and submitted a plan for the collection of dues by what is known as the percentage system. The plan was distributed to the membership in circular form and it was arranged to take a vote on the proposition at any convenient day after June 10, 1897, and before August 10, 1897. The vote of the membership on this question was overwhelmingly in the negative, a majority of more than 10,000 being cast against it, and thus the percentage system of collecting dues, which has since become so popular in many jurisdictions, was temporarily defeated.

Additional Vice-Presidents—In the Typographical Journal of June 15, 1897, it was announced that, in accordance with the provisions of the amended constitu-

tion calling for the election of a fourth vice-president, to be a practical mailer; fifth vice-president, to be a member of the newspaper writers' union; a sixth vice-president, to be a photo engraver, such officers had been elected. All unions composed of mailers and of newspaper writers were notified of the change in the law and had made nominations to fill the offices, while James Ryan of New York Photo Engravers' Union No. 1 became the sixth vice-president by previous agreement, after the adoption of the amendment by the referendum. W. G. Harber, Boston, was chosen fourth vice-president, representing the mailers, and J. F. O'Sullivan, Boston, was elected fifth vice-president, representing the newspaper writers. These positions were honorary, except that the holders thereof had a vote in the executive council on such matters as appertained to their respective crafts.

Biennial Conventions — Immediately following the vote on the twenty-nine amendments submitted to the referendum by the convention, a great deal of discussion took place regarding the amendment abolishing biennial conventions and providing that the president, upon request of five unions, should submit the question of holding a convention to the membership. The delegates, after approving this amendment and sending it to the referendum, proceeded to select Syracuse, N. Y., for the next convention city. Syracuse Union went ahead with the understanding that it was to receive the convention of 1898, but in a decision rendered by President Prescott, in reply to a communication from President T. M. Gafney of No. 55, it was held that there would be no convention in Syracuse in 1898 unless the membership, through petition and referendum, so decided. A discussion of the matter was carried on through the columns of the Journal, and many propositions were submitted looking to a repeal of the action adopting the amendment

referred to. Cincinnati Typographical Union submitted a proposition requesting the membership to vote on the question of holding a meeting of the International Union for the purpose of reconsidering the action which did away with the holding of conventions biennially. The suggestion received sufficient endorsements to require the executive council to bring the matter before the referendum. It having been explained in the columns of the Journal that the action desired by Cincinnati Union could be obtained by a direct referendum vote, without the necessity of calling a convention, the proposition was defeated.

Shortly after the defeat of the Cincinnati proposition, five additional propositions were submitted to the referendum, including one to again provide for biennial sessions. This was approved by the membership, the vote being 5,754 in favor and 5,027 against. The section of the constitution as amended on this point was as follows:

> The International Typographical Union shall meet biennially on the second Monday in October in such city as the preceding convention shall determine upon, all the arrangements for the same to be made by and at the expense of the International Typographical Union; *provided,* that upon the request of five unions, stating the business desired to be considered, the president shall, with the approval of the majority of all the unions, call a special meeting of the International Union; *provided,* that at least thirty days' notice of such special meeting shall be given to subordinate unions; and *provided further,* that no business shall be considered at such special meeting that is not specified in the call, such call, together with a statement of the business to be considered, if deemed advisable, to be published in the Typographical Journal.

Additional Constitutional Amendments — The second referendum proposition was an amendment to change the law so as to require the endorsement of twenty unions

prior to submitting questions to the vote of the membership. This was defeated.

The third proposition was an amendment restricting the eligibility of holding International office, with the exception of organizers and Home trustees, to delegates attending the conventions and to vest the power to elect officers in conventions. This amendment also was defeated.

The purpose of the fourth proposed amendment was to give the executive council power to fill all vacancies except in the office of president. This was defeated.

The intent of the fifth proposition was to abolish the reference of any and all questions to the membership and to vest absolute legislative and executive power in conventions and the officers elected by them. It also provided for annual conventions to be held in August of each year. The majority against this proposition was 3,251.

The last referendum vote between the adjournment of the Colorado Springs convention and the convention at Syracuse included four propositions. The first provided for a sweeping change in the system of organizers. The object sought by the amendment was the appointment by the president of not to exceed three general organizers, to be under the immediate control of the International's executive council, the salaries of such officials to be fixed at $1,200 per annum each, and traveling expenses It was further stipulated that the district system be abolished and temporary organizers be appointed when deemed necessary. The proposition was defeated, the vote being 2,800 in favor and 5,044 against.

The second proposition, which was adopted by a large majority, provided that all unions of compositors be debarred from accepting applications for membership from allied craftsmen and that such of the latter as held

membership in typographical unions "must deposit their cards with the nearest union of their craft."

Favorable action was taken on the third proposition, amending the constitution so as to provide that the election of delegates to the International Union should be held on the last Wednesday in May preceding the International convention.

More interest was manifested in the fourth proposition than those previously mentioned. It had for its object the withdrawal of the International Typographical Union from the American Federation of Labor. The proposition was defeated by a majority of 3,422 in a total vote of 8,120.

Officers Elected by Referendum — Under the provisions of the amended constitution, the first referendum vote taken on the election of officers was had during the month of May, 1898, the law permitting subordinate unions to regulate the time, place and manner of voting. The officers elected for the ensuing two-year term, beginning November 1st, 1898, were as follows:

President, Samuel B. Donnelly, New York; first vice-president, James M. Lynch, Syracuse; second vice-president (stereotyper), John G. Derflinger, New York; third vice-president (German-American Typographia), Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; fourth vice-president (mailer), W. G. Harber, Boston; fifth vice-president (newspaper writer), J. F. O'Sullivan, Boston; sixth vice-president (photo-engraver), James Ryan, New York; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Bramwood, Denver. Trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—Samuel B. Donnelly, New York; J. W. Bramwood, Denver; James J. Dailey, Philadelphia; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs; L. C. Shepard, Chicago; J. W. White, Kansas City, Kan.; William Aimison, Nashville; agent, Victor B. Williams, Chicago. Delegates to American

Federation of Labor—Samuel B. Donnelly (president), New York; Eugene O'Rourke, New York; J. G. Cain (allied crafts), New York; Frank Morrison, Chicago. Organizers—Henry McMahon, Malden, Mass.; J. E. McLoughlin, New York; W. J. Hanafin, Baltimore; Charles G. Kizer, Norfolk; H. P. Blount, Atlanta; A. H. Smith, Detroit; William M. Higgins, Louisville; M. T. Burton, Memphis; J. W. Cline, St. Louis; John Hays, Minneapolis; T. F. Sturgess, Omaha; L. L. Daniels, Dallas; H. C. McDonough, Salt Lake City; C. E. Fisk, Los Angeles; G. H. Howell, Portland, Ore., and George W. Dower, Toronto.

Convention at Syracuse

[1898] — The forty-fourth convention of the International Typographical Union convened at Elks' Hall, Syracuse, N. Y., October 10, 1898.

The convention was called to order by President Prescott, who, after preliminary remarks, introduced President P. J. Coogan of Syracuse Typographical Union No. 55. Mr. Coogan welcomed the guests on behalf of the local union and expressed a regret that the mayor of the city was unexpectedly unable to be present to do the same. He, however, was authorized to extend the freedom of the city to the delegates.

The Rev. Dr. Zimmerman then invoked the divine blessing, at the close of which he gave a hearty welcome and spoke enthusiastically of the occupation of printers, stating that the greatest joy that comes to our homes is through literature, and he would rather never have been born if he could not enjoy reading. There were some things printed, he said, of which he did not approve, but he that would denounce a newspaper because he did not like some portions of it was devoid of all sense of justice.

President Prescott replied, reciprocating the good feelings proffered.

Manner of Administering Obligation — After the list of delegates entitled to seats had been read by the secretary, a committee on credentials was appointed, to which all irregular credentials were referred. Considerable discussion arose over the manner of administering the obligation, it being finally decided that delegates should arise and pronounce their names and the union represented, after which each took the obligation.

Among other minor transactions of the opening session was the creation of a committee on officers' reports, granting the privileges of the floor to the International officers-elect, and allowing all union members seats in the convention.

REVIEW OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

President's Address — In opening his address, President Prescott congratulated the craft on the substantial progress made by the organization during the two-year period following the previous convention. Although there had been a slight decrement in membership—which was more apparent than real—it could be safely said that the International Union and many of its subordinate bodies had made pleasing and encouraging advancement along lines making for better discipline, and therefore greater stability and effectiveness. The evidences of this were manifold, and were especially manifest in the amount being disbursed for benefits and the comparatively few delinquent unions, or of members being disciplined for dereliction in the payment of dues, etc. Testimony justifying self-congratulation was also felt in the fact that, notwithstanding the almost uniformly downward tendency of wages, the typographical unions had generally upheld the wage earning capabilities of their mem-

bers, and might, without boastful egotism, even claim to have improved conditions in that respect.

After some remarks to the delegates relating to law making, expressing the hope that the careful policy that had characterized the proceedings of the past decade would again prevail, the president said:

We now occupy the proud position of being in numbers the greatest labor organization in America, and it is opined our prestige is in keeping with our numerical strength. This honor brings with it responsibilities and duties which I am afraid we can not plume ourselves on having fully appreciated, and if we have realized them, we certainly can not be said to have acquitted ourselves creditably. It is time we gave expression on a point that has been the subject of much controversy and thought among many well-wishers in the trade union movement, and that is the lack of intelligent interest in what is commonly and euphemistically called "the labor movement." Not for one moment would I advocate the gradual conversion of our organization into a partisan political body, or even make it an auxiliary to one, by applying a political test—directly or indirectly, openly or covertly—to applicants for membership. * * * Notwithstanding my occupying such strong ground in opposition to a political typographical union, I am nevertheless convinced we should devote more attention to the study of questions relating to the social and economic phenomena which confront us at every turn. Trade unionists should be to the forefront in creating a healthy public sentiment on all questions affecting wage-earners, but we can not hope to sensibly impress public opinion, or otherwise benefit ourselves or our class, unless we pay more heed to and participate in political discussions of the higher type. It is erroneous to presume that the injection of such an enlivening and edifying feature into our meetings would be in any respect similar to the introduction of partisan politics. The purpose of the former is to gain knowledge regarding matters of vital importance to us as individuals and as an organization, with the ultimate aim of aiding us in efforts to better our condition in life. The object of partisanship in a union is the exact opposite of this, inasmuch as it is always accompanied—irrespective of its professions—by an effort to cajole or coerce the members,

individually and collectively, into accomplishing something for another body or person. The one inures to the benefit of many, while the other utilizes many for the benefit of one or a few. We may safely scout the idea that there is danger of disruption or serious dissension in this proposition, as it is unreasonable and illogical to hold that organizations which have times without number endorsed men applying for positions within the gift of political managers can not with safety discuss subjects of overpowering interest, and probably remote from the practical politics of the day. Considered from an immediately selfish standpoint, we should advance in this direction, as our backwardness is causing us to lose the active sympathy of many liberal-minded citizens who, having been impressed with the imbruting conditions imposed upon the poor, are investigating and being convinced that there is something rotten in modern society. At present there is no avenue by which this large, influential and increasing class can co-operate with what should be the main body of the reform army—the trade unionists. We should draw them to us rather than repel them by obstinately neglecting or refusing to investigate or study social and political science. * * *

But apart from those considerations, and the further one that we, as citizens, should be ever ready to express ourselves on all public affairs—and then, if true to our professions, to strike a blow for good government—it is imperative that we do something to stimulate interest among our members. There is not an earnest worker in our ranks who has not been pained and grieved at the slight interest taken in union meetings, as testified by the attendance, and I am constrained to admit that from the best possible information obtainable this lethargy is becoming more deep seated and widespread, which does not augur well for our future. And, sad to relate, the blight is not peculiar to our organization, but has been responsible for the steady decrease in membership of every considerable American union except ours. In the midst of this deplorable depression, men are earnestly asking themselves if existing trade unions are capable of meeting present exigencies. It is no answer to this to befoul our mouths by emitting invective and vituperation against the questioner or his union record—though the most insistent of these doubters are within our ranks, and have served so long and honorably their probity is beyond cavil. Nor does it suffice

to direct attention to a long list of so-called remedial laws secured in the past, or a creditable array of victories in the economic field. The inquirer knows that the passage of laws by legislatures is of little moment if they are not enforced by the executive branch of the government, and even if the enforcement of an enactment is confided to one thoroughly in sympathy with its aims, the intelligent workingman has come to learn that the courts—to state the case kindly—by an overwhelming fondness for technicalities and precedents, and an unreasoning and unjust antagonism to legislative innovations, competent to meet changed industrial conditions, are likely to encompass the nullification of the majority of measures of an alleviatory nature. Our inquiring friends are influenced by these facts, for they know, as we should recognize, that capitalism has perfect machinery for its self-aggrandizement, with wonderful success within the last few years. In the industrial world, all have to admit the accomplishments of unions and their capability for continued effectiveness in many instances, but there can be no denial of the fact that perhaps the majority of those who formerly composed the union forces are not now working for employers whose actions are circumscribed—and hostility curbed—by fear of competition, but they are employes of great trusts, who calmly make their demands and resort to the barbarous method of starving the workers into submission, and, aided by the skilful attorneys—whose yearly retainers probably exceed the union's income—and pliant officeholders, the trust is supported by all the power of government in the delectable work of reducing wages through the agency of starvation. All this time the corporation is secure. It has no fear of loss of market, and any pecuniary damage resultant from the rupture may be readily repaired when the famished workers return to their labors vanquished, and the wheels of industry again begin to increase the wealth of the land. Though there is usually unrestricted competition in the printing business, and we have not failed to profit by reason of it, there are not wanting indications we may in future be called upon to face situations similar to those before which weaker—aye, and some stronger—and less well equipped unions have gone down. Recently the Chicago publishers, acting in concert, resisted a demand of the stereotypers by suspending publication and agreeing to issue every paper simultaneously, or not at all. Their subscribers could

obtain no papers, nor could ambitious citizens publish one worthy the name, and the employes had either to work for the provokers of this condition or leave Chicago. This was surprising to many—though not all of us—as it was unique in the annals of news publishing. But the publishers did nothing more than employers in other branches of industry have been doing for years, viz., suspended work, with the determination that they would not resume until their terms were complied with. This brings home to us with especial force the question: "Is trade unionism capable of coping with latter-day organized capitalism?" If it is, then it should be demonstrated so clearly as to convince those insistent interrogators, else we will suffer from their defection before many years have passed, as it is irrational to assume men will remain loyal to an organization that possesses for them no uplifting ideal, and which, to their mind, lives and has its being in the past, resolutely setting its face toward the setting sun rather than welcome the dawn of a new day. If the reverse be true and investigation develops such defects and shortcomings, even of an organic character, as compels a negative answer to the question, it is the part of wisdom and our duty to so change our methods as will best advance humanity's cause and preserve those principles we cherish. In order to pass upon these subjects rationally, it will be necessary for us to consider carefully our industrial environment, and there is no place better fitted for this than the union room, with its freedom of discussion and usual honesty of expression, nor could we select a more suitable place to convince those who are at fault of their error.

Organization Work — Under the head of "Organization," the president dealt at some length with the prevailing system, which he characterized as antiquated and not meeting the needs of the time, concluding that "it would be incomparably better to have one or two men devoting their entire attention to the work now devolving upon organizers. As practice makes for perfection, these officials would soon become adepts in the art of organizing, treating with employers and managing strikes, which always require a certain amount of personal supervision. The latter qualification is no minor consideration,

for in these days the conduct of industrial disturbances calls for the exercise of tact and skill. When an open rupture occurs, one trained and experienced in combatting the enemy should be on the ground. The most effective blows are struck in the first few days, when enthusiasm is at its height, and it is folly, under these circumstances, to gain knowledge by experience, as that is not obtained until after the battle is won or lost. By this arrangement much effective work could be done in organizing new unions, strengthening weak ones and substituting business principles for the slipshod methods that prevail in too large a number of our subordinate bodies, to their disgrace, and sometimes resulting in disaster." It was believed by the president that such officials should have power to inspect or audit the books of subordinate unions.

Amnesty — After calling attention to the danger from non-unionists and urging special efforts for complete organization, the president continued:

> It can not be denied that in most localities book and job printers are not characterized by proper activity in union work, and to this apathy is largely due the existing state of affairs. I am not unmindful that the mere suggestion of an amnesty is distasteful to many; but, nevertheless, in justice to those unions which are well maintained and control the business in their jurisdictions, it is imperative that a remedy be found for the condition here mentioned. To that end it is recommended that your executive council be clothed with authority—should occasion require—to invade the territory of a local union, suspend all laws regarding the admission of applicants, and proceed to thoroughly organize the city. This is a long step from the much-cherished doctrine of local autonomy, but that should not deter you from adopting legislation which would simultaneously strengthen a weak union and remove threatening danger from stronger ones.

Allied Trades — Charters — In touching upon the organization of the allied trades, the president reported

measurable success. During the two-year period covered by the report seventy-five charters had been issued, three being for mailers, seven photo-engravers, sixteen stereotypers and electrotypers, two newspaper writers, and one typefounders, the balance being for printers, altogether bringing in a membership of 1,156. During the same period twenty unions surrendered their charters and twenty-four were suspended for delinquency, involving a membership of 520.

Proofreader Members — On the question of proofreader members, attention was called to the matter of further legislation, the president affirming that the reason proofrooms were not under union authority was not due to the apathy of subordinate unions or its members. To assist unions not in control of proofrooms, two plans were proposed—one by insisting that all future vacancies be filled from the membership of the union; but the inconveniences incident to such an arrangement were obvious. The other resource was to admit all non-printer proofreaders to membership. While not advocating the opening of proofrooms to non-printer readers, the president felt constrained to urge that the latter suggestion presented the most feasible and honorable solution of the difficulty. It had been represented that many of the non-printer proofreaders were desirous of affiliating with the union and, when viewed from a somewhat sordid standpoint, they without doubt derived substantial benefit from the wages maintained by union effort and should therefore be contributors to union finances as well as bear some of the burdens inseparable from union work. It was suggested that a tentative amendment to the constitution be adopted empowering subordinate unions to admit all proofreaders who made application within six months from a certain named day.

Machine Tenders — The president characterized the

relations of the union with machine tenders as a fruitful source of controversy, and, after reviewing the acts and incident complications with the International Association of Machinists and the Associated Typesetting Machine Engineers, concluded that this class of legitimate composing room employes ought to be in typographical unions.

Union Label — Regarding the union label, the president said that although it had been neglected by the International Union, and rarely pushed with commendable vim and vigor by subordinate unions, no single agency had proven of greater service than the union label, introduced seven years previously. It had reached an enviable position despite the opposition of some shortsighted members who, though unable to destroy the label movement, successfully retarded its development. As label success had silenced the opposition referred to, delegates could, without fear of having the judiciousness of their acts questioned, give official approval to some plan whereby the label's effectiveness and usefulness could be taken advantage of.

Sick Benefit Fund — Referendum — The establishment of a sick benefit fund was recommended and a position was taken in opposition to a change from the referendum system of voting, the president on this point saying: "It will doubtless be represented to you that, if given the opportunity, the members would repudiate the entire system, or so much of it as relates to elections. I believe it would be a delusion for you to act on such a brash assumption in the face of the overwhelming majority which rejected the last effort to repeal the law, and feel it to be your duty to perfect present legislation, when the result of your deliberations can be referred to and passed upon by the membership."

Functions of Local Unions — The president decried

against legislation affecting the internal affairs of printing offices properly under the domain of local unions or office chapels, saying, "When this organization undertakes to regulate some of the affairs legislated upon, it dignifies trifles and detracts from its own dignity by digressing from its most useful and proper work. It is earnestly hoped that you will refrain from assisting in the inordinate enlargement of these trivialities to the end that the International's machinery may be devoted to the more important needs that are properly within its province."

Seals — The president asked that seals be abolished and that a number of sections in the general laws of minor importance be repealed.

Defense Fund — Under the head of "Funds," a satisfactory condition was reported, but there were expressions of regret that a large defense fund was not provided.

The Home — Calling attention to Home affairs, it was shown that the institution had cost approximately a quarter of a million dollars, and that its maintenance would cost, on an average, $35,000 annually, with about 110 inmates, even under the most favorable circumstances.

Minor Recommendations — Among a number of minor matters touched upon by the president, it was recommended that the laws should be so changed as to permit the admission of members by a majority vote; the repeal of the laws permitting district unions; opposing appropriations of money to subordinate unions by conventions, the executive council to control such outlays; the consolidation of the offices of Home treasurer and secretary of the board on the score of convenience, the Home treasurer being out of easy reach with headquarters.

Indianapolis Bank Failure — It was also recommended that the claim against the defunct Indianapolis National Bank be written off, 55 per cent having been paid by the receiver, with only 4 to 6 per cent more in sight.

Strikes — No general strike was reported for the two-year term, such difficulties as had occurred for the most part being in defense of scales and to prevent reductions, which had generally received International help.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers — G. W. Williams, second vice-president, in beginning his report, said: "When I took charge of the district there were twenty-two unions. At the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1898, that number had been increased to thirty-eight, with several in embryo which we may expect to materialize in the near future. Today we have a membership in good standing of about 1,450, showing a gain of over 50 per cent." In reference to the burial fund, the report for the two years showed that $1,260 had been paid out in death benefits on twenty-one members of stereotypers and electrotypers. The strike fund showed an outlay of $2,365.17 and for organization purposes $380.21 had been paid out. Altogether there was expended the sum of $4,005.34 for support of the stereotypers' and electrotypers' branch. Better conditions, generally, were reported. Among other recommendations the second vice-president took strong ground against withdrawal from the International Typographical Union unless it could be accomplished in a friendly manner, sanctioned by a referendum vote.

German-American Typographia — Hugo Miller, in his report as third vice-president, said of the two-year period that it was with great pleasure he could say that the German branch had been not only generally active but very successful during that time, although the field was somewhat limited, owing to the comparatively small number of German printers in this country. During the two years they had unionized quite a number of important German offices and had gained many points by renewing local scales, but seldom were compelled to appeal to that last of weapons, the strike—although trouble was brewing often

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

FRANK MORRISON
(Chicago Typographical Union No. 16)
Secretary American Federation of Labor, 1897 - 19—

enough, and was only prevented by the solid and prompt action of the membership and the executive officers of the International Typographical Union. Just as good or even better than their standing in the union world was their financial condition at that time. A detailed account of the work of the term covered was included in the report.

Mailers — Third Vice-President Harber for the mailers detailed the work in his department, in the course of which he complained that one of the great troubles that had handicapped the mailers had been the contracts made by local typographical unions, and he insisted that contracts ought not to be made with publishers that prevented the enforcement of obligations to sister unions.

Newswriters — The report of Fifth Vice-President O'Sullivan said that the past term had been confined almost wholly to agitation among newswriters, with fairly satisfactory results. Strong ground was taken in favor of organizing under International Typographical Union charters as against other forms of press organization. In conclusion, he said: "Let me ask that after this convention adjourns you redouble your efforts to organize unions of writers. I am sure you will agree with me that no other organization can accomplish as much as ours in awakening the public mind to the desirability of the shorter workday and to the achievement of those other high aims to which the American trade union movement is committed.

Photo Engravers — Sixth Vice-President James Ryan, for the photo engravers, reported that seven charters had been issued in his department in the two-year period, with an encouraging outlook for the future. The work of the unions had been quite successful for the period covered.

Secretary Bramwood's Report — Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood presented a report covering in detail all the important transactions in his office during the term. Un-

der the head of "Our Membership," the secretary said: "That the membership is to be congratulated upon the status of the organization is recognized by those who are conversant with the conditions surrounding the printing business during the past two years. Machines have continued to invade both newspaper and book offices. The business depression of many months past has been limited only by local environments and yet the membership of the International has decreased so slightly as to make the loss of little moment. From an average paying membership of 28,838 in 1896, a loss of 742 brought the roll down to 28,096 in 1897, while an increase of 518 in the average for the following year swelled the figures to 28,614 in 1898, making 224 the net loss in membership since 1896, and establishing an average of 28,355 for the past two years."

A summary of the receipts and disbursements for the twenty-four months ended June 30, 1898, showed the receipts to have aggregated $223,683.32, of which $14,013.95 represented the Home assessment, the balance being derived from per capita tax, supplies, Journal advertising and subscriptions and sundry other sources. An increase of $35,737.76 was shown over the preceding two years, while the total business reached $290,518.86, a figure beyond that of any single period in the previous existence of the organization. Expenditures amounted to $237,140.99, exceeding the income by $13,457.67. Of the expenditures, the sum of $70,209.30 was charged to the Home fund.

In strike benefits the report showed that there was expended, in the time covered, the sum of $57,752.56, or a little more than $2.03 per member. This was $9,665.38 in excess of what was paid for similar purposes in the preceding two years. Of the amount included under the head of strike and lockout benefits, $45,262.55 went di-

rectly to local unions, $12,202.18 was expended in defraying the traveling expenses of organizers and officers, whose assistance was invoked by local unions in the settlement of difficulties, and $287.83 was used for work entrusted to the executive council by a secret session of the Colorado Springs convention. Including strike and lockout benefits of the two years the International had paid for such purposes, since 1889, the sum of $270,876.15, an average of $30,097.34 yearly. Burial benefits paid in the fiscal year of 1897 amounted to $23,700, and in 1898 to $23,040, making a total of $46,740, or $1.65 per member for the two years, and swelled the total burial claims paid since the establishment of the fund, in 1891, to $151,445, an average of $21,635 a year.

The report also showed that 101,672 pieces of mail and express matter had been sent from headquarters during the two-year period, exclusive of the Journal. Of this mail, almost 30,000 pieces were typewritten letters.

Typographical Journal — The official paper was dealt with at length, the following being an extract from the report:

As editor of the Typographical Journal, the secretary-treasurer feels that special attention should be given this important feature of the organization. The official paper was established in 1889, appearing for the first time on July 15 of that year, the issue containing eight pages, of which almost four were devoted to official matter, the balance of the space being given up to correspondence and general craft news. The paper was continued in its original shape until April 1, 1895, when a cover was added and the policy of accepting advertisements inaugurated. As the referendum decided in 1895 that the size and form of the paper should remain optional with the officers, it was determined to issue a publication that would be more creditable typographically, and the first number of the present form appeared January 1, 1896. Throughout its career the original intent of the Journal has remained unchanged.

It came into the field as a disseminator of information of an official character among the members, and has continually grown in usefulness in this direction as the years have passed away, besides doing inestimable good in keeping before the public the aims, objects and accomplishments of the International Union, and giving the membership general information upon economic subjects and doings in the labor world, until our official paper is justly accorded recognition as a leader in craft journalism and one reflecting credit upon the organization.

The cost of publishing the Journal for the past two years can not well be compared with the same preceding period, as but twelve issues of the paper were printed in its present form during the two years ending June 30, 1896. The report of the secretary-treasurer to the Colorado Springs convention shows the Journal to have cost (ten months in its original shape, eight months with a cover, and six months in its present form), $16,907.48, with receipts for the same period to the amount of $5,490.19, leaving a deficit of $11,417.29. By reference to the reports for the fiscal years of 1897 and 1898, in which there appeared forty-eight issues of the Journal in magazine shape, it will be seen that the gross expenditures reached $25,259.22. Advertising brought in $6,921.53, union cards and subscriptions produced $860.84, the sale of halftones, bound volumes and extra copies yielded $55.91, $175 was rebated on paper bills, and the individual subscriptions amounted to $2,108.29, making the total receipts from all sources for the two years, $10,121.57, and leaving a deficit of $15,137.65 ($8,216.41 in 1897, and $6,921.24 in 1898) or 29 and 24 cents per member per year, respectively, an average of 26½ cents per member per year for the time before mentioned. Should the amount due from advertisers ($484.94) on June 30, 1898, be deducted from the foregoing deficit ($15,137.65) the net cost of the paper for the two years amounts to but 51 cents, or 25½ cents per member per year. In the past two years there were printed and mailed 494,350 Journals, of which 247,175, or one-half, were mailed to chairmen and local officers in accordance with our laws. These papers cost, delivered to the reader, a fraction over 3 cents each net, or a total of $7,568.82. This sum, deducted from the net cost of the paper shown above, without allowing for money due for advertising, reduces the amount to $7,568.83, or 26½ cents per member for twenty-four months.

From these figures it is readily recognized that the burden of the Journal's expense finds its origin in the law before mentioned, which provides for its distribution to chairmen and local officials. The small sum received from individual subscriptions represents less than 4,300 contributing readers, out of a membership of almost seven times that number, and the excess accruing from individual subscriptions for two years ($2,108.29) over the postage on the paper ($1,319.03) for the same time amounts to only $789.26.

Past reports of the secretary-treasurer have compared the present cost of the Journal as a means of official communication between the officers and the membership with the cost of administering the business of the International by the system of quarterly statements and the use of craft papers, which prevailed in 1888, and have fully covered the subject. It is therefore deemed unnecessary to do more at this time than direct attention to the fact, that with a membership almost doubled, the addition of all our beneficial features, and a three-fold increase in the financial transactions of the organization, the net cost of the Journal per member per year is not more than would be entailed by the old methods were they now in vogue. The Journal accomplishes all and much more than did the old-fashioned quarterly statement, which reached the officers alone, and is of untold advantage in winning for the International the respect and favor of the public and preserving the position of the organization among kindred ones.

The claim has been made that the Journal would eventually be a source of revenue to the International Union, but an experience of two years as secretary-treasurer and editor of the Journal convinces me that this idea is a fallacy. Trade papers, and especially official ones, in which the Journal is classed, are necessarily limited in the acceptance of advertisements, and although every possible effort has been made to increase this patronage of our official paper, the results have been, and are still, far from satisfactory. By purchasing paper direct from the manufacturers, additional advertising was obtained, and the deficit in the Journal account was reduced from $8,216.41 in 1897 to $6,921.24 in the fiscal year of 1898, resulting in a saving of $1,295.17, notwithstanding the fact that the magazine has contained more matter of all classes than in preceding years. Information received at headquarters indicates the system of

sending the Journal to chapel chairmen is full of abuses, and complaints to the effect that the chairmen take the paper home, and thus prevent it coming into the hands of the members of the chapel for perusal, constantly reach headquarters.

For the reason that the publication and form of distribution of the Journal was a heavy drain on the general fund of the International, in making up the deficit, the secretary-treasurer suggested the following changes in the law governing the publication:

FIRST. Amend article xiii, of the constitution, in such a manner as to provide for the furnishing only of one copy each to the president and secretary of each local union; increase the subscription rate to 50 cents per year, postage in addition to be charged foreign subscribers; the rate for single copies to be fixed at 5 cents each.

SECOND. Amend the constitution as set forth in the first proposition, and further amend the article mentioned so as to provide that the Journal shall be published monthly instead of semi-monthly.

Nine Years' Finances — The secretary presented a tabulated statement of the financial transactions of the organization for the previous nine years, giving receipts and disbursements from May 21, 1889, to June 30, 1898, showing the total receipts to have been $871,212.15.

Mortality Statistics — A mortality table was also presented showing the cause of death, age and number of deaths. It showed a total of 779 deaths, of which 328 were on account of tuberculosis or related diseases, the average age at death being 42 years.

Funds — The report showed the following under the head of "Funds":

By the present law the burial fund received, as one-fourth of the per capita tax during the past two years, $51,039.15, which, with $16,026.19, the balance to its credit on July 1, 1896, placed to the credit of the fund a total of $67,065.34, from which burial benefits in the sum of $46,740 were paid, and $8,537.49 was transferred to the general fund, leaving

$11,787.85 to the credit of the burial fund on June 30, 1898.

At the disposal of the executive council, as a defense fund, there accumulated in the two years of this report, from one-fourth of the per capita tax and the return of cash advanced unions, $51,615.76. Add to this $20,706.65, to the credit of the fund at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1896, deduct the expenditures ($57,752.56) and a balance of $14,569.85 results.

The Home fund, to which is apportioned one-third of the per capita tax, obtained from this, the special assessment and other sources, $70,275.47. This sum, with the balance of $957.95 on July 1, 1896, less $70,209.30 transferred to Treasurer Dailey, and $100 advanced Superintendent Clark, left $924.12 to the credit of the Home fund at headquarters on June 30, 1898, of which amount $706.15 represents the portion of this fund involved in the Indianapolis National Bank claim.

Referring to the fund showing made elsewhere it is noted that the aggregate amount in the several funds is reported as $27,519.92. Deducting $231.10 due by local unions for supplies, the result is $27,281.82, from which the Indianapolis National Bank claim of $13,792.20 must be taken, if it is desired to know that the available cash in the hands of the secretary-treasurer on June 30, 1898, reached only $13,489.62. * * * The claim against the bank has been reduced from $16,857.12 to $13,792.20 since the Colorado Springs convention. A further dividend is promised by the receiver within the next few months, but the amount as yet has not been announced.

Government Bonds — In order to secure interest on surplus funds, the Indianapolis banks, declining any further favors in this direction, the secretary reported that the executive council, in 1897, had approved the investment of $6,000 in United States 5 per cent bonds on which a premium of 15¾ per cent was paid, making a total investment of $6,945. This bond deal, if carried to its maturity (1904) would yield a benefit of $1,005.

Organizers — American Federation of Labor — The reports of the organizers for the sixteen districts and of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor covered in detail the work of the two-year period, but pos-

sesses no features that can be profitably summarized, though there was much of interest to trade unionists in the reports.

Shorter Workday Committee — The shorter workday committee closed an elaborate account of its work since the Colorado convention, with the following summary:

Owing to the distance separating the members of the committee, all communication after the first meeting was necessarily by mail. In every important matter letters were addressed to the secretary, giving the views of the various members; these were then compiled, copies sent to each member, and his revised opinion and vote returned. All reports received were summarized and copies sent each member of the committee. Copies have been preserved of all communications sent and received. All circulars issued here have been submitted to the full committee for suggestions and approval. * * * Since February 15, 1898, it has been necessary to employ a stenographer from time to time as the work accumulated, as in the opinion of the secretary more could be accomplished in this way than by devoting his time to the work and charging per diem to expense. Up to that time the only expense of the committee was for postage and printing, outside of the visit of the chairman to the pressmen's convention in Detroit. Since that time the expenditures have amounted to about $1,400. * * *

Up to the time of filing this report fourteen different circulars have been issued, or about one each month. * * * Over 750 personal letters have been written by the secretary on shorter workday matters to various unions and committees, and this does not include correspondence with headquarters or between the members of the committee.

Childs-Drexel Home — The report of the trustees of the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers and Allied Crafts was quite voluminous, covering in detail all matters relating to that institution. The report of Superintendent Clark for 1897 showed the net cost of maintenance to have been $19,032.90; the average number of inmates being placed at sixty-nine. It was shown that the hospital annex had been erected at a cost of $13,829.72, leaving a

balance of $185.23 in the special fund collected by assessment for that purpose. The report of Treasurer Dailey showed that on June 30, 1898, there was a balance to the credit of the Home fund of $10,662.85, and the report of the superintendent for 1898 showed an average cost for each inmate, per month, of $21.66.

The various reports were concise and faithful accounts of the more important matters which had engaged the management's attention during the term.

MISCELLANEOUS PROPOSITIONS

Organizing System Changed — The convention devoted considerable time to consideration of the recommendation of President Prescott providing for the appointment of a general organizer, with the result that it was finally determined to submit to the referendum a proposition that the territory under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union should constitute one organizing district, and for the purpose of organization the president was empowered to appoint organizers subject to the approval of the executive council. In the appointment of organizers it was provided that the needs of the different locals comprising the district should be taken into consideration and the expenditure for such work should not exceed $6,000 per annum. The compensation of organizers was limited to the time lost from regular employment, but not to exceed $4 per day and traveling and hotel expenses. This proposition was defeated by the referendum.

Referendum Laws Amended — A number of amendments to the referendum laws were adopted, most important of which was the fixing of the third Wednesday in May as general election day instead of "during the month of May." Other amendments were passed tending to simplify the laws and remove demonstrated encumbrances.

New Obligation — Among other minor propositions adopted was a new obligation for members, somewhat shorter than the old one but embracing largely identical features.

Propositions Rejected — Of the propositions rejected was one making conventions subject to call by five unions; another providing for the abolition of seals and one empowering the executive council, for organization purposes, to invade the jurisdiction of local unions, suspend local laws and organize the city or town. A proposition to establish a politico-economic department in the Typographical Journal was defeated.

Use of Defense Fund — An amendment was made to the general laws that no strike or lockout be deemed legal, or money expended from the defense fund on any account, unless the strike or lockout had been authorized by the executive council.

Annual Conventions — Another proposition was adopted, providing for holding annual conventions of the International Union, to open on the second Monday in August. This went through over an unfavorable recommendation by the laws committee.

Discussion of Economic Subjects at Union Meetings — After a prolonged and animated discussion the convention adopted, by a vote of 99 to 16, the following resolution:

WHEREAS an intelligent investigation of social and economic phenomena is not only a duty imposed upon all mankind, but an understanding of questions relating to industrial conditions and the science of government is necessary in order that we may reap in full the possible benefits of trade unionism; and

WHEREAS there is a lamentable lack of interest among our members on such vital questions, and believing no better opportunity for the dissemination of knowledge exists than is afforded by discussion within union rooms and at union meetings; therefore,

Be it Resolved, That the International Union strongly urge

upon its subordinate bodies the necessity of providing in their respective "orders of business" for the discussion of the various phases of the labor question and other matters of public moment having a direct bearing upon the welfare of wage-earners.

A motion also prevailed instructing the delegates to the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to secure the adoption of a resolution on economic discussion.

NINE-HOUR DAY ACHIEVED

Probably the most important event of the convention transpired at the morning session of the fourth day, being the endorsement of an agreement entered into with the typothetæ committee relating to the establishment of a shorter workday. A conclusion was reached after an executive session, participated in by representatives from the Printing Pressmen's International Union and International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

That the report of the committee be received and the agreement entered into with the United Typothetæ of America receive the endorsement and approval of this convention.

The report mentioned was from the International shorter workday committee and outlined the various conferences held with the typothetæ committee. The agreement referred to was signed by representatives of the United Typothetæ of America and the shorter workday committees of the three International unions, and was as follows:

This agreement, entered into between the committee of the United Typothetæ of America and the shorter workday committees of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders provides:

That the said United Typothetæ of America agrees to inaugurate a shorter workday on the following basis: The nine-and-a-half-hour day, or the fifty-seven-hour week, to commence on

November 21, 1898, and the nine-hour day, or fifty-four-hour week, on November 21, 1899.

That said International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and International Brotherhood of Bookbinders will endeavor in the meantime to equalize the scale of wages in the competitive districts where at present there are serious inequalities upon the basis outlined by the representatives of the pressmen's and typographical unions at the Milwaukee convention of the United Typothetæ of America.

Provided, That nothing in this agreement shall be construed or operate to increase the hours in any city where they are now less than those specified.

Provided further, That nothing in this agreement shall be construed to prevent local unions, or establishments, from mutually arranging the fifty-seven or fifty-four hours, respectively, so that Saturdays may be observed as half-holidays.

Provided also, That wherever the employers of any city will not, prior to November 21, 1898, enter into an agreement with the local unions to carry out the above-mentioned reduction of hours on the dates specified, the said union shall not be considered as restrained from endeavoring to obtain from such employers the nine-hour day, or fifty-four-hour week, on any such earlier date as they in their judgment may select.

Supplementary to this agreement, the shorter workday committee immediately forwarded circulars to subordinate unions, giving official notice of the agreement, to which the following instructions and suggestions were attached:

While this agreement may not be all the unions desire, or their members have been led to expect, it practically removes the danger of a prolonged and possibly disastrous strike for the purpose of reducing the hours, and it is hoped you will loyally carry out its provisions, as we are confident the United Typothetæ of America will do.

You are therefore advised to immediately call a special meeting of your union, that this matter may be laid before it, the employers given the agreed thirty days' notice, and proper steps taken to enforce the provisions of the agreement.

The question of wage scale, as you have been repeatedly informed, is entirely a matter of local jurisdiction, but you are urged to maintain, so far as is possible and consistent with our agreement, the present wage scale.

You are directed to act in concert with all the printing and binding trade unions in your city, either through the respective shorter workday committees or the allied printing trades council, where such exist, in order that the unanimity of action which is the essence of this movement should be brought about.

In cities where no agreement can be reached with local employers for a nine-and-a-half-hour day, or a fifty-seven-hour week, and a nine-hour day, or fifty-four-hour week, on the dates specified in the agreement, you are at liberty to secure, if possible, the reduction to nine hours on November 21, 1898.

Employing printers or bookbinders not affiliated with the United Typothetæ are entitled to the privileges of the above agreement should they desire to avail themselves of them.

This circular supersedes and nullifies any instruction on this question heretofore received from this committee.

Following the adoption of the report of the shorter workday committee, President Bowman of the Internation Printing Pressmen's Union addressed the convention, congratulating the delegates upon what had been accomplished. He said: "Formerly, employer and employe got together with a club; now they meet in a friendly and businesslike way." Not all had been secured, but a great step had been accomplished. He had sacrificed the nine-hour aspirations of the Chicago pressmen for the time being, but he had recognized the well-being of the weaker as well as the stronger unions, and peace would be preserved.

President Weimar of the Brotherhood of Bookbinders stated that it gave him great pleasure to commend the action taken. Out of their fifty-six locals, fifty to fifty-two had levied assessments to enforce the nine-hour day. They were actively preparing for the attempt, but peace was preferable, under all the circumstances. There

never was a fight without losses to both sides. This was the best settlement, and he was glad to say he had something to do with it; it was an historical event. In closing, he asked the delegates to lend their aid to more thoroughly organize the bookbinders in certain localities.

In appreciation of the shorter workday committee, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to draw up a memorial, to be sent out by the secretary-treasurer to all subordinate unions, whereby a suitable and fitting souvenir of the appreciation of the International Typographical Union for the splendid and faithful work of the shorter workday committee may be devised and adopted, said souvenir to be presented the shorter workday committee at the next national convention.

In compliance with the above, the chair appointed Delegates Lavery (Poughkeepsie), Greenberg (New York), and Fuchs (St. Louis).

Stereotypers' Trade District — Another important act of the convention was the creation of a trade district union, to be composed of the stereotypers' and electrotypers' unions, giving the district union autonomy in all matters relating to internal affairs of the stereotypers and electrotypers.

Location of Headquarters — A proposition to change the headquarters of the International Union from Indianapolis, Ind., to Washington, D. C., was tabled by a decisive vote, as was also a proposition to establish a defense fund involving a special assessment.

Death of Henry George — The death of Henry George was noted by the adoption of the following resolutions:

WHEREAS since the last session of this body, the printers of America have suffered the loss of one who had risen from their ranks to occupy a pre-eminent position among the great thinkers of the age;

Resolved, That in the death of that great philosopher and

statesman, Henry George, humanity has lost a true friend, and the wage-earners of the world a fearless leader, and a conscientious worker.

Resolved, That the sympathy of this body be tendered to his family in their great bereavement.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the family of the deceased.

Journal Free List — Concurring in the recommendations of Secretary Bramwood regarding the publication of the Typographical Journal, two important changes were made, one increasing the subscription price to 50 cents per annum and the other practically cutting off the entire free list, one copy only being furnished, which was to be sent to the secretary of each local union.

Machine Tenders — In dealing with some of the recommendations contained in the report of President Prescott, two propositions met with favorable action among a number submitted—one providing that until July 1, 1899, non-printer machine-tenders might make application for membership in the union, and subordinate unions were empowered to admit them to membership irrespective of other laws and customs. After that date it was provided that all machine tenders should be members of the International Typographical Union. The other proposition stipulated that non-printer members should only be permitted to work at the particular subdivision of the craft at which they were employed at time of admission, and when issuing cards to such non-printer members the secretaries of subordinate unions were required to designate that particular subdivision on the card.

Minor Home Affairs — After consideration of a report from the committee on the Childs-Drexel Home, it was ordered that residents of the Home be relieved from the payment of per capita tax. It was also provided that the trustees be instructed to make inquiries as to the advisability of establishing an electric light plant at the

Home, the cost not to exceed $2,000, and it was further ordered that the board of trustees hold its annual meetings at the Home in Colorado Springs. A resolution heartily approving the administration of the Home's affairs by Superintendent Deacon was passed.

Photo Engravers — A proposition was adopted authorizing photo engravers, or any of the other allied trades under the jurisdiction of the International, to form a trade district union, after the manner already provided for the stereotypers and electrotypers.

Postal Telegraph — Acting on a report from the committee on officers' reports, the following resolutions were concurred in, among a number submitted: "That the delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to request of that body that postal telegraphy be made a preferred measure and that its legislative committee be directed to co-operate with the International Typographical Union committee in pushing the work among the membership and the committees of both houses of congress and all organizations represented in the federation be requested to take the necessary steps toward putting into practical effect the resolutions of 1893, which had been readopted annually following that period."

District Organizers — District organizers were elected as follows, it being understood these officials should hold office only until March 1, 1899, in case the action taken relative to organizers and districts was endorsed by the membership: First district, Henry McMahon, Boston; second district, John E. McLoughlin, New York; third district, W. J. Hanafin, Baltimore; fourth district, Charles G. Kizer, Norfolk; fifth district, H. P. Blount, Atlanta; sixth district, Alex H. Smith, Detroit; seventh district, William M. Higgins, Louisville; eighth district, M. T. Burton, Memphis; ninth district, J. W. Cline, St.

Louis; tenth district, J. W. Hays, Minneapolis; eleventh district, T. F. Sturgess, Omaha; twelfth district, L. L. Daniels, Dallas; thirteenth district (no delegation being present, the president stated the incumbent would stand); fourteenth district, C. E. Fisk, Los Angeles; fifteenth district (no delegation present, incumbent stands); sixteenth district, George W. Dower, Toronto; West Indies, J. A. Gregory was elected special organizer by the convention.

Indianapolis Bank Failure — The secretary-treasurer was instructed to write off the Indianapolis bank account, being carried as an asset, amounting to $13,792.20, after the payment of the next dividend, future dividends to be paid into the general fund.

Union Label — Legislation affecting the label provided for registration in the various states, territories and provinces. A proposition to establish a universal union label was referred to the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to present same to that body with the aim of securing its adoption on a basis that would be mutually agreeable to all the interests involved.

To Abolish Referendum — A proposition to establish annual conventions, to be supreme law-making bodies, carrying with it the abolition of the referendum system of law-making and the election of officers, was adopted and sent to the referendum for approval or rejection.

Retiring Official Honored — At this point, the secretary's desk being clear, President Prescott was called from the platform and First Vice-President Perry took the chair. Delegate Hays of Minneapolis then took the floor, paying a glowing tribute to the work of President Prescott during the many years he had served the International Union as its highest officer. Mr. Hays closed his remarks by introducing a motion proposing that suitable

resolutions be drawn up and presented to the president upon his retirement, expressing the appreciation of the assembled delegates. The motion was adopted. Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood, in addressing the convention, spoke feelingly of the work of President Prescott. It being announced that the delegates also desired to present a suitable token of regard to President Prescott before he left Syracuse, the chair appointed Delegates Hays, Greenberg and Smith to act in the matter. On motion of Delegate Greenberg, the council was authorized to present President Prescott with an engrossed testimonial on the occasion of his retirement from office.

Delegate Boulton stated that the stereotypers and electrotypers had voted the convention their appreciation of the treatment accorded them. He also desired it recorded that they had voted a contribution to the offering to President Prescott.

After the convention had adjourned, an informal gathering of delegates, ex-delegates, wives and visitors took place in the ladies' parlors of the Vanderbilt Hotel. Secretary Bramwood presided and introduced Chairman Murphy, of the shorter workday committee, who, on behalf of many friends, presented President Prescott with an elegant silver tea set as a slight testimonial of their appreciation of his qualities as a man and the excellent service rendered the organization during his term of office. Mr. Prescott responded in a feeling manner, after which retiring First Vice-President Perry was the recipient of a present in the form of a silver water service and chocolate set, the presentation being made by Delegate Hays of Minneapolis.

On June 25, 1899, President Donnelly, on behalf of the executive council, which had complied with the instructions of the Syracuse convention in preparing and having engrossed suitable resolutions commending former

President Prescott for valuable services rendered, presented the token, which was worded as follows:

Resolutions Adopted by the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union

WHEREAS William B. Prescott retired from the presidency of the International Typographical Union November 1, 1898, after serving continuously in that position over seven years; and

WHEREAS the period of the administration of Mr. Prescott was a most important and eventful one in International Typographical Union affairs, witnessing the introduction of machinery, the success of which has caused a transformation amounting to a revolution in the printing trade; and

WHEREAS this transition was effected under the guidance of Mr. Prescott, without loss in membership or reduction in wages, while a noteworthy event of the closing hours of his administration was the agreement reached for the inauguration of a shorter workday in the book and job branch, a reform which has been zealously championed by him; and

WHEREAS the International Typographical Union, heretofore respected for its honorable age and its long and consistent record of fair dealing, has in the period referred to, notwithstanding the great changes in trade conditions and the difficulties attending the adjustment of the same, grown in the confidence and esteem of publishers and the employing printers, and in usefulness to its members; therefore,

Be it Resolved, by the executive council of the International Typographical Union, acting for the membership at large, That we hereby place on record, on the retirement of Mr. Prescott as aforesaid, our recognition and appreciation of his resourceful diplomacy, untiring energy and promptness in the discharge of his executive duties, the faithful performance of which has, in a large measure, contributed to the advancement of the organization during the time of his administration.

Resolved, That we hereby tender to the said William B. Prescott our thanks for the honesty and singleness of purpose which he brought to the performance of his duties as president, and express our unqualified admiration of the marked ability, firmness and high courage which characterized his official acts; and

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be published in

the Typographical Journal, and that they be suitably engrossed and framed for presentation to Mr. Prescott, bearing the signatures of the executive officers of the International Typographical Union.

SAMUEL B. DONNELLY,
President.

J. W. BRAMWOOD,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Indianapolis, November 28, 1898.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Twenty-two propositions to amend the constitution of the International Union were submitted to the referendum, eighteen of which were endorsed by the membership and four defeated. Three of the propositions defeated related to abolishing the referendum and provided that delegates should have full power to elect officers and enact all laws. The fourth defeated proposition attempted to establish a new system of organization to be under control of the president and executive council. A summary of the twenty-two propositions submitted and the majorities for and against, follows:

(1) To provide for admission of non-printer proofreaders until a certain date, and that all proofreaders should thereafter be members. Total vote, 10,721. Majority favoring, 2,675. (2) To provide for admission of non-printer machine-tenders until a certain date, and the controlling of such positions by the union. Total vote, 10,698. Majority favoring, 3,288. (3) To fix the third Wednesday in May as date for delegate elections. Total vote, 10,221. Majority favoring, 6,299. (4) To provide for annual sessions on second Monday in August, with full power vested in the delegates to elect officers and enact all laws. Total vote, 10,599. Majority against, 2,519. (5) To provide for annual conventions on second Monday in August. Total vote, 10,343. Majority favoring, 289. (6) To abolish all laws relating to election of

International officers by the membership. Total vote, 10,653. Majority against, 4,293. (7) To abolish all laws relating to submission of questions to the membership. Total vote, 10,578. Majority against, 4,884. (8) To amend laws relating to election of International officers by the membership. Total vote, 10,217. Majority favoring, 1,003. (9) To establish a new system of organization, under control of the president and council. Total vote, 10,169. Majority against, 429. (10) To endow the executive council with power to fill all vacancies in office. Total vote, 10,221. Majority favoring, 2,703. (11) To debar organizers from granting cards under certain conditions. Total vote, 10,086. Majority favoring, 4,124. (12) To fix the compensation of all unsalaried officials. Total vote, 10,290. Majority favoring, 6,062. (13) To place the Journal on a better financial basis. Total vote, 10,307. Majority favoring, 6,277. (14) To insert in the constitution a decision regarding payment of burial benefits. Total vote, 10,358. Majority favoring, 4,896. (15) To make certain changes in the certificate of membership. Total vote, 9,820. Majority favoring, 4,730. (16) To grant complete trade autonomy to stereotypers and other allied trades. Total vote, 10,850. Majority favoring, 6,852. (17) To amend the laws relating to submission of questions to the membership. Total vote, 9,907. Majority favoring, 3,001. (18) To amend the law relating to submission of questions to the membership. Total vote, 9,397. Majority favoring, 1,861. (19) To strike out an unnecessary section of the referendum law. Total vote, 9,751. Majority favoring, 3,331. (20) To require petitions from ten unions for submission of questions semi-annually. Total vote, 9,987. Majority favoring, 2,885. (21) To change the obligation so as to make it apply to all members. Total vote, 10,196. Majority favoring, 7,580.

(22) To give constitutional recognition to labels, etc. Total vote, 10,274. Majority favoring, 8,734.

General Laws — Resolutions — Several changes were made by the convention in the general laws of the union, but these changes were chiefly of a minor character. A resolution was passed directing the executive council to ask for a conference with the cognate trades under the tripartite agreement at which an effort be made to have uniform laws enacted regulating contracts, labels, and other such matters, so as to remove the friction caused by the then existing agreement, and also for the purpose of legally amending the agreement to the end that such modifications of the regulations governing the distribution of labels be made as would conserve the interests of proprietors of small offices who were members of the union and observed union customs; also that the International Union attempt to have the tripartite agreement amended so as not to allow the stereotypers, or any other organization connected with the International Union, the right to compel the International to maintain any allied trades council by per capita tax without representation on the same basis. It was also ordered that the charters issued to district and state unions under an obsolete resolution be declared null and void and the custodians ordered to return them to headquarters. Subordinate unions were instructed to take measures looking to the publication by them in the several states of text-books used in the common schools providing the work could be secured for union labor.

Defense Fund — Following the convention at Syracuse a referendum proposition, providing for an assessment of 5 cents a week per capita, to be levied for a period of twelve weeks, the fund so raised to be credited to the defense fund and used for the assistance of such unions as the executive council might deem necessary, or in

advancing the principles of unionism, was, by petition of more than the requisite number of unions required, submitted to the membership and adopted by a vote of 9,337 ayes, 6,677 noes.

Tripartite Conference — Complying with the instructions of the convention, the executive council arranged for a conference with representatives of the pressmen and bookbinders. The conference was held at Pittsburgh, January 9, 1899. An editorial paragraph in the Typographical Journal of February 1, 1899, says: "Our executive council declined to ratify the conclusions reached by the Pittsburgh conference of the allied printing trades, relating to uniform rules governing allied trades councils and the distribution of the allied trades label, owing to the position taken by the representatives of the pressmen and bookbinders regarding small offices. The report of our representative at the conference and a statement outlining the efforts of the council to carry out the instructions of the Syracuse convention will be presented at the next session of the International body. As a result, the rules drafted by the conferees amount to naught until such time as an understanding can be arrived at on the points involved."

Convention at Detroit

[1899]—The forty-fifth convention of the International Union was called to order by President Donnelly in Strassburg Academy, Detroit, Mich., on August 14, 1899. The session was attended by 182 delegates, representing 135 subordinate unions.

The president introduced Chairman Black of the reception committee, who gave an outline of what was going to happen in the way of entertainment and then presented President Bessler of Detroit Union, who welcomed the delegates and expressed the hope that their work

would prove as profitable to the craft as their presence was pleasurable to Detroiters. Governor Pingree was absent from the city, as was also Mayor Maybury, but Private Secretary Hall welcomed the convention on behalf of the mayor. After the Rev. H. D. McCowan invoked the divine blessing, President Donnelly returned thanks for courtesies extended and to be extended, as well as for the kind expressions voiced by all who had spoken.

ANNUAL REPORTS

On presenting his annual report, President Donnelly complimented the membership on the excellent condition of the organization, at that time composed of 429 chartered locals with a paid-up membership on June 30 of 30,646, of whom 2,969 were allied craftsmen and 27,677 compositors. This was not regarded, however, as a fair exhibition of the union's real numerical strength and it was estimated that the entire number who considered themselves members was not less than 38,000. The president regarded the year just closed as having been the most successful from a business standpoint of any since 1892. Speaking of general trade conditions, he said:

There has been a general revival of trade, which has been felt in all branches of industry. It is pleasing to note that the job printing trade has been excellent during the past season, many local unions finding it impossible on frequent occasions to supply the offices under their jurisdiction with a sufficient force of competent printers. The printing trade is, to a great extent, a thermometer of business conditions, the volume of work done being continually on the increase during good times and rapidly falling off as periods of industrial depression develop. The printing trade is affected as no other trade by general business conditions, as it is allied not particularly to any industry, or industrial occupation, but is general in its operation, printing being consumed by every industry, business, occupation and every intelligent citizen in the land.

That form of combination of capital known as the trust has

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

SAMUEL B. DONNELLY, New York
President International Typographical Union
November 1, 1898 – October 31, 1900

not as yet affected, to any appreciable extent, the printing trade, and so long as typesetting machines, printers' supplies and machinery are sold without restrictions in an open market there is little possibility of the formation of successful trusts or combinations. Although books and publications are considered a necessity, it must be borne in mind that with a great portion of our population they are a luxury, and the demand for such products is one which greatly fluctuates, necessitating vast expenditures on the part of the producer in offering inducements to consumers. This condition results in an intense competition, which of itself is an obstacle to combinations.

Since the introduction of the typesetting machine there has been a tendency manifested toward the creation of specialists in the printing trade. This tendency should be opposed by the typographical union and general laws should be adopted for the governing of apprentices, not only as a protection to the competent printer, but as a protection to the employer. The "all-round" printer has not been displaced by the typesetting machine, but the specialist has. The man whose knowledge of the printing trade was limited to his ability as a typesetter on straight composition forms 95 per cent of the unemployed printers of today. The technical school for the apprentice should be the composing room, and his guardian should be the typographical union. Apprentices should be guaranteed an opportunity to learn the printing trade, and boys who, after a few months' experience, show no adaptability in the printing office should be discharged and their places taken by apprentices more competent. I would recommend that a committee be appointed for the purpose of preparing an address to the United Typothetæ on the subject of apprentice regulations.

In the New England states, women as compositors have been used by employers to demoralize the trade and reduce the rate of wages. The International Typographical Union maintains that 1,000 ems of type delivered to the makeup is worth a certain amount, and that the question should not be asked by the establishment, "Was this type set by a woman?" Typographical Union No. 13 has been endeavoring to enforce a uniform scale for compositors, and we earnestly hope that the present negotiations with the employing printers within their jurisdiction will result in amicable adjustment of this important question.

Organization Work — In discussing the subject of "Organization," the president reminded the convention that working printers in the Philippines and the Greater Antilles looked to the International Typographical Union for assistance and encouragement in their efforts to improve their condition. The essential feature of this portion of the report of the president, however, was a recommendation that the law providing for the system of sixteen organizers and their numerous family of deputies be repealed. In lieu thereof it was suggested that the president be empowered to appoint a sufficient number of organizers, provided the total yearly expenditure on account thereof did not exceed $6,000. This view was concurred in by several of the organizers, who, speaking from experience, declared the system in vogue as cumbersome and unsatisfactory.

Strikes — During the eight months covered by the report there were four general strikes. Out of a total of nineteen strikes ordered by the International or by local unions seven resulted in victories, with three defeats and nine affairs pending. Through the timely mediation of International officials and organizers five general strikes were averted and forty-four threatened disputes were satisfactorily adjusted. Nine of the nineteen strikes were precipitated by proprietors who attempted to violate scale rates and three of the nine were fomented by employers alleged to be desirous of wrecking establishments so that they might profit personally at the expense of their partners. The president took strong ground for conservative action, when a strike was imminent, in these words:

The strike, as a weapon of organized labor, has been greatly abused. Its too frequent use has tended to lessen its effectiveness. Under no circumstances should local unions be permitted to engage in aggressive strikes without complying with all the

laws of the International Union, and not then unless the union shall have sufficient funds on hand to pay strike benefits and expenses for a period of at least eight weeks. With a thorough organization, sufficient finances, and the sympathy of the public, strikes are successful. The officers and members of subordinate unions should make great preparation before engaging in a strike. The most important work is to secure hearty co-operation and a prompt response to the call of the union on the part of the men directly affected, and in future local unions requesting the endorsement of strikes will be compelled to first assure the executive council that they have such co-operation, and will be able to call out every man and boy employed in the shop or shops affected. The preliminary work incident to a strike is the most important, and neglect of this work has been in a majority of cases the direct cause of the loss of the contest.

Shorter Workday — In speaking of the shorter workday the president declared that if the future could be judged by past progress the nine-hour workday would within a short time be an established rule in all branches of the trade throughout the continent. With few exceptions, the unions failing to enforce the Syracuse agreement were those which neglected the work of organization and in whose jurisdictions the spirit of unionism was weak. Of them the president said, and suggested:

Organization work is their first need. In many cases they have shown themselves incompetent to perform the preliminary work of organization, and it is necessary for the International Union to place in the field, with the beginning of the fall season, for a period of at least three months, energetic organizers, who are experienced in the work of local organization, and know how to bring non-union men into the fold.

While discussing this subject the proposition to endeavor to equalize wage scales was adverted to. It was pointed out that under the system existing the formulation and enforcement of scales was essentially the privilege and duty of subordinate unions, and although other

trades, especially the iron, glass and mining industries, had adopted level scales in competitive districts, those organizations had not been freer from troubles or more successful than the International Typographical Union. In the president's opinion there was but one system of "wage equalization" which the union could propose that would prove satisfactory to all employers, and that was "to reduce the rates to the level of the cheapest towns. It is not supposed that the typothetae will expect us to take such a ridiculous step. The proper method is the gradual increase of the wage rates in towns where low rates prevail. Our efforts to increase the rates in low-priced towns have been met with determined opposition from the employers."

Relations With Allied Crafts — Much of the space devoted to the allied craftsmen in the president's report was consumed by a review of the Chicago situation, arising out of the stereotypers' strike of the year previous, which had from time to time been commented on in the Typographical Journal. Further information was promised the delegates when the convention went into executive session. The president, however, vigorously inveighed against legislation vesting allied craft unions with too much power. He showed how the obnoxious laws operated to give the allied crafts a weight in the higher councils of the organization entirely out of keeping with their numbers or financial contributions. In fact it was held that if the regulations were construed literally it would produce a condition whereby the allied crafts could reduce the International's revenues while making it responsible for greatly increased expenditures. Rather than be subjected to the conflicting authority and burdens which the existing law imposed, the president said it would be much better for the membership of the International to say to the stereotypers and electrotypers, "You

can try the 'go-it-alone' policy; the International Typographical Union waives all jurisdiction or control over you; the International Typographical Union will attend to its own affairs, and permit you to attend to your own affairs." But the International Typographical Union had distinctly stated on numerous occasions that there should be no further division in the printing trade. In this attitude it had the support of the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. "If we still insist in our opinion that there should be no further division or subdivision, let us strike out entirely section 5 of the constitution, and in lieu thereof permit them to maintain, at their own expense, an executive board which shall have power to adjust all disputes as between the unions of their branch of the craft, treat each other honestly and fairly and cease this ridiculous talk of autonomy, when we know that autonomy means nothing but division and dissension."

The president said, in concluding the subject, that under equal conditions no objection would be raised to granting stereotypers, etc., the same privileges as those extended to German printers but for the fact that there was no similarity between the Typographia arrangement and the existing law. Some designing and greedy employers had endeavored to create a secession movement among electrotypers, but their plans were frustrated, except in one case where the local officers returned the charter in an illegal manner.

The president reported the mailers as having attained measurable success, they experiencing great difficulty in securing recognition of their unions and enforcement of their scales. On the other hand, employers had not to any appreciable extent opposed the formation of photo engravers' unions. The newspaper writers were slow to organize, one of the drawbacks being an impression

among the publishers that the object in forming writers' unions was a desire to establish a press censorship in the interest of the International Union. After demonstrating that the International was opposed to even the existing censorship, the president declared that—

> The International Typographical Union does not, in any sense, desire to control printing establishments or publications. Our object is to maintain fair conditions, sustain the rights of labor and secure a fair day's pay for an honest day's toil, and the organized newspaper writer will be expected to follow the instructions of the management in the performance of his labor in the same manner as the compositor follows the instructions of his foreman in performing the mechanical work upon the newspaper.

With the hope of lessening opposition to, and thereby promoting the organization of writers' unions, it was recommended that they be exempt from the laws regulating allied trades crafts, as well as those affecting sympathetic strikes. The president took a hopeful view of future relations with affiliated allied crafts, saying that, so far as the pressmen were concerned, antagonism toward the International had apparently ceased. He said:

> The pressmen realize that the tendency of capital at the present time is to concentrate, and that the interests of the printing trade unions demand closer affiliation and concentration. The International Typographical Union is not only the organizer, but is the bulwark of the trade unions in the printing trade. We learn by experience, and I take pleasure in prophesying that the experience of the next few years will be sufficient to convince all persons employed in the various branches of the printing trade that one successful, invincible union is far better than three organizations, whose interests frequently conflict, and who are hampered by those disputes which are always engendered by division of forces.

The president recalled the fact that the single cause of controversy between the parties to the tripartite agreement was the label, and reproduced verbatim a portion

of the proceedings had at the Pittsburgh conference. Commenting on this, he said:

On the question of the issuance of the label your representative found that it was impossible to secure the consent of two of the parties to the tripartite agreement to the enactment of the law recommended by the Syracuse convention. Your representative, after discussing the matter at length with the conferees, rested on the tripartite agreement as it is today printed in our International constitution. This agreement provides that the label shall only be issued to such offices as comply with the rules and regulations of the unions affiliated with the local allied printing trades councils, and a resolution embodying this provision of the tripartite agreement was adopted. The executive council of the International Typographical Union could not, however, in view of the instructions of the Syracuse convention, approve of the proceedings of the conference as they affected the distribution of labels. It should be apparent to every delegate to this convention that the International Typographical Union has forever relinquished all control or jurisdiction over presses, pressrooms and binderies, and that the allied label can not be legitimately issued to what is known as the one-man shop, under the terms of the tripartite agreement.

It was pointed out that while in some instances the bad blood generated by the pressmen's secession movement had fostered disputes arising out of the distribution of labels, local unions being to blame in some instances, the great majority of difficulties had found origin in demands of platen pressmen and feeders, employers not having been disposed to recognize the rights of those craftsmen to organize. The subject was dismissed with the following recommendation: "That the convention reconsider the instructions given the executive council in the Syracuse convention and permit the council to exercise full discretion in all label and allied trade disputes. In consideration of the fact that the International Typographical Union was responsible for the introduction

of the label as a factor in the printing trade, and that the International Typographical Union had up to that time borne the expenses incident to label agitation and registration, it was expected that the pressmen and bookbinders would consent to permitting latitude on the label question to the typographical unions which might become involved in a struggle to maintain the rates of wages and the right to organize."

Machine-Tenders — Machine-tenders next engrossed the president's attention and he laid before the craft a lucid résumé of occurrences incident to enforcement of the Syracuse law on the question. It was pointed out that the American Federation of Labor could not interfere with the enforcement of the law without stultifying itself.

Funds — The funds of the union were reported to be in a healthy condition, and greater economy in making expenditures from the various funds was said to be out of the question, except in case of the defense fund, and any shortening of expenditures in that way could only be accomplished by pursuing a parsimonious policy after a strike had been inaugurated. It was recommended that the executive council be authorized to levy a special assessment should the defense fund at any time fall below $20,000, the levy not to exceed 50 cents per member in any three months. With a fund of such magnitude it was thought to be possible that the executive council could assist unions that were endeavoring to prevent labels being counterfeited by unfair employers.

Proprietor Members — The question of whether working employers should or should not be members of the union was discussed at some length. It was recommended by the president that this matter should be settled by requiring all persons performing the work of journeymen or foremen to be members of their local unions.

Government Ownership — Copyright Law — The report closed with the following reference to the legislative committee at Washington:

Our committees on governmental ownership of the telegraph and copyright law have not been authorized, during the past eight months, to incur any expenditures. The agitation for governmental ownership of the telegraph should be continued, but it is doubtful if this agitation merits, at the present time, any considerable outlay of money. Unfortunately, the attention of the organized workers has been diverted lately by the unwise action of many of our leaders, and a portion of the labor press, to the political issue of expansion and so-called imperialism, and while the conditions are such that it is impossible to secure municipal ownership of street railway franchises, a question which directly affects every worker and every citizen, it is very doubtful if any great headway can be made in agitation for governmental ownership of the telegraph, as the use and abuse of our present system is of interest only to a small proportion of our population, and principally to the business world. An agitation which at the present time promises to result in more benefit to organized labor, and which, if successful, would result in direct benefit to our organization, would be a systematic agitation against what is known as government by injunction.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers — The report of Second Vice-President Derflinger treated for the most part with trade disputes, and especially the Chicago affair. An attempt had been made to absorb the rump electrotypers' union, but it failed owing to the obstinacy of the seceders. Efforts on their part to disrupt this branch of the International had proved futile owing to the energetic measures taken to discipline the renegades. Chicago Union was the only one to surrender its charter and to advance the plea that the per capita tax of the International was excessive, although that local, during the ten months ended May 1, 1899, had paid into the International treasury $230 and drawn therefrom $626. Vice-President Derflinger felicitated his fellow craftsmen on the position

they occupied and expressed the hope that a dispute relative to the scope of the autonomy granted by the Syracuse law would be settled to the satisfaction of all.

German-American Typographia — Third Vice-President Miller reported the year as having been a quiet one, with no strikes to record. There had been no increase in membership. Mr. Miller said: "Owing to the decrease in immigration, the German press of this country has to fight hard for its existence. During the past year several German papers have gone out of existence, while others consolidated, thereby throwing a number of members out of work and greatly burdening the out-of-work fund." Although the German branch expended over $11,000 in out-of-work benefits there remained in its treasury approximately $10,000, or $9 per capita. With the exception of a few religious papers, there were but three non-union firms under the jurisdiction of this branch.

Mailers — "In reviewing my work for the past year," said Fourth Vice-President Harber, "I can see no particular event that can be chronicled as unprecedented, nevertheless the progress of the mailers' unions throughout the country, as indicated by correspondence, has been of a steady and permanent nature." After reciting several successes attending the efforts of the mailers toward the formation of four unions, and the conviction that the coming year would be fruitful of new unions, Mr. Harber gave a hint of the obstacles that had been overcome. He said: "The presence of boys, and discouraging conditions in many cities, is such as to deter organizers in even making an attempt to organize our craft. Yet it is true that in each of the cities recently organized, and in fact in each city where a union exists, an organizer at one time or another has claimed that an organization was an impossibility, so that no matter

how improbable success may appear at first investigation, perseverance and persistent agitation will almost invariably be crowned with success." The existing organizing system was not looked upon with favor and it was suggested "that the convention should look to some plan whereby a maximum return might be had for the minimum expenditure."

Newswriters — Fifth Vice-President J. F. O'Sullivan reported that he had corresponded with many cities for the purpose of awakening an interest in unionism in his profession and said "there isn't a city in the country where our documents are not in the hands of one or more newspaper men." As the result of all this effort, involving the writing of 745 letters, two unions, New York and Kansas City, were organized. Wages continued to have a downward tendency, which was not surprising under the state of affairs existing:

> An agency in this country advertises to furnish employment to reporters and editors, and issues a circular to publishers offering to fill positions in all branches of newspaper work. As showing to what extent is the intensity of the struggle for employment, I desire to state that this "newspaper exchange" agrees to supply men as reporters at salaries ranging from $7 to $40 per week. Among one of its applicants for employment is a gentleman with a college training, who is willing to advance his employer $1,000, and who is also willing to work as a reporter or special writer for $10 per week. I do not expect that the gentleman has yet secured a position, as publishers are aware that a $10-per-week man can not be expected to give $20 worth of brains to his work.

On behalf of the interests he represented, Mr. O'Sullivan recommended:

> That in all cities where the labor movement insists upon the label upon daily papers, the organizer in whose district this condition obtains shall urge the necessity of the organization of the writers as a condition of retention of the label; that the local unions take a more active interest in acquainting news-

writers of the fact that, under the protecting shield of the International Typographical Union, they may come together for the purpose of securing advantages for their profession, which can best be secured by and through straight trade-union methods.

Photo Engravers — James Ryan, sixth vice-president, did not report concerning the troubles of his trade, but indulged in a review of the work of labor organizations as a whole, retrospectively and prospectively, concluding in this way:

Who could have thought fifty years ago that a trade union could have produced a trade magazine like the Typographical Journal of the International Typographical Union? As a monument of intelligent perseverance it is a credit to the printers of the United States, as also its Home at Colorado Springs. Progress! Looking back from where we started it is indeed phenomenal. All has been achieved by co-operative unionism. Helping those who are desirous to help themselves; closing out none, expanding our opportunities, and helping all along who are struggling, with moral and, if need be. financial support, ever bearing in mind that moral victories gained in peace are far more valuable and of greater endurance than those of war, although our generals and officers do not strut about in gold lace paid for out of our taxes.

Trade unionism is today a factor in our civilization, and society as at present constituted can not move without consulting with it. Let the good work continue and society will have to consult us. These are reflections of one who has exceeded the scriptural limit of age, and in every probability will not have the honor of again addressing you.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — To those interested in the statistics and finances of the organization, a summary of Secretary Bramwood's report, at once complete and conclusive, will be of interest.

Attention was first devoted to the growth of the organization during the fiscal year, and of this the secretary said:

An increase in the membership and a healthy financial con-

dition augur well for the prosperity of the year we are just entering. For the year 1897 the average paying membership was reported as 28,096. In 1898 the figures reached 28,614 and an average of 28,355 was established for the two years intervening between the conventions at Colorado Springs and Syracuse. This was a slight loss over previous years. Now the tide has turned, and the per capita tax received during the fiscal year just closed shows an average membership of 30,646, which is only 733 short of the high-water mark of 1894, when the pressmen, pressfeeders, bookbinders and bindery girls were under the banner of the International Typographical Union. It is an increase of 2,550 over 1897, of 2,032 over 1898, and 2,291 over the two years of 1896–1898. As will be seen, the increase in membership is not wholly due to the formation of new unions. Apathetic organizations have been imbued with new life, and much valuable organization work has been done in the larger and smaller cities, which still present a fertile field for the seeds of unionism.

Of the receipts and disbursements, the former reached the figure of $128,436.70, of which $8,241.50 represented the special 5-cent assessment which began April 17, 1899, and was still in progress of collection when the year closed on June 30. The balance of the revenue for the year comprised per capita tax, supplies, Journal advertising and subscriptions and all other sundry items. An increase in receipts of $15,272.91 was shown over the year of 1897-1898 and $17,917.17 over the twelve months of 1896-1897. The total business aggregated $155,718.52. This last named sum was a decided increase over the previous two years and much credit was due the officers in charge of financial affairs of subordinate unions for the promptness with which the money belonging to the International body had been transferred to headquarters. The actual expenditures of the year amounted to $123,502.80. Add to this sum $12,259.74, lost in the Indianapolis National Bank, and a total of $135,762.54 is the result.

Attention was called to the fact that aside from the special assessment of $8,241.50, the receipts for the year were only $120,195.20. This was $3,307.60 less than the expenditures and would indicate that without the assessment the available cash balance would have been reduced by the work of the year. In these figures was found the necessity of a retrenchment in expenses, or an increase in the per capita tax. The International was asked for financial assistance by many locals for innumerable purposes and the revenue was by no means adequate to the requirements. Unions with well-filled treasuries did not hesitate to solicit financial assistance from the International when work which was especially calculated to benefit the local's membership was under contemplation, while others, which continually struggled for existence, were content with their proper portion of benefits under the law. It was only by close adherence to the constitution that the revenue could have been made to meet the claims upon the organization, as the laws, framed in years gone by, did not contemplate the demands that were then being made on the parent body. The amount transferred to the Home fund was $36,618.15, while $19,080.74 had been expended in strike benefits and special assistance. Officers and organizers had received $7,806.81 for services and expenses in acting as mediators in adjusting disputes and building up weak unions. The expenditures on this account aggregated 88 cents per member, and the total expenditure since the establishment of the defense fund had been $297,843.70. The expenses of the shorter workday committee amounted to $1,735.91. The deaths exceeded those of the fiscal years 1897 and 1898 by thirty-five and forty-six respectively, the benefits paid amounting to $25,800 (a fraction over 84 cents per member) on 430 deaths. Since the inception of the burial fund the payments from it had

aggregated $177,245. To the secretary's mind, all funds except the general fund were in a healthy condition. The drain on the general fund had from time to time increased with the growth of the organization and there had been no corresponding increase in the apportionment, consequently there was annually a deficit, but it was hoped that the existing and contemplated economies in connection with the Journal would obviate even this.

Some attention was devoted to the work at headquarters and the cost of doing it. During the fiscal year 47,950 pieces of mail and express matter were delivered (exclusive of the Journal), of which 11,347 were typewritten letters, 27,306 being other first class mail and the balance composed of packages of supplies, literature, etc.

Typographical Journal — The Typographical Journal was discussed with much regard for detail in accounting for items of income and expense. While the secretary-treasurer suggested the publication of the Journal monthly, he defended the official organ stoutly in the following paragraph:

The abolishment of the Journal and a return to the methods of years ago has been advocated on different occasions, and it has been claimed that the obsolete methods would prove less expensive than the publication of the Journal as an official medium. Figures of the most careful compilation do not prove this to be true, and the incorrectness of such theories was answered by one of my predecessors in the following words: "In 1888, when the official statements and business of headquarters were communicated to our members in the shape of quarterly reports and circulars, with a membership of 17,491, it cost 13 cents per member per year to thus convey quarterly to less than 250 secretaries what is now printed in the Journal, where it can be read by the entire membership semimonthly at a cost of 19½ cents per member. With the business of the office treble what it was in 1888, with a membership almost doubled, and the various benefit features in full operation, it is safe to say that, under the old system of doing busi-

ness, the cost of conveying official statements alone would have doubled, and would reach 26 cents per member per year, or an increase over the cost of the Journal of 6½ cents per year per member. It is evident that the projectors of the Journal saw the possibilities of the future when it was launched, and realized that it would prove to be not only less expensive but a more approved and satisfactory way of giving the membership knowledge of the business of the International." The foregoing being true in 1896, how much more cause is there for satisfaction now. In the last fiscal year the publication of official matter, made necessary by law, comprised one-fourth of the contents of the Journal. The actual cost of printing this matter, and the value of papers distributed free under the present and former laws, was $4,892.50, almost 16 cents per member—within $860.80 (or 2¾ cents per member) of the net cost. The cost per member of the Journal shows a decrease over the year referred to in the above quotation, as well as all others since it assumed magazine form. A corresponding decrease in the cost of printing official matter is therefore established, and there is no good reason for dissatisfaction, since everything goes to prove that the net cost of the paper is mainly the cost of printing and distributing the official matter of the organization, which would, without doubt, entail a greater expense if sent out in any other manner. In addition to this, the issuance of the Journal in its present form is of inestimable value to the organization, and it may well be questioned whether as good a return (though it can not be reduced to dollars and cents) is derived from any other source.

Organizers' Reports — With the exception of the fifth and thirteenth districts, respectively, the organizers all presented reports, the subject matter dealing chiefly with local disputes. One point on which these local organizers seemed to be nearer agreement than any other was that there was much organization work to be done, but that success could not be hoped for under the existing system. Several organizers recommended the repeal of the law creating district organizers.

American Federation of Labor — The delegates to the American Federation of Labor submitted a résumé of the

business transacted at the convention of that body in Kansas City in December, 1898. The report was an excellent compilation of what was done by the convention.

Shorter Workday Committee — The shorter workday committee presented an interesting report, recounting the work accomplished following the Syracuse convention, summing the matter up in the following paragraph:

The membership of typographical unions on November 21, 1898, was 27,435, and the number of unions chartered was 317. Of these 24,967 members and 234 unions were in the enjoyment of the nine-hour day, or working under the Syracuse agreement, being 91 per cent of the membership and 76 per cent of the unions. The 83 unions, not having secured the shorter workday include but 2,468 members, an average of but 30 each. As a matter of fact, but 6 of these unions have 50 members or over, 17 range between 25 and 50 members, while 60 unions have less than 25 members each. These unions are widely scattered and owe their delinquency to various causes. Six of them report that agreements with employers prevented the enforcement of the shorter workday on the date fixed, 7 report partial success, and 3 are at war over old disagreements. At the time of writing this report conferences are in progress in 5 unions, with good prospects of success, while 1 has secured an agreement for a shorter workday at a date other than November 21. One union has a half-holiday during the summer months, and 3 report their members as working under an hour scale and less than ten hours per day. Reports as to the effect of the reduction of hours on the weekly wage scale are incomplete, but sufficient are in hand to show that less than 20 per cent of the unions suffered by reductions, these ranging from 20 cents on the week to a pro rata reduction. At the same time 7 unions secured an increase of wages while reducing the hours. In several instances, also, unions working nine hours or less seized the opportunity to reduce the working hours still lower.

Home Trustees — The report of the Home trustees was a voluminous document containing much detailed information, together with the proceedings of the board meeting held in November, 1898. The financial affairs of the institution were felt to be in a healthy condition.

It was shown that during the year 71 residents had been admitted, 14 had died, 23 vacated and 11 were expelled. The charge of extravagance against the management of the Home was convincingly resented by the superintendent in these words:

The argument is frequently made that the Home is more expensive than other institutions of its kind. Assertions of this character are made without due consideration. The total expenditures of the Home the past year were $29,578.65, the average number of inmates being ninety, making the cost per inmate, per week, $6.38. In figuring the total cost of maintaining the Home for the past year, many items enter into the expense that will be found in no other institution. For instance, in addition to actual maintenance there has been expended the past year $227.48 for the installation of electric lights, $1,542.50 for remodeling lavatories, $977.76 in permanent improvements on buildings, $582.43 for new furnishings, $48 for new lots and improving cemetery plot, $479 for burying our dead, and a cash consideration of 50 cents per week to each member in the Home not provided for by his local union, which amounted last year, to $1,238. It must be understood that when a member is admitted to the Home he is guaranteed everything that a man requires—clothing, medical attention, nursing and medicines, shaving and hair cutting, dentistry, first-class table service, first-class transportation, if he wishes to vacate, to the point where he came from, and, as above stated, a cash consideration of $26 per year. I would like to know where a man can secure such accommodations for $6.38 per week. Inmates of the Consumptives' Home in Denver pay $9 per week for board, medical attention and nursing alone, and I have it from Superintendent Oakes that he came out some $20,000 on the wrong side of the ledger the past year, which was made up by wealthy and charitably inclined people throughout the country.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Twenty constitutional amendments were acted upon favorably by the convention and transmitted to the referendum for approval or rejection, as follows:

(1) To empower the council to authorize admission

of non-printer proofreaders when necessary, and striking out apprenticeship clause. Total vote, 14,259. Majority against, 1,337. (2) To strike out the clause restricting the employment of non-printer members. Total vote, 13,969. Majority against, 2,155. (3) To strike out the word "annual" and make the law operative in all instances (referring to expenses of delegates). Total vote, 13,107. Majority favoring, 6,717. (4) To insert the words "or she" in law regarding eligibility to election as delegate. Total vote, 13,355. Majority favoring, 7,067. (5) To strike out the word "annual" and make law operative in all instances (referring to expenses of members of executive council). Total vote, 13,114. Majority favoring, 6,316. (6) To increase the initiation fee of provisional members from $1 to $2. Total vote, 13,837. Majority favoring, 5,807. (7) To empower the executive council to levy assessments when deemed necessary. Total vote, 14,416. Majority against, 5,960. (8) To empower the executive council to levy a limited special assessment when defense fund falls below $20,000. Total vote, 14,330. Majority against, 2,100. (9) To fix the salary of sixth vice-president at $50 per annum, with additional compensation under certain conditions. Total vote, 13,952. Majority favoring, 1,512. (10) To strike out a superfluous section regarding salaries of organizers, etc. Total vote, 13,461. Majority favoring, 4,899. (11) To provide that each member pay 10 cents additional monthly dues for establishing a permanent defense fund. Total vote, 14,189. Majority against, 4,705. (12) To provide for the collection of International dues and assessments by the stamp system. Total vote, 13,772. Majority against, 360. (13) To provide special forms of cards for stereotypers and electrotypers in lieu of regular International certificates. Total vote, 13,544. Majority favoring, 5,852. (14) To empower the president, with the approval

of the council, to appoint all organizers. Total vote, 13,878. Majority favoring, 1,646. (15) To amend the referendum law so as to avoid unnecessary delay in submitting questions to the membership. Total vote, 13,773. Majority favoring, 6,889. (16) To strike out semi-annual referendum law and provide for submitting questions to membership when fifty unions petition therefor. Total vote, 13,479. Majority favoring, 2,835. (17) To improve the reading of uniform obligation by striking out the word "brother." Total vote, 13,252. Majority favoring, 8,068. (18) To provide that all laws shall take effect sixty days after canvass of vote. Total vote, 13,905. Majority favoring, 7,575. (19) Repealing all laws in conflict with the constitution and instructing secretary-treasurer to make necessary changes. Total vote, 13,422. Majority favoring, 6,082. (20) Asking an expression of opinion from members on establishment of a five-day law at a future date. Total vote, 14,151. Majority against, 4,371.

As will be seen by the foregoing summary, thirteen of the proposed amendments were adopted by the referendum and seven defeated. Three of the seven defeated amendments proposed increased taxation.

GENERAL LAWS, RESOLUTIONS, COMMITTEE REPORTS, ETC.

A general discussion arose on the proposition of publishing the Typographical Journal monthly, which took wide range, provoking many amendments, viz.: That the price be increased to $1 per year; that the price be 5 cents per month and that amount added to the per capita tax; that a special Journal fund of $1 per year per capita be established and the paper sent to every member; but all were consigned to the table. The convention refused to amend the constitution so as to admit of the formation of distinctive proofreaders' unions and also

laid upon the table a far-reaching proposal which contemplated the formation of unions embracing printers and the allied craftsmen, thus doing away with unions of kindred trades. A scheme for the establishment of an International sick benefit failed to pass. The law governing auditing committees was amended by empowering the International president, on the appearance of inaccuracies in a committee's report, to have the books of the local union examined by an expert accountant. An effort to make it a punishable offense for a printer to work as a pressman, stereotyper or mailer met with defeat, as did a proposal which sought to limit strike benefits to eight weeks and make them payable only after members had been out two weeks. The general law relative to foremen was amended so as to declare that subs should have the preference in filling vacancies on the regular force. The report of the shorter workday committee was received, its recommendations concurred in and the committee discharged with thanks. Consideration of the report of the committee on resolutions resulted in thanks being extended to Public Printer Palmer for his action in restoring wages of employes of the government printing office, together with instructions that the union's delegates to the federation have that body adopt similar resolutions. Thanks were also extended to First Assistant Postmaster General Heath for directing that all printing in his department be given to union offices, and to Judge Advocate General Lemley, U. S. N., for upholding the eight-hour law. Approval was expressed of the principles which led to the peace conference at The Hague and war was declared to be "destructive and useless, a breeder of poverty, a fosterer of crime and a destroyer of national honor by introducing a counterfeit patriotism," but the delegates refused to condemn "the attempt to subjugate the people of the Philippine Islands." The

executive council was instructed to assist Canadian unions in their efforts to secure the passage of competent label laws by he Canadian Parliament and also instructed to distribute among the members an address explanatory of the necessity for a permanent increase in the defense fund.

Postal Savings Bank — The postal savings bank system received hearty endorsement and local unions were urged to petition their congressional representatives to vote for the necessary legislation.

Machine-Tenders — A special committee on machine-tenders and typesetting devices reported unfavorably on a proposition to issue separate charters to machine-tenders and the report was concurred in. The convention refused to reopen the machine-tenders' controversy by re-referring it to a popular vote, at the same time earnestly requesting subordinate unions to supplant piece scales with time work in machine offices. The convention refused to decree that members should not be allowed to act as machinist and operator in a plant having more than three machines and would not express disapproval of the linometer or "clock" system on machines. The functions of machine-tenders and the position of apprentices were finally defined in these sections of the general laws:

All machine-tenders shall be members of the International Typographical Union, and the local unions shall provide and maintain a scale covering such positions, and they shall at all times be under the control and amenable to all laws and regulations of said local union; *provided,* that assistants or helpers employed by foremen to assist machine-tenders shall be journeymen members of the local typographical union, and the local union shall provide and maintain a scale covering such positions; *provided, further,* that such apprentices shall not be considered as in conflict with the number already allotted by local laws; *provided, further,* that this shall not be construed as applying to those now working as machine-tenders' helpers or apprentices.

In machine offices under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union no person shall be eligible as a "learner" on machines who is not a member of the International Typographical Union. The time limit and compensation of "learners" shall be regulated by local unions. Regularly employed apprentices in machine offices shall be privileged to practice on machines during all of the last three months of their apprenticeship. All laws conflicting with the provisions of this section are hereby repealed.

District Organizers — It having been decided by the president that there was no provision in the law governing the election of organizers, the delegates from the several districts made selections, with the understanding that the executive council approve them.

New York Sun Strike — The convention spent considerable time in executive session considering the New York Sun strike, at the conclusion of which a resolution was adopted authorizing the executive council to use all available funds for the purpose of assisting No. 6. The council was also empowered to spend whatever moneys it deemed necessary, not to exceed $10,000, for the purpose of securing the Michigan state printing contract for a union firm.

Controversy With Chicago Publishers — On the morning of the fifth day, the union again went into executive session to discuss the Chicago situation. At the afternoon session the following resolution was adopted:

That the unions in Chicago subordinate to the International Typographical Union be, and they are hereby, instructed to submit to the executive council, without restriction, all matters in connection with the controversy between the Publishers' Association and the aforesaid unions, with full power to act, and the executive council is hereby instructed to take charge of the matters aforesaid, and use every means to effect a settlement in their judgment for the best interests of all the union men interested.

Labels — The committee on labels and boycotts presented a report in which it disposed of all the matters referred to it. As a result the executive council was instructed to have a steel stamp or stencil made in facsimile of the allied printing trades label, so that stereotypers, electrotypers and photo-engravers could more readily mark their products. The officers were also told to correspond with the officials of other international bodies relative to the propriety of introducing a "universal label device," and delegates to the American Federation of Labor were instructed to advocate the adoption of such a design.

Government Ownership and the Copyright Law — As a result of the recommendations of the special committee on governmental ownership of the telegraph and the copyright law, the executive council was instructed to consider the advisability of employing one or more members to urge the measures on senators and representatives. The principal recommendations of the standing committee on copyright law (located at Washington) were approved by the convention.

Socialism — Miscellaneous Propositions — The committee on miscellaneous business reported its inability to agree on a resolution referring to the referendum for confirmation or rejection a resolution endorsing socialism and also urging members to affiliate with the socialist labor party. After some discussion a motion to table prevailed by a vote of 64 to 42. The convention without hesitancy avowed itself as favoring the initiative and referendum as applied to state constitutions, etc. The delegates determined not to approve the proposition to establish an International allied trades council, believing the tripartite agreement sufficient for all of the purposes sought to be served. In the hope of promoting interest

in the discussion of economic subjects, the officers were instructed to solicit contributions of that nature through the Typographical Journal, those of the highest merit to receive honorable mention during the year. Several Canadian unions protested against the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation, maintaining that their portion of it should go to the Canadian Trade Congress, but as the secretary of that body said a satisfactory rebate was made to the congress by the federation, no action was taken.

Union Printers Home — The principal results of the Home committee's report were that the institution be thereafter designated as the "Union Printers Home"; that benefits of inmates be reduced to 25 cents per week; that a cottage be erected for the use of the superintendent; that the memorial rooms and those occupied by the superintendent on the main floor, with the exception of the Childs parlor, be furnished for the reception of residents, thus materially increasing the accommodations; that an elevator be provided for the main building and that Trustee McCaffery be suitably rewarded for his valuable services.

Subordinate Union Affairs — Under the guidance of the committee on subordinate unions, the convention refused to interfere with the prerogatives of locals by saying that no member should be entitled to hold office unless actively engaged in the business. This important recommendation of the committee was approved:

That the executive council of the International Typographical Union take into consideration the feasibility of the amalgamation of all crafts pertaining to the printing industry and report at the next session of this body, by which each separate branch would be given complete autonomy, or control over its distinctive technical trade affairs and scale of wages. By this it is believed the strength of subordinate unions, as

well as the general body, will be greatly enhanced, and the greatest good result to the workers in the printing industry.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE MACHINISTS

Incident to the introduction of typesetting machines came the question of dealing with machine-tenders. After experimenting with the matter for a considerable period, and after failure to come to any satisfactory agreement with the International Association of Machinists, as a measure of self-preservation, the International Union required that, after a certain date, all machine-tenders should be members of the International Typographical Union. A great deal of bitterness was caused by this action of the union in some circles, but the wisdom displayed at that time in making this requirement has long since been demonstrated. Incident to the action referred to, requiring that machine-tenders should be members of the International Union, James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists, addressed the following letter to the various subordinate lodges of his association:

[Confidential Letter.]

OFFICE OF THE GRAND LODGE, I. A. M.,
CHICAGO, ILL., July 17, 1899.

To the Order Everywhere.

GREETING: Notice is hereby given to our membership at large that the International Typographical Union has, wherever possible, enforced its law to the effect that machinists in printing offices must join that organization or lose their positions.

I have carried on the fight in the interest of our association going on five years, and believed that when the question came to an issue the linotype machinists would stand by me, but my faith in the great majority of them has been badly shaken, for the white feather was shown in a large number of instances, and rather than involve themselves in a strike of any duration they took out cards in the I. T. U.

If the linotype machinists had stood manfully together in defense of their right to carry a machinist's card, we would have unquestionably defeated the printers in their dastardly

efforts to oust the machinists from the printing offices. As it is the printers temporarily have the upper hand, because of the large number of linotype men joining their union.

After consultation with our general board of trustees upon this question, in order that our members who have stood loyally by us, and are willing to sacrifice their positions in the defense of a principle, may not be compelled to walk in the streets, they are hereby permitted to join the Typographical Union, under protest, and still retain their membership in our organization.

We have a purpose in view in issuing this permit, and that is to fight for our rights inside the ranks of printers as well as on the outside. Again, knowing full well that the printers have no hesitancy in "ratting" or scabbing our men out of their positions, we do not at this time propose to see our good men displaced.

Where the printers are not in league with the printing office proprietors, or are not in a position to force the machinist to join by scabbing his position if necessary, it would not be expected that a member of the I. A. M. would so far forget himself as to willingly join an organization composed of "white-washed rats."

Our local lodges are hereby instructed to bring charges against the printers' unions in the central bodies throughout our jurisdiction where the I. T. U. has accepted linotype machinists as members on the ground of violation of trade autonomy and a dastardly attempt to disrupt a sister union. Our local lodges will keep up a constant fight on the printers at every opportunity, so they will not for a moment get the idea that we have conceded our claim for jurisdiction over the linotype machinist.

See that the delegates from your Central Labor Union to the next convention of the A. F. of L. are instructed against the action of the printers and in favor of our association.

What the printer is for, we are against! That is your motto.

Keep me fully posted as to the result of your efforts in the direction indicated by this letter, and consider this strictly confidential.

Secretaries will please read at several meetings.

Fraternally yours,

JAS. O'CONNELL,

International President.

Commenting on the foregoing letter, the Typographical Journal said: "On the opposite page will be found a facsimile of probably the most malicious communication that was ever penned in the name of unionism. We are not going to reply in kind, for we know one can not play with pitch without becoming defiled. As respect for labor's cause compels us to be as mild in expression as we are charitable in disposition, the reader will have to read the letter, then read it again, consider the method of dissemination, and calmly come to his own conclusion regarding the writer. He can also express that opinion, but it would be unseemly for the Journal to do so.

"As this circular is a private and confidential 'pointer' to machinists on how best to harass printers, we must needs deal with some of the assertions made, so our members may be better fortified to meet the enemy in central labor bodies. The burden of Mr. O'Connell's song of woe —and the line intended to catch unionists—is that the printers are 'making dastardly efforts to oust machinists from printing offices.' Mr. O'Connell gives this assertion the lie when he says that many machinists joined the International Typographical Union and kept their jobs. Now, if the printers desired to 'oust' the machinists, would they have admitted them to membership? Certainly not; and in order to disprove charge No. 1 all we have to do is to quote Mr. O'Connell. And when we quote him in this we dispel another of his fancies, which he fondly hopes is galvanized into the semblance of facts: If great numbers of the machine-tenders joined us, is that not a good indication that they want to be in the International Typographical Union? As all students of the question have known for years, if unnatural and artificial restrictions were removed, the machine-tenders would be in the International Typographical Union. As a matter of fact, the International Association of Machinists never was

fully competent to control a majority of the tenders, even after our International forced the tenders to be members of a machinists' union; and now it is safe to say not more than a beggarly corporal's guard—if that many—regard Mr. O'Connell as their chief executive. Then we are guilty of attempting to disrupt a sister union, says Mr. O'Connell, says he. The International never asked a single member to leave the machinists' union. That body placed a boycott on any one joining the International Typographical Union. Now, the machinists' executive board, says Mr. O'Connell, allows members to join typographical unions and retain connection with the machinists' union. Ordinarily, no objection could be raised to this, but the letter tells us 'we have a purpose in view in issuing this permit, and that is to fight inside the ranks of printers as well as on the outside.' And then we learn that 'what the printer is for we are against! That is your (our) motto.' That is charming manliness, truly. Such good unionism, too. We are to nurse an array of Benedict Arnolds, whom we have admitted in good faith, but who will be plotting with our enemies on the outside to destroy our union, forsooth. Mr. O'Connell must think us dense, indeed, if he cherishes the notion we can not protect ourselves against such transparent marplotting as this is an attempt at. Members can be expelled for doing just what Mr. O'Connell boasts that certain men are doing now. But we hope no union will proceed against any member on the assumption that the communication under review is a sufficient basis for an investigation. Some strong corroborative evidence would be necessary, for the circular is so erratic and weak it should not of itself even arouse suspicion.

"If delegates to central labor bodies will but 'read up' on this subject and analyze Mr. O'Connell's letter carefully, there will be no danger of any sensible body con-

demning the printers. To refer to our organization as a body of 'whitewashed rats' is an insult likely to rouse one's blood, we admit, but perhaps the writer did not appreciate that it was an insult any more than he realized the enormity of the falsehood he emitted when saying it. So we must be charitable, and not make much of that feature, born of a constitutional failing, when combatting machinists in their chosen field—the central bodies. If we were delivering a charge to one of our delegations we would say: In explaining our position to the central union keep to the facts and ignore the insults and billingsgate, as they are beneath notice. If that is done, the following will be but a sample of what is sure to occur almost everywhere. We quote from an occasional correspondent:

"'At the trades council meeting last night a most abusive statement was made—(evidently based on Mr. O'Connell's letter.—Ed.)—by the machinists' delegates, which raised a commotion in the council, as the printers were all denounced as rats. An attack of one international body on another and the venomous wording of the statement was something that had heretofore seemed impossible among union men. But I am happy to record that after the printer delegates got through with their side of the story the machinists' union's proposition was thrown out. Had Mr. O'Connell been present and witnessed the alacrity with which the delegates sat upon his factotums he would have broken all records for speed in finding a hole to drop in and pulling it in after him. However, President Donnelly, Secretary Bramwood and the rest of the rodents ought to feel thankful to the machinists for their discovery that all the printers have received a new coat of whitewash since July 1.'

"There is another feature of this case which interests every unionist owing allegiance to the Federation of Labor, and while disclaiming any intention of formulating a line of policy, or even suggesting one, the writer

can not refrain from expressing a few thoughts which have occurred spontaneously to nine-tenths of those who have seen the letter. It is not impertinent to expect the Federation of Labor—yea, even its executive council—to take cognizance of this attack on one of the oldest, strongest and most loyal of its affiliated bodies. Here is Mr. O'Connell, not only a vice-president of the Federation, but one of its delegates to Great Britain. He is clothed with all the outward habiliments of a leader, and yet he calls the International Union an organization of whitewashed rats, and says 'what the printer is for we are against.' There is no doubt as to the impropriety of the remark first referred to, but in the last one all sense of right and justice has been abandoned, as, for aught this leader cares, the whole movement may be placed in jeopardy, for machinists are bound, if they heed their leader, to obstruct anything—be it right or wrong—that printers support or want. Under this doctrine, machinists will oppose the most meritorious proposition if it emanates from a printer. That is not only foolish in the extreme, from a tactical standpoint, but is an open attempt to sow the tares of dissension and discord in every city where there are machinists' and typographical unions. It is a clarion call to stand up for the always fatal and ever damnable rule or ruin policy. He wants it read several times, so that the machinists may gradually become inured to the monstrous idea. Nothing like it has ever occurred in the stormy history of the American labor movement, and the question is: Will the federation's officers stand by and see such pernicious advice given without protest or repudiation? Mr. O'Connell is using his prestige as a federation official to help his cause along, and he can not disassociate himself from his official character when he issues a letter, even if the inevitable result of which will

be to harm the movement. It seems to us the main duty of the federation's officials must obtrude itself upon them in a painful manner.

"If we look at the situation from a lower and narrower plane it is also evident something should be done. The pressmen, bookbinders and International members compose a trade alliance numbering over 50,000 unionists in good standing—not on paper, but in good standing—and an attack on one must necessarily affect all, sooner or later. These men and women contribute toward the support of Mr. O'Connell as a federation official. The money consideration is a very small matter, but it is galling to be buying fine feathers for a parrot which shouts 'rat' at men who were in the movement before the epithet-hurler was born, and who have been consistently in it ever since their initiation. Surely his fellow officials must appreciate the situation. Aside from that, Mr. O'Connell, while an officer of the federation, unblushingly proposes to hurt our organization and its members whenever and wherever he can, and brazenly boasts of having engaged spies to work us harm—and the greater the injury the better pleased Mr. O'Connell will be. In the nature of things, the allied printing trades must have questions before the federation's executive council, and is one of the councilors to sit in judgment on those disputes, after declaring in the most solemn way, in his official capacity: 'What the printer is for we are against?' So far as this one man is concerned, any case we may be interested in is prejudiced against us. It is intolerable to think that we are to be treated in that manner, and we don't believe there can be two answers to the question: Is Mr. O'Connell competent to sit as a judge in an organization constituted like the federation after he has declared war on the trade having the greatest number of members? If justice could be expected, an affirmative answer might be justified; but Mr.

O'Connell has told us he is against us on any and all occasions and under all circumstances. Therefore we should not be compelled to be subject to him, nor should he be allowed to trade on a prestige and power to which we are heavy contributors.

"If Mr. O'Connell does not relieve the tension by resigning—the only honorable course open—the federation officials would be doing the cause a service by promptly declaring themselves in no unmistakable terms. This is said rather in sorrow than in anger, and is prompted by an honest and heartfelt desire to conserve the interests of the trade union movement.

"Meantime, act on Mr. O'Connell's advice and read the circular 'several' times, and then—read it to other unionists."

In a later issue of the Typographical Journal we find that the O'Connell letter was taken up by the American Federation of Labor and the following action from the minutes of a meeting of the executive council of that body is reproduced:

At a meeting of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., during the week of October 16, 1899, the question of the strained relations between the International Typographical Union and the International Association of Machinists was discussed, and in connection therewith the contents of the circular letter issued from the Grand Lodge, International Association of Machinists, Chicago, Ill., July 17, 1899, was considered. After deliberation of the latter document, expression was given to the effect that the general tenor of the letter covered the subject-matter absolutely affecting the International Association of Machinists, and its prerogative and autonomy. Paragraph 6, however, was considered as applying disrespectfully to all the members composing the International Typographical Union, and in connection with which the international president of the International Association of Machinists submitted the following statement:

"While without waiving any of the prerogatives which

belong to the Grand Lodge of the International Association of Machinists, as voiced in the circular letter sent out to subordinate lodges, dated July 17, 1899, and reference to which is made in the foregoing, I withdraw the statement made in paragraph 6 in as far as it reflects on the unionism of the entire membership of the International Typographical Union, my intention having been to have the force of the paragraph in question apply to such members as have taken the places of members of our union employed in printing offices, and to those who directly aided and abetted them in so doing. The statement was written under great provocation and some excitement and had it received the revision usually given official documents the intention of the statement would have been made more clear, and certainly not subject to the construction the language implies. JAMES O'CONNELL."

President Gompers, on behalf of the federation officials, added the following:

It is the sincere hope of our council that so far as the reflection upon the integrity and unionism of the membership of the International Typographical Union is concerned, the above may be accepted as satisfactory.

Fraternally yours,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

PITTSBURGH LOCKOUT

At a meeting of the executive council, held at headquarters on Thursday, March 29, 1900, it was decided to submit the question of levying a weekly assessment of 10 cents per member, payable three weeks in each month, to a vote of the membership. A circular letter dealing with this subject was sent out to the president and secretary of each subordinate union. The date fixed by the council for taking this vote was Thursday, April 19, 1900. The action of the council in this instance was based upon the receipt of more than the number of endorsements required by the constitution to submit a referendum propo-

sition. The proposition originated in Pittsburgh Typographical Union, which had for a period of ten weeks been fighting a lockout on seven of the eight daily newspapers in that city. Never, perhaps, in the history of the typographical union had a strike presented more peculiar phases than this one. In all other strikes or lockouts in which the union had previously engaged they had to fight but one enemy—the employer. In Pittsburgh the printers had to fight a whole lot of enemies besides the employers who locked them out. While engaged in their battle with the publishers, a serious diversion was created in favor of the latter by the attack which the linotype machinists, backed, though spasmodically and somewhat indifferently, by the regular union machinists of that city, made upon them. This was the more surprising and uncalled for as the Pittsburgh printers had had no fight with the machinists' local, and the machinists' situations were safe no matter how the contest went. To all intents and purposes they were out of the fight, but they fought the printers all the same. There were only about ten of them, but it would be useless to deny that they put the typographical union to considerable trouble in warding off their attacks from the rear, if for no other reason than that these attacks weakened the blows that the typographical and other unions were delivering at the publishers' association. According to the Pittsburgh correspondent of the Typographical Journal at the time it was not necessary that the Pittsburgh machine-tenders possess any ability to put up a fight. Their masters, the publishers, spent money like water, but all to no purpose, in their fearful desperation to make the public believe that they were not opposed to organized labor and that the trouble of the printers was but a fight for control between the labor unions, when in fact the whole trouble

was the refusal of these publishers to recognize the proofreaders, or to submit to arbitration, or to sign a scale of prices for the printers.

The correspondent said: "It is pleasing to be able to relate that in the fight with the machinists the printers have been completely victorious. The linotype machinists are beaten and beaten badly. Of that, there can be no question. We will hear no more about the machinist question during the progress of this great contest; or, if we do, it will have the same effect on us, and less, if, indeed, it have any at all, than the antics of the 'ratted' stereotypers have had, who were also launched by the publishers' association when that body discovered that the policy of putting forth the linotype machinists as so-called victims of the tyranny of labor was waning. But the printers paid little attention to the stereotypers. They, to use a familiar term, did not 'bother their heads' much about them. And well they could afford not to. The attempt to use the scab stereotypers by the publishers, to create another diversion in their favor, fell absolutely flat. True, they managed, or rather tried, to create a fearful din for the purpose of attracting attention to their alleged woes. They may have attracted attention in some quarters, but it is certain that the only attention they attracted amongst all of the labor organizations, and the friends of the latter, was to be most soundly condemned by them. The gall of the ratted stereotypers was refreshing. Posing—under orders of, and supplied with plenty of 'sugar' to carry out these orders by, the publishers—as aggrieved parties and as defenders of their masters against the strikers by the circulation of all manner of false statements! Falsely assuming the name and seal of the stereotypers' union in work of this kind! It was ridiculous; the more so as there is a real stereotypers' union in Pittsburgh—No. 47—members of which were employed

on the scab newspapers up to a few months ago, and who are now out on strike side by side with members of No. 7. No wonder these two unions were not long troubled with the stereotyper question.

"No sooner was the machinist and stereotyper game played out than along came another game of much the same kind. The publishers and their supporters this time secured the Knights of Labor to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. In its desperation to keep the public on the wrong scent, the publishers' association and its greatest backer, a leading advertiser of this city, secured a couple of Knights of Labor assemblies to take the field against the striking printers. More 'sugar.' The remarkable thing about this, under the circumstances, is that these same assemblies had previously strongly endorsed the printers' strike. But, as the typographical union had already beaten off in this fight other alleged trade unions and fraudulent unions, it can be depended upon to put a quietus, and that quickly, to the latest allies of the publishers and their supporters."

The proposed 10-cents-a-week assessment was carried by the referendum.

Officers, 1900-1901 — During the interim between the Detroit convention, in 1899, and the Milwaukee convention, 1900, the election of officers for the two-year period beginning November 1, 1900, was held. The successful candidates were as follows:

James M. Lynch, Syracuse, president; C. E. Hawkes, Chicago, first vice-president; James J. Freel, Brooklyn, second vice-president; Hugo Miller, Indianapolis, third vice-president; T. J. Canary, New York, fourth vice-president; J. F. O'Sullivan, Boston, fifth vice-president; James Ryan, New York, sixth vice-president; P. G. Nuernberger, Chicago, seventh vice-president; J. W. Bramwood, Denver, secretary-treasurer. Organizers—

First district, Henry McMahon, Boston; second district, J. E. McLoughlin, New York; third district, T. H. Creager, Springfield, Ohio; fourth district, S. D. Hope, Norfolk; fifth district, Clint C. Houston, Atlanta; sixth district, W. H. Stewart, Grand Rapids; seventh district, M. B. Palmer, Peoria; eighth district, C. J. Deaton, Birmingham, Ala.; ninth district, T. R. Drake, Council Bluffs, Iowa; tenth district, J. W. Hays, Minneapolis; eleventh district, H. E. Dunn, Denver; twelfth district, R. F. Radley, Waco, Tex.; thirteenth district, S. G. Gosnell, Anaconda, Mont.; fourteenth district, C. M. Jones, San Francisco; fifteenth district, C. A. Derry, Seattle; sixteenth district, P. M. Draper, Ottawa, Ont., for Province of Ontario, and Felix Marois, Quebec, for Province of Quebec. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—James M. Lynch (president); Eugene F. O'Rourke, New York city; Frank Morrison, Chicago. Trustees Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers—James M. Lynch, Syracuse; J. W. Bramwood, Denver; William Aimison, Nashville; Daniel Black, Detroit; L. C. Shepard Chicago; R. L. Tatem, Philadelphia; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs. Agent, William Kennedy, Chicago.

Convention at Milwaukee

[1900]—The forty-sixth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order by President Stearns, of Milwaukee Union No. 23, at Masonic Hall, Monday, August 13, 1900. Chaplain Jetter, an honorary member of Milwaukee Union, opened the proceedings with prayer. Chairman Walsh, of the local arrangements committee, and Mayor Rose, also an ex-printer, tendered a most hearty welcome, to which President Donnelly replied, and, with a gavel presented by No. 23, declared the convention ready for business.

Secretary Bramwood reported that 166 delegates, rep-

resenting 122 unions, had presented credentials and were entitled to seats; that the representatives of four unions had been elected irregularly and that three unions financially delinquent to the International had sent delegates. Agreeably to precedent, the irregular credentials were referred to a special committee. This committee reported in favor of seating the four delegates that had been irregularly chosen, and the recommendation was adopted. Seven delegates, representing as many locals, subsequently presented credentials and were seated and three of the delinquent unions discharged their indebtedness, so the total attendance was 180 delegates from 135 unions.

The president having named the reading clerk and other convention officers, and the delegates being obligated, a resolution was adopted ordering the appointment of a committee to visit Chicago and interview the proprietors of the News and Record relative to more thoroughly unionizing those offices. The gentlemen appointed on this committee were: Bandlow (Cleveland German-American), Miller (Cincinnati), Flader (St. Louis photo engravers), Dellagana (Boston stereotypers), Gilbert (Chicago photo engravers), the latter representing the mailers, by request.

Messrs. Hays (Minneapolis), Paddleford (Austin) and Higgins (San Francisco) were appointed a committee to extend an invitation to Mr. Frederick Driscoll, of the arbitration committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, to address the convention.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

President's Address — President Donnelly opened his address to the craft generally, and the delegates assembled at Milwaukee in particular, with felicitations on the progress and growth of the International Typographical Union in spite of the fact that the organization had been

compelled to support financially about 250 members who were on a strike for eleven months of the year. Of business conditions he said:

It is admitted by publishers that the season of 1899-1900 has been most profitable. The volume of advertising has been greater than in many years. Business has been excellent in the book and job trade, and the inauguration of the nine-hour day last November was really the only general demand made by the unions which could be construed as an increase for labor. Last November the executive council decided that the International would support local unions in an effort to maintain, with the inauguration of the nine-hour day, the scale formerly paid for nine and one-half hours. Local unions have met with almost universal success in this demand, and in a few instances our locals secured an increase of wages with the nine-hour day.

Defense Fund — After declaring that the officers had almost invariably succeeded in enforcing the laws of the organization, the president launched into a discussion of the ever important question of the necessity of a more substantial defense fund. Although previous agitation along this line had proved fruitless, it had been made apparent during the year that the membership would respond in case of emergency and dire necessity and furnish necessary funds, and while, in the president's opinion, this willingness to contribute the sinews of war was a commendable trait, it should find expression in a more business-like way than in the payment of sporadic assessments. Prefacing a recommendation to the convention for legislation on this subject, President Donnelly said:

A radical change in policy should be at once taken and adequate finances furnished for the performance of such work as legitimately belongs to the International Typographical Union. There is a growing tendency on the part of local unions to petition the International for support and assistance in difficulties which the locals are competent and able to handle. Locals involved in strikes invariably request extensions of benefit and find fault with the council when their requests are

refused, even though the benefits have been extended for as long a period as sixteen weeks. The council should be prohibited from paying more than eight weeks' strike benefits. In exceptional cases, where unions are small and weak, section 53, general laws, extends to the executive council ample power to protect the interests of such locals.

The revenue apportioned to the defense fund at the present time is barely sufficient to pay continuous benefits to eighty men. It should be apparent to our membership that the defense fund is not adequate for the present needs of the organization. The organization work now being conducted by a number of local unions is bound to result in difficulty. The organization of offices will be followed by a request for the recognition of a scale of wages and the enforcement of the nine-hour day with an overtime rate. The employers affected are, in many cases, of that class known as "union haters" and strikes will result. The Kansas City strike is still on and must be carried to a successful conclusion even should it involve a contest of five years' duration. There are a number of cities where the employers' organization is too strong for the local unions to contend with, and in these particular cases financial support must be extended.

The influence of our organization in the large cities has been such that the employers have been compelled to draw upon the smaller country towns for their force of non-union men. In a majority of cases these men are entirely ignorant of unionism, and it is absolutely necessary to inaugurate an organizing campaign that will result in bringing every journeyman printer in the land in contact with our International organization. If this work is to be performed, the practice of assisting local unions amply able to care for themselves, through convention grants and special assistance, must entirely cease, the payment of strike benefits to a local for a longer period than eight weeks prohibited, and the revenues of the International increased. I would recommend the following amendments to the constitution:

Revenue. Article ix, section 1, fifth line to read as follows: "Forty cents dues paid to the International Union."

In section 3, substitute "40 cents" for "30 cents."

Amend section 4 to read as follows: "The revenues of the International Union shall be apportioned to the several funds

as follows: Three-twentieths to the general fund, to defray the expenses of this body; three-eighths shall be placed as a defense fund to the credit of the executive council; nine-fortieths shall be placed to the credit of the burial fund, and one-fourth shall be placed to the credit of the endowment fund of the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers and Allied Crafts."

By increasing the per capita tax to 40 cents per month and apportioning the same as above suggested the effect upon our funds will be as follows: The receipts to the defense fund will be doubled; a sufficient increase allowed the burial fund to permit of raising the death benefit from $60 to $75, an increase in the general fund which will make future transfers of money to that fund unnecessary.

Jurisdiction — The president also thought that the constitution could be advantageously amended by having it assert that the International Typographical Union assumes and maintains jurisdiction "over all mechanics employed in printing offices or in the production of printing," except pressroom and bindery employes. He was also of the opinion that the provision restricting the employment of non-printer readers to the proofreading branch of the business was unconstitutional. After directing attention to some minor defects and suggesting amendments intended to make the International's election law clearer, the president advocated modifying the constitution to make it possible for members of suspended unions desiring to do so to retain connection with the parent body.

Annual Conventions — The president also took the position that annual conventions were costly luxuries and expressed the hope that the delegates would take the steps necessary to bring about their abolition and hold meetings only when it became apparent to a majority of the members that the interests of the organization required it. It was asserted that a convention at that time cost the International $3,500, sufficient to keep an organizer in the field for one year, while the local unions

expended in the aggregate $25,000 per annum on the convention feature, which could be put to better use if applied to the maintenance of scales and the resistance of encroachments of unfair men.

Disreputable Campaign Literature — An alleged growing disregard for the requirements of the obligation was deplored and the case of a member conducting a paper which strenuously opposed the enforcement of the machine-tender law, and which was popularly supposed to have been supported by the machinists' union, was cited. The decadence of the spirit of brotherhood and fraternity and the development of intense factional feeling among the members of many important unions were thought to be fatal dangers threatening the union's future welfare. In this category were placed an anonymous circular and certain unmentioned craft papers. The president recommended the adoption of a regulation "prohibiting any member from attacking, in print, a fellow member or causing a fellow member to be attacked in print," and said it was necessary to protect "our membership against the attacks of the unprincipled, blackmailing adventurer who, under the guise of a craft paper, preys alternately upon the politicians, the employers and the members of the union." That indulgence in the practices complained of had proven the referendum system a failure in the organization the president most emphatically repudiated, and said that any proposition to abandon the popular system of electing officers on that account would be an evidence of weakness.

Organization Work — Though the work of organization had been given much attention during the year, assurance was given that the extraordinary expenses incident to strikes had had the effect of curtailing necessary effort in that direction.

Pursuant to instructions, the president had visited San

Francisco and other far western unions and said of them: "Our locals on the Pacific coast, taken as a whole, are in much better condition than the unions in the New England states, and in some respects they excel the typographical unions of any section of the country."

The law which placed the appointment of organizers and the direction of organization work generally under the immediate control of the president and council was declared to have proved most satisfactory. The result of the year's propaganda was epitomized as follows:

The net increase in membership for the past year was 1,459. Seventy-six charters have been issued. Thirteen charters have been suspended, thirteen surrendered and two revoked. Of the seventy-six charters issued, five were to unions of stereotypers and electrotypers, two to photo engravers, two to mailers, three to typefounders, five to newspaper writers, one to German-Americans, and fifty-eight to typographical unions. The largest organization formed during the past year was a union of typefounders in the city of Philadelphia, consisting of 190 members.

New York Sun Strike — Under the head of strikes the president devoted much space to an exposition of the union's attitude in the New York Sun strike and the trouble in Kansas City with the typothetæ, and included a statement regarding the much-talked-of Pittsburgh strike. In speaking of the New York Sun affair, the president said:

"One week previous to the assembling of our last convention the New York Sun locked out 215 members of Typographical Union No. 6 and 16 members of Stereotypers' Union No. 1.

"The convention instructed the executive council to extend financial support to No. 6 to the extent of all available funds then in the treasury of the International Union. According to the instructions of the convention,

sixteen weeks' strike benefits were allowed by the International Union.

"You have been made familiar, through the columns of the Typographical Journal and the labor press, with the conduct of the Sun fight. The representatives of the Sun, in making application for an injunction against No. 6, admitted that the losses of the paper exceeded $300,000.

"The dispute which led to the lockout on the part of the Sun originated in the question of a scale for the Lanston typesetting machine. The records of the case do not show that the Sun management ever requested a conference with the representatives of No. 6 for the purpose of discussing a scale; neither had the union considered the question of a scale for this particular machine. This is the only question which could possibly have been at issue, and should have been readily adjusted. Later developments have made it clear to all persons familiar with the case that the Sun management was convinced that a favorable opportunity for wrecking the typographical union had arrived. Deliberate preparations were made and a force of men employed secretly and the entire staff of union men locked out.

"Immediately upon being informed that it was probable that the Sun would lock out its employes, I communicated with the management of the paper, but received no response to my telegram. The local unions involved have conducted the contest in an energetic manner and are confident of success."

Kansas City Trouble — Following the foregoing statement the president took up the Kansas City trouble and transmitted for the information of the membership the correspondence had with officials representing the typothetæ, together with a statement of the position

occupied by the executive council in the conduct of that strike. This portion of President Donnelly's report is a bitter denunciation of the attitude assumed by the typothetæ from the inception of the Kansas City difficulty. In conclusion, he said:

"Although repeatedly requested to confer, no representative or officer of the International Typographical Union or the local union has ever been able to secure a conference with the executive committee of the Kansas City Typothetæ, or any person authorized to act for said typothetæ.

"The pressmen and pressfeeders were finally compelled to call off the contest without qualification. But few of their members have been re-employed, and they have not succeeded in securing a conference with any of the employers or with the representatives of the typothetæ. The local union is continuing the fight and has made decided gains. The strike has resulted in establishing a number of strictly union offices with facilities to compete with the typothetæ establishments, and there are more union men employed in the book and job trade in Kansas City today than for many years past. The fight should be continued and No. 80 should receive all possible support from the International Union."

Pittsburgh Strike — Of the Pittsburgh affair, the report submitted by President Donnelly said:

"The members of Typographical Union No. 7 had for a number of years been working under an agreement with the Publishers' Association which specified the particular branches of the trade which were considered to be under the jurisdiction of the typographical union. For the purpose of enforcing the provisions of sections 6 and 7, article i, International Typographical Union constitution, and securing an increase in wages, Typographical Union No. 7, on September 25, 1899, requested the opening of

the scale agreement. The agreement under which the union was working provided for ninety days' notice in case either of the contracting parties desired to change any of the terms of said agreement. Having been notified by the officers of No. 7 that the Publishers' Association had refused to consider the new scale proposed until such time as the local union withdrew the demand for jurisdiction over machine-tenders and proofreaders, I arranged for a conference with the officers of No. 7 and the Newspaper Publishers' Association, which was held in Pittsburgh on December 9, 1899.

"At this conference the Publishers' Association positively demanded the withdrawal of the request of No. 7 for jurisdiction over machine-tenders and proofreaders. Their reasons for not desiring the enforcement of section 6, article 1, were numerous and trifling, but in reference to the machine-tenders they maintained that an agreement had been entered into some days previously between the Publishers' Association and the so-called local of the International Association of Machinists, of which the machine-tenders in their employ were members.

"The attitude of the publishers was briefly stated by their president somewhat as follows:

"'We will not consent to the typographical union securing any greater control in our offices than it possesses at present. We refuse to discuss the new scale of wages until such time as you withdraw the demand for jurisdiction over machine-tenders and proofreaders, and if such demand is withdrawn we will agree with you upon a scale rate and tie up the town for you for a period of years.'

"I promised to furnish the publishers with a response to their demands for the withdrawal of the request for jurisdiction over machine-tenders and proofreaders on the following Thursday (the promise was fulfilled) and I further agreed to return to Pittsburgh as soon as

possible. I then reported to the executive council. It is impossible to reproduce all the correspondence and documents in reference to this case, and I will confine my report to the following statement:

"On Friday afternoon, December 15, after receiving a reply from the Publishers' Association in relation to the demand of No. 7 for jurisdiction over the proofreaders, negotiations were declared at an end by the officers of No. 7, the original demands of the union renewed and a strike declared by the representative of the International. This representative had received no orders from either the executive council or president of the International Union to call out the members of No. 7. It developed later that the membership of No. 7 did not vote upon a proposition to order a strike according to the provisions of section 55, general laws.

"On Sunday, December 16, I secured a conference with members of the Publishers' Association, and on behalf of the International Union submitted to them a proposition for a settlement of all disputes. This proposition was rejected and I submitted a second proposition to which the publishers promised to reply on the following day. Their response forms a part of the records in the case, and was in substance to the effect that they would decline to confer any further with the representatives of the International or the local union, and that applications of their former employes for reinstatement, if made as individuals, would be received by them up to and including a certain date.

"The executive council convened in Pittsburgh on the following Wednesday, but was unable to secure a conference with the Publishers' Association. The attitude of the publishers was such that the executive council was compelled to recognize the strike, extend financial support to No. 7, and at a later date the council was com-

pelled to adopt radical measures for the purpose of securing funds to conduct the Pittsburgh and Kansas City contests.

"The officers of the American Federation of Labor endeavored to secure such action on the part of the machinists as would result in the elimination of the machinists' question as an issue in the fight. It was found, however, that both the local and international officials of the machinists' union had agreed to stand by the publishers.

"The members of the executive council were confident that it lay within the power of Pittsburgh Stereotypers' Union No. 20 to force a settlement of the difficulty. A special meeting of that union was called at the request of Vice-President Derflinger, and the situation was plainly stated to the stereotypers. The members of that union, however, refused to comply with the request of the executive council, and on Thursday, December 21, the members of Stereotypers' Union No. 20 were ordered to cease work in accordance with the provisions of section 59, general laws, International Typographical Union. A number of the members of the union obeyed the order of the council, a charter was issued to them, and the charter of the old union revoked.

"On June 9, the executive council declared the strike at an end, and took such further steps as were deemed necessary to protect the local and International Unions."

Nine-Hour Day — The nine-hour day had been enforced in the book and job offices throughout the jurisdiction. The only important cities not observing the law were San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Kansas City and Louisville. Members of the typothetæ were entirely responsible for its non-enforcement in those places, except the last named, and there an agreement had prevented the union taking action.

Chicago Stereotypers — What had become known as the "Chicago situation" was discussed by President Donnelly, under the head of stereotypers and electrotypers, as the dispute originated in that craft. The history of the case following the Detroit convention was fully recounted in the correspondence reproduced by the president, and he expressed himself on the situation thus:

While some members of the International Typographical Union maintain that the executive council should have immediately forced the issue with the Publishers' Association of the city of Chicago, it should be apparent to the entire membership, at the present time, that the commissary department of the International Typographical Union is not adequate for the conduct of such an extensive campaign as might possibly have resulted. Our locals in Chicago, which have so far failed to receive recognition of their organization and a scale of wages by the Publishers' Association, should be instructed to cease blowing their trumpets and inaugurate a quiet organizing campaign. When they have performed their full duty in this respect, they should receive the unqualified support of the International Typographical Union in an effort to secure recognition of their wage scales.

Relations With Allied Trades — After calling attention to the material advancement made by the typefounders, photo engravers, mailers and newspaper writers, the president announced that the Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the Printing Pressmen's Union reported substantial increases of membership and that those organizations had enacted legislation that would ultimately result in increases in their defense funds. It was reported that label disputes existed in several cities, mainly between the typographical and pressmen's unions. It was asserted, however, that where the local unions of both organizations manifested a regard for the rights of each other and evinced a spirit of conciliation the difficulties had been easily adjusted. There had been differences of opinion as to the working jurisdiction of stereotypers and

pressmen through the latter performing in many cases such duties as usually fall to the lot of the first-named craft. On the other hand, the pressmen complained that many compositors in the smaller towns did press work, claiming jurisdiction over all work in the press room. Members of the typographical union had been reluctant to join a union located at a remote point and failed to see any reason for the drawing of fine lines of jurisdiction. In the New England district, particularly, this question had caused great friction and in some instances seriously interfered with the progress of the typographical union. It had been expected that the pressmen and bookbinders would, at their conventions, make a pronouncement on these questions, but both organizations appointed special committees to meet with a like committee representing the International Typographical Union to undertake a revision of the tripartite agreement and it was urged upon the convention to participate in the proposed revisional conference. The Detroit convention had instructed the executive council to consider the feasibility of amalgamating all printing trade unions and, through the president, the executive council reported that such an amalgamation was practicable and recommended "that what is known as the autonomy plan recently granted the branches of the trade other than compositors, and as interpreted at a conference held between the executive council and the representatives of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union, be adopted as the plan for the government of all printing crafts."

Machine-Tenders — The machine-tender question next engaged the attention of the president and he said that the International had asserted and was maintaining jurisdiction over all mechanics employed in composing rooms. In relation to the attitude of the International

Association of Machinists it was contended that the resolution adopted by that body at its last convention was an insult to all union printers and that the International would be justified in refusing to deal with the offending organization until such time as it retracted the declaration complained of. While not opposed to arbitration, and confident the International could win a decision from any fair-minded board, the president emphatically denied the right of the American Federation of Labor to compel arbitration against the wishes of the International Typographical Union.

Injunctions — Although hopeful that the courts would themselves rob the injunction process of its most disreputable features, a hope based upon the character of modifying orders handed down, the president said of this judicial procedure:

> It is apparent that the injunction is merely a form of intimidation used by capital with the consent and assistance of the judiciary. No employer has applied for an injunction against a trade union except for the purpose of using the injunction to intimidate strikers. When an injunction is issued, wholesale arrests are made for alleged violation thereof, a number of the members of the union detained in court for days through the continuation of cases, and finally released on bail after being warned and threatened by the judge, and the power of the court and the officers of the law are used for the purpose of intimidating the strikers in the hope that their ranks may thereby be broken. The injunction is merely a form of threat or intimidation which has proven, in some cases, a most potent weapon in the hands of capital.

Minor Recommendations — It was thought there should be greater uniformity in contracts entered into with employers and the president submitted a draft of one together with the suggestion that all such contracts thereafter be approved by the executive council. This was followed by a renewal of the proposition that the law be amended so as to prohibit members from operating plants

under any guise which in its effect permitted "sweating the scale." The president closed with the recommendation that the secretary-treasurer be authorized to destroy old and useless correspondence that was taking up room at headquarters.

Stereotypers — Second Vice-President Derflinger submitted the following report: "As all of the work concerning Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union done in the past year was by President Donnelly's instructions only, he, no doubt, will make a detailed report. I have nothing to say."

Typographia — Third Vice-President Miller reported that the year had been a prosperous one for the German branch, not a strike of moment having occurred during the period. The membership was congratulated on the unionizing of the Cincinnati Freie Presse, after a seven-years' struggle, and the principal non-union German newspaper, the Chicago Freie Presse, was reported to be losing ground. Of the beneficial features and funds of this branch, its chief officer said:

> To better assist these unfortunate (unemployed) members, our membership decided by referendum vote to raise the general dues from 40 cents to 45 cents per week, and to increase the maximum sum of out-of-work benefit allowed a member during a fiscal year from $60 to $80. Notwithstanding this increase, the total amount paid for out-of-work benefits has been reduced from $11,000 last year to about $9,000 this year. Our membership is about the same, and our finances are, as usual, in a very good condition, the funds in our general treasury amounting to almost $12,000, or about $11 per capita.

Mr. Miller congratulated the International Typographical Union on its "splendid success in the trade union line," and expressed the hope that the day was not far distant when its members "will hold the same rank in the class-conscious political line."

Mailers — The organization of a prosperous union of

mailers in Detroit was cited as one of the direct results of the last convention by Fourth Vice-President Harber. Several attempts to organize unions failed for various reasons, the chief obstacle being the employment of boys.

Newswriters — "The work of organization has been exceedingly slow," said Fifth Vice-President O'Sullivan, although he expressed the opinion that the seed sown must soon bear fruit, as official correspondence showed more interest being taken in the movement by editors and reporters than ever before. He said:

> Not a single case has come to my notice of any hostility to the organization of the writers on the part of publishers, but, on the contrary, words of encouragement have been given us by employers from unexpected sources. The arguments which have been advanced to urge writers to join an organization can not be contradicted by those to whom we have presented them. In nearly every instance the general principles of organization as applied to our calling are agreed to, but the principal objection to joining with us in the work for the improvement of our condition seems to be that it is not a practical proposition.
>
> Wages have not risen in this branch of the International Typographical Union during the past year, even though in many cases more attention is required and a constant improvement in the reporters' work is manifest. Few reductions in wages have been reported among the members, but outside of our fold wages have been reduced in some instances considerably. In some cities men have been dismissed to make way for less able and cheaper newspaper men, but this is not a condition which seems to be forceful enough to induce organization.

That there was a determination on the part of the officers to effect an organization of practical value to wage earning newswriters rather than form a mere society of writers is evidenced by this clean-cut expression:

> Several attempts have been made to organize unions, which did not receive the encouragement ordinarily given, due entirely to the belief on the part of the general officers that encouragement to organize in the direction referred to would not be for the best interests of the craft. In the instances referred to,

applicants for membership have come from those not engaged as wage earners on daily publications, but rather from persons who were conducting news enterprises and other publications, whom we believed were not eligible to membership in this branch of the International Typographical Union. This branch of the organization is intended only for such writers as are employed as such upon the daily press of the country. They are the ones who, in my judgment, need the protecting fold of unionism, and to admit other than these would tend to discredit our branch of the union.

Photo Engravers — According to Sixth Vice-President Ryan, the photo engravers had been most prosperous during the year, both in respect to natural expansion and the growth of union principles among its members. But one cloud obscured the sun of prosperity and that was caused by the unauthorized strike of New York Photo Engravers' Union No. 1, which resulted in a compromise. Mr. Ryan, having exceeded the scriptural limit of years, was conscious that this report might afford his last opportunity of addressing fellow unionists, and delivered an exhortation and pronounced a benediction in these words:

In conclusion, may the glorious work of labor organization proceed. Let us be true to ourselves, protecting the weak against the strong, stretching out a helping hand to others. Never forget that we should not attempt to live for ourselves alone, remembering that we have neighbors, and our duty toward them. Looking back fifty years, I am compelled to admit, with gratification, the progress of organized labor has been highly satisfactory. The education our children are receiving, and the self-culture that has taken such a permanent hold upon so many workingmen in all directions, indicate that a greater share of this world's wealth will accrue to labor in the next fifty years than in the past. To attain this, we must watch and work for this desirable end. That the reasonable desire of labor may attain the full ratio of its production is the heartfelt wish of one who has rejoiced in every forward stride that has elevated the masses and procured for them something nearer to a plane of existence that can be called human and civilized, and who heartily and sincerely believes he has in a

measure, however trifling, helped along the good cause, paying the usual penalties ungrudgingly; who, in spirit, is inseparably attached to printing and its progress, having entered into it in 1840, and feels proud of living in a country where an International Typographical Union exists.

Secretary-Treasurer — To the average mind the report of an organization's fiduciary officer is the best possible reflex of the society's condition, and especially is that true when the officer deals with affairs in a comprehensive manner. According to the printed report of Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood, it was shown that the total receipts for the year (including $19,955.98 on hand July 1, 1899) were $197,440.77, while the expenditures (exclusive of $12,407.20 on hand June 30, 1900) totaled $185,033.57. The receipts for 1899-1900 exceeded those of 1898-1899 by $49,048.09, and those of 1897-1898 by $64,321. The expenditures exceeded those of the previous year by $61,533.77, and were $7,548.78 in excess of the receipts. The numerical strength of the organization was treated of in the following paragraph:

By the per capita tax received it is shown that the average paying membership of the different branches of the organization was as follows: Compositors (including German-American), 28,864; stereotypers and electrotypers, 1,459; photo engravers, 861; mailers, 555; typefounders, 282; newspaper writers, 84; total 32,105. This is an increase of 1,459 over the previous year, and 3,491 larger than the year of 1898. In fact, the paying membership of the past year reached a figure never before attained by the International body, it being 726 higher than that of 1894, the banner year of the organization, in which (before the withdrawal of the pressmen, pressfeeders, bookbinders and bindery girls) an average of 31,379 members paid dues to the International Union. * * * Whether or not our membership has increased as it should in these propitious times is a question rather difficult to determine. The increment in membership has been gradual, and the growth of the organization substantial in every way, yet its field has not been fully

cultivated. Certain sections of the jurisdiction, mainly the larger cities, offer an excellent opportunity for organization work. If each union will make an earnest effort to completely organize the craft in its jurisdiction during the fiscal year it is believed that an increase of several thousand members would result.

The secretary-treasurer was convinced that another effort should be made to augment the defense fund and if no steps were taken in that direction a law effectually curtailing the right of unions to make demands upon the fund was, in his opinion, an imperative necessity. The report said, in part:

The regular revenue accruing to the defense fund was not calculated to meet expenditures of a character now requested by many unions. If the International is to provide funds for local organization work, furnish money to advertise our trade mark, pay the expenses of law suits growing out of label legislation or boycotts levied by local bodies, send a representative whenever asked by a subordinate union, pay strike benefits for an indefinite period whenever trouble occurs, and provide money for divers other purposes for which it is now asked, an increase in per capita tax is absolutely necessary, for the officers of the International can not meet the present demands with the money placed at their disposal. All the expenditures enumerated must be paid from the defense fund, the normal receipts of which, on our present membership basis, reach a total of $28,894.39, or about $2,400 per month—not a large sum for disbursement among 474 local unions, when the diversified nature of the requests for assistance, outside of regular strike benefits, is taken into consideration.

It has also been fully demonstrated that our regular defense fund is inadequate to conduct, for an indefinite period, strikes involving large numbers of members, such as have occurred during the past year. The lessons of the past either prove the need of a larger sum of money for defensive purposes, or indicate the necessity for the restriction by law of expenditures from the defense fund to the conduct of necessary organization work and the payment of strike benefits for a fixed period, together with the abolition of convention grants and other

forms of special assistance and the insistence by the International Union that our membership shall closely adhere at all times to a policy of conservatism and conciliation.

It is within the province of the convention to restrict the expenditures from the defense fund in such manner as is deemed advisable. Even if the convention should decide that an increase in revenue is necessary, and submit such a proposition to the membership, it would also be well to amend the general law relating to the disposition of the defense fund, such amendment to take effect only in case the membership defeats the proposition to increase the general revenue. The subject in its entirety is well worthy of the earnest consideration of every delegate and member, and should receive the attention its importance demands.

Union Printers Home — General Fund — The Home was seemingly well provided for, as a handsome balance remained, even after a considerable sum had been expended in extraordinary improvements. For the first time in years the general fund, from which is defrayed Journal and convention expenses, officers' salaries, the expenses of delegates to the American Federation of Labor, per capita tax to that body, the maintenance of headquarters and the various items of expense connected with the International's business, had a balance to its credit, though very small.

Burial Fund — The burial fund was reported to be in a healthy condition, so opulent, in fact, that the secretary-treasurer recommended increasing the benefit from $60 to $65 without a proportionate increase in per capita tax. The number of deaths during the year was 419 and the average age at death 41.25 years.

Typographical Journal — The Typographical Journal and its affairs were dealt with exhaustively. The net cost was shown to have been reduced to 11⅛ cents per member, the lowest price since the inauguration of magazine form. Complaint was made of the limited number of subscribers, which had remained at about 4,000 for several years, notwithstanding the adoption of many plans

to increase circulation. It was asserted that the Journal should be read by each member, and the assistance of local officers in building up the subscription list of the official paper, and thus extend its sphere of usefulness, was earnestly desired. To this end the plan of making each local financial secretary an agent for the Journal, and the allowance of a commission on subscriptions obtained by such officials, was respectfully suggested.

Official Business — An idea of the increased volume of the International's business was contained in a statement that "a total of 55,323 pieces of mail and express matter were shipped from the office during the year, of which 12,556 were typewritten letters, and the other first-class pieces of mail numbered 31,961, the balance of the total being supplies, organizing literature and incidental copies of the Journal." Accompanying the secretary's report was an elaborate table giving the "receipts from all sources and the benefits paid to locals" for the fiscal year. From it the reader could see at a glance just what any union paid to the International, the funds to which the payments were applied and the amounts received in return as benefits.

Organizers' Reports — All the organizers presented reports dealing with troubles in their districts, the causes and results of which were given with great regard for circumstantiality, in most instances, but were not of general interest, although of paramount importance to those concerned. Those who mentioned the subject, however, were in agreement as to the necessity of organizing the non-union printer as an act of self-protection and while there was an absence of that general complaint at the inadequacy of the system that distinguished organizers' reports of previous years, it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the plan of distributing literature must be accompanied by a system of personal visitations by union officials before notable results could be achieved.

American Federation of Labor Delegates — The report of delegates to the American Federation of Labor, at its nineteenth annual convention in Detroit, was a comprehensive document, covering the subjects discussed and acted on by that body. Much space was devoted to what occurred on the floor of the convention relating to the machine-tender controversy.

Home Trustees — The report of the Home trustees, in the nature of things, was lengthy and full of detail. The proceedings of the board meetings were given in full, together with the receipts and expenditures for the year and the balance on hand. The expenditures had been unusually heavy because of permanent improvements made at the institution, the more important of which were a five-room stone cottage for the superintendent, a stone gateway at the entrance to the grounds, storm doorways, water tanks, etc. The number of residents during the year averaged 90 and the cost of maintenance was $5.40 each, per week. During the year 9 deaths occurred at the Home, 27 residents vacated voluntarily and 5 were expelled. All the deaths resulted from tuberculosis. Speaking on this subject, the superintendent said:

> It seems impossible to impress upon the membership that some cases should not be sent to this altitude. * * * But it appears, in some instances, at least, that the local unions, or examining physician, wilfully misrepresent the applicant in order to gain him admission to the Home. * * * Either through ignorance or misrepresentation, men have been sent to the Home that it was positively cruel to bring to this high altitude. Of the nine that died, one was an inmate for five days, one twelve days, and two arrived together from the east and both were dead in less than one month.

LEGISLATION

Constitutional Amendments — Fifteen constitutional amendments were passed upon favorably and submitted to the referendum. Only one failed of adoption, that

being a proposition to increase the per capita tax from 30 to 40 cents per month and provide a reserve fund and increase the burial benefit. Summarized, the constitutional amendments were: (1) To more clearly define the jurisdiction of the International Union. Total vote, 12,767. Majority for, 9,453. (2) To provide for alternate delegates and a new election in case of a tie. Total vote, 12,590. Majority for, 9,626. (3) To grant the typefounders a vice-presidency. Total vote, 12,373. Majority for, 8,765. (4) To provide for the election of such number of delegates to the American Federation of Labor as its laws allow. Total vote, 12,423. Majority for, 4,263. (5) To more clearly define the qualifications for International office. Total vote, 12,409. Majority for, 10,125. (6) To make the law regarding the furnishing of blank delegate certificates of election conform with other portions of the constitution. Total vote, 12,045. Majority for, 9,973. (7) To make the law regarding the publication of the convention proceedings conform with other portions of the constitution. Total vote, 11,998. Majority for, 10,384. (8) To define the duties of organizers and make specific the law governing provisional membership cards. Total vote, 12,525. Majority for, 9,653. (9) To increase the per capita tax to 40 cents per month, provide a reserve fund and increase the burial benefit. Total vote, 13,339. Majority against, 3,695. (10) To make a necessary change in the date of the beginning and ending of the fiscal year. Total vote, 12,294. Majority for, 9,666. (11) To exempt inmates of the Union Printers Home from the payment of per capita tax. Total vote, 12,945. Majority for, 10,537. (12) To increase the burial benefit to $65 without increasing the per capita tax. Total vote, 13,537. Majority for, 6,117. (13) To make the acceptance of withdrawal cards subject to the approval of the issuing union. Total vote,

12,594. Majority for, 9,536. (14) To provide for the issuance of certificates of membership to members of suspended unions on the payment of all arrearages. Total vote, 12,758. Majority for, 10,162. (15) To more clearly define the autonomy granted trade district unions by article xix of the constitution, adopted in 1899. Total vote, 12,066. Majority for, 9,496.

General Laws — The general laws were amended to provide that local unions could prevent employers from becoming active members of their organization if they so desired. The laws relative to charges and trials were amended in order to make the procedure more definite and the laws regulating strikes were so amended as to prevent the expenditure of moneys from the defense fund on account of any strike unless the same had been authorized by the executive council. The secretary of each subordinate union was directed to act as subscription agent for the Typographical Journal, 10 per cent of all moneys received by such officer for subscriptions being allowed as compensation for his labor. The following new section was added, under the heading "Typesetting Machines": "No member of the International Union shall engage in speed contests, either by hand composition or on machines. Violation of this law shall be punished by a fine of not less than $25, or suspension; *provided,* that said penalty shall be imposed in accordance with the laws regulating trials and charges." The stamp system in relation to International dues was inaugurated by a law passed at this convention. It required the secretary-treasurer to prepare and sell to subordinate unions, at face value, according to the monthly per capita tax of the International Union, adhesive stamps and working cards with stamps of equal value thereon, known as International due stamps and working cards. With the purpose of endeavoring to stamp out and curtail

the dissemination of scurrilous literature during political campaigns, the following section was added to the general laws: "Any member or members of a subordinate union publishing, or causing to be published, in newspapers, circulars or pamphlets, malicious and untrue articles reflecting upon the standing or character, private or public, of any member or members of the International Typographical Union, shall be deemed guilty of ununionlike conduct, and upon conviction before a trial board shall be suspended or expelled, as two-thirds of the members may determine. The trial for such offense shall be conducted according to the rules and regulations governing uniform charges and trials. Secretaries of subordinate unions are ordered to post this law in all chapels."

Resolutions — The following were among the numerous resolutions adopted by the convention:

That the president is instructed to reply to the letter of Mr. Gompers relative to the machine-tender controversy and inform him that the organization is not in position to arbitrate its own laws.

That a special committee be appointed to draft and present suitable engrossed resolutions to Samuel B. Donnelly on his retirement from the presidency of the International Typographical Union.

That the delegates from the International Typographical Union to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce and support in that body a resolution favoring submission to the referendum all amendments to state constitutions on petition of voters.

That San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21 is hereby instructed to obey the mandate of its superior body and inaugurate the nine-hour workday within its jurisdiction, to go into effect October 1, 1900. That in the event this order is resisted by any establishment

within the jurisdiction of No. 21 the executive council is hereby authorized to render the necessary financial assistance, to the end that the nine-hour workday be successfully established in San Francisco. That the sum of $150, separate and apart from the above, be allowed San Francisco Typographical Union each month for as long a period as the executive council deems necessary, the same to be expended by that union in an effort to regain the offices lost in the strike of 1898.

That the executive council communicate with the proper officials at Washington, pointing out to them the advantages to be gained and the justice which would be done our trade by the establishment of a government printing office in the Philippines, to be conducted by and for the government, and thereby abolish the existing system of sub-letting to private institutions; that abuses existing in the Philippine islands be guarded against in other newly acquired territory by legislation looking to the establishment of government printing plants and the securing of the union rate of wages.

MISCELLANEOUS

Stereotypers Ask to Withdraw — The Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Trade District Union came before the convention with a proposal that those crafts be permitted to withdraw from the International Union, which, after a prolonged discussion, was negatived by a decisive vote of 103 to 51.

Conditions in Pittsburgh — The committee on subordinate unions reported the condition of Pittsburgh Union to be most deplorable and a menace to the International, and recommended that the council be instructed to use every effort to restore the union to its former position, in which the convention concurred.

District Organizers — The following selections for organizers were reported: First district, Henry Mc-

Mahon, Boston; second district, J. E. McLoughlin, New York; third district, T. J. Creager, Springfield, Ohio; fourth district, S. D. Hope, Norfolk; fifth district, C. C. Houston, Atlanta; sixth district, W. H. Stewart, Grand Rapids; seventh district, M. B. Palmer, Peoria; eighth district, C. J. Deaton, Birmingham; ninth district, T. R. Drake, Council Bluffs, Iowa; tenth district, John W. Hays, Minneapolis; eleventh district, Homer E. Dunn, Denver; twelfth district, R. F. Radley, Waco, Tex.; thirteenth district, W. J. A. McVety, Boise City; fourteenth district, John R. Winders and C. P. Jones, San Francisco; fifteenth district, C. A. Derry, Seattle; sixteenth district, P. M. Draper, Ottawa, for Province of Ontario, and Felix Marois, Quebec, for Province of Quebec.

Request for Tripartite Conference — President Bowman of the International Printing Pressmen's Union addressed the delegates, urging them to appoint a committee to confer with similar committees from the pressmen's and binders' organizations for the purpose of considering changes in the tripartite agreement.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

On the second day of the convention Frederick Driscoll, representing the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, was invited to address the convention. In view of Mr. Driscoll's long connection with the Publishers' Association and his activity as chairman of their arbitration board, it is thought that his address to the Milwaukee convention, being the first direct word ever received by the International Union from the Publishers' Association, should be reproduced here:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is a very great pleasure for me, officially representing the daily newspaper publishers of the country, and the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, to have the opportunity of meeting you in session assembled as the delegates of the International Typographical Union.

The American Newspaper Publishers' Association at its annual convention

in February last provided for the appointment of a special standing committee, as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association appoint a national committee of three members to take up labor questions affecting generally the members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and that said committee is hereby empowered to take all measures necessary in its judgment to protect the interests of the members of this association, who may be in trouble with labor unions, subject to the direction of the board of directors.

"*Resolved,* That no local member or association decide upon questions involving the jurisdiction of national unions, or changes affecting members at large, until such matters shall have been passed upon by the special standing committee.

"*Resolved,* That no rule of a labor union passed on and after this date, affecting the properties of the members of this association, can be recognized unless it has first been passed upon by the special standing committee appointed by this association.

"*Resolved,* That the special standing committee be directed to forthwith negotiate with each of the allied organizations for the establishment of joint arbitration committees to adjust disputes between members and local unions, that can not otherwise be settled.

"*Resolved,* That the special standing committee be instructed to bring the subject of the employment of proofreaders to the attention of the next meeting of the International Typographical Union, in order that its law may be so amended as to allow proofreaders to be employed without regard to their connection with the union.

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association that linotype machinists should not be members of the International Typographical Union."

Upon the adjournment of the convention, the president appointed the following named gentlemen to constitute the special standing committee: Alfred Cowles, Chicago Tribune (chairman); Herman Ridder, New York Staats-Zeitung; M. J. Lowenstein, St. Louis Star.

Immediately after its appointment the following statement was published by the special standing committee:

"The American Publishers' Association, in view of the conflicts of greater or less gravity between its members and their employes, and with an earnest desire to prevent such conflicts if possible in the future, appointed at its recent meeting a special standing committee, with authority to secure the services of a competent commissioner. This committee is substantially an arbitration committee. Its duty is to obtain data respecting wages paid in the several cities, the condition of labor in the offices of the various members of the association, and such other information as may be useful and beneficial to both employer and employe.

"This committee feels charged with the sacred task of settling disputes whenever possible, and to that end will labor to secure the establishment of joint national arbitration committees to adjust labor troubles between members and their employes that can not otherwise be settled.

"The committee was not appointed to provoke controversies, or to antagonize labor, but on the contrary to promote a better understanding between members and their employes. The services of the committee and its commissioner will be at the disposal of any member of the association, and the good offices of the committee will gladly be extended to any member on request."

Early in April I had the honor of being appointed by the committee as commissioner. At its last meeting, held early this month, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association that the publishers should have the

right to be heard on all proposed amendments to the constitution, general laws and rules of the International Typographical Union affecting their interests."

I quote these resolutions of our association and the statements of the committee to place before you their views, which were adopted by them with absolute unanimity.

It is perhaps pertinent here to state that there are directly connected with our bureau more than two hundred of the daily newspapers published in all the principal cities of the country, with nearly twenty millions of dollars invested in the mechanical plants of their business, and employing more than twenty thousand persons outside of their editorial staff, correspondents and counting-room employes. From recently gathered statistics we learn that about 60 per cent of the mechanical employes are members of labor unions. The publishers of this mighty aggregation of newspapers rank as high in the business world in points of intelligence and broad business requirements as any class of gentlemen that can be found in the sixty cities where they dwell. The resolutions which I have presented to you for information represent their ideas concerning some of the changes which should be made in your laws and methods of transacting that portion of your business which affects their interests. They have not intended to ask your body to do anything but that which is fair and just, and to assist them in establishing a basis whereby friction can be avoided and permanent industrial peace secured.

I call your attention to the fact that a considerable bitterness of feeling has been engendered in the minds of publishers because of your action at your last convention in compelling proofreaders and linotype machinists to become members of the typographical union. These two classes of employes are in no sense entitled to be called printers, and these new requirements have occasioned a great deal of trouble. In some cases the requirements have been ignored, and in one notable case the requirements covering the machinists caused one of the most disastrous strikes, which occasioned large assessments and expenditures of strike funds, drove scores of printers from their homes to seek work elsewhere, and inflicted a great amount of sore distress on hundreds of workmen's families. There can not be to exceed three hundred linotype machinists employed by the publishers. It would seem to an impartial observer that it was hardly wise for an organization claiming to number more than thirty thousand to cause such trouble for the very few employed to take care of the linotype machines, with whom there has been before this no substantial trouble.

With reference to the matter of proofreaders, the publishers regard it as a needless interference with the conduct of their business. They claim that many valued employes, whose services have been acceptable in this occupation, do not desire to join the unions; that there is no more propriety in requiring them to join the union than to ask counter clerks or employes who are not printers; but, above all, it is claimed the maintenance of this rule will impair the service; that membership in the union, rather than skill in their occupation, will be considered the requirement on the part of the employe. For these reasons and others which might be noted, I am directed to ask you to repeal these two new features grafted on your constitution last year.

You are also asked by the publishers to unite with them in establishing a joint arbitration committee to adjust disputes between the publishers and local unions that can not otherwise be settled, and to act as a board of appeal. If you would do this, a long step would be taken toward the abolition of the strike, boycott and lockout.

Your attention is particularly directed to the resolutions of the publishers and also of the committee, that the International Typographical Union should make no changes in its constitution or general laws, bearing upon the rights or affecting the interests of the publishers, without first having a consultation with the authorized representatives of the newspaper publishers and learning their

views on any proposed changes. There is not a member of this union who will deny the fairness of this proposition, if he will be candid and just both to himself and his employer. I confidently hope that upon reflection you will all agree that, now the publishers have appeared before you, through their representatives, your laws or rules will be so amended as to comply with these resolutions. The local contracts of the publishers have, to a large extent, protected them against changes by the local unions, but the local unions themselves are constantly affected by new obligations placed on them by the International Typographical Union in its annual legislation.

Complaint is made that the International Typographical Union does not at all times respect as sacred the contracts made between local unions and the publishers. If I have been correctly informed the International Typographical Union can modify or annul any such contract, unless it has been specifically and formally approved by the parent organization. I venture to say that nine-tenths of the local contracts in existence have not been so formally approved. Bear in mind that while the publisher is generally financially responsible and can be compelled to perform his part of the contract, it would be impossible for him to legally enforce the performance of a contract on the part of the unions. There should be no uncertainty as to the validity of a contract with the local union, so far as the action of the International Typographical Union is concerned.

A cause of friction is the frequent practice of local unions in forming and ratifying new scales in secret session without consulting in advance with the publishers, who are expected to pay the bills. Before any new scale is submitted to the local union for adoption a full consultation should be had with the employers to be affected thereby. Section 149 of your general laws recommends "conciliatory methods in making important changes in prices," etc. All proposed changes should be made only after mutual conference. Allow me to suggest the amendment of your laws to secure this result in the future.

Another cause of friction arises in many cases from the fact that the foremen are required to be members of the union. The foreman is placed in charge of the room to protect the interests of his employer. The workmen are present to represent themselves and in addition have the father of the chapel to look after their interests. At a convention of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, one of your affiliated organizations, held in St. Louis in 1896, the question arose as to whether foremen should belong to the union or not. After discussion it was decided they must not. If a workman belonging to the union was advanced to the position of foreman he was allowed to take a withdrawal card, which would entitle him to come back into the union if he should lose his position. This rule governs today. C. E. Weimar, president of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, in a letter dated February 18, 1900, and since published, states that "foremen can not very well carry both the interest of their employer and the interest of the union on one pair of shoulders without causing difficulties for both." From my personal experience as publisher for more than a score of years, I can state that the local union never had any trouble with my foreman by reason of his not being a member of the union. I earnestly recommend an amendment of your laws to carry this suggestion into effect. I am sure it would result in the establishment of far better and more cordial relations than has previously existed.

Within the present year, the last of the nineteenth century, a most notable instance of the peaceful settlement of the relations between capital and labor has taken place. I refer to what I call the treaty of peace between the International Machinists' Association and the National Metal Trades Association, consummated May 18, 1900. Both organizations were acknowledged by all to be strong and powerful. A statement published at the time the event occurred announced the decision to abolish strikes and uphold arbitration in this case benefited two hundred thousand workmen and seventy-five millions of capital.

May I suggest this as an object lesson to your organization? Are not the members of the International Typographical Union as intelligent, progressive and fair-minded as the metal workers? Is it unreasonable to hope that the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association may get together and establish friendly relations, such as have not previously existed? Sweep out of your constitution, general laws and rules, all matters which are unfair or unjust to both parties interested, and thereby remove all principal cause of friction. Provide for the settlement by peaceful methods of any differences which may arise. Provide, that while differences are being settled by arbitration, the men must stay at work, and likewise that the employer shall not lock them out.

Then you can return to the constituents you represent and report to them that permanent industrial peace has been secured, and harmonious relations established between the members of the typographical unions and their employes. These results attained, would bear witness to the experience acquired and the progress gained in the closing year of the semi-centennial existence of the International Typographical Union and most fittingly usher in the beginning of the twentieth century.

In considering the address of Commissioner Driscoll and dealing with the propositions contained therein the convention went on record regarding changes in wage scales and conditions, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the International Typographical Union that subordinate unions should adopt conciliatory measures at all times when changing their scales of prices, and that before any change in the scale of prices is adopted it should be submitted to all publishers who are interested. Also, that the International Typographical Union, when requested, shall allow a representative of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to be heard on important changes in the laws affecting their interests.

After a full discussion in executive session the convention adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the executive council be instructed to confer with the secretary or commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association with a view to arriving at an agreement providing for the amicable adjustment of all differences that may arise between any member of said association and the typographical union and its affiliated bodies; and

Be it further resolved, That if the American Newspaper Publishers' Association shall agree to submit to arbitration all disputes, pending and future, between the members of said association and the typographical union and its affiliated bodies, then the council is instructed to prepare laws governing such

agreement, have the same printed and sent to all subordinate unions, and if endorsed by fifty subordinate unions, shall submit them to a referendum vote of the membership, and use its influence to the end that they may be adopted by popular vote of the members of the International Union.

Copies of the resolutions above quoted were furnished Commissioner Driscoll and from subsequent correspondence it developed that the special standing committee of the publishers had no power to arbitrate pending disputes as outlined in the second resolution, and that it would require action by the publishers at their next convention to enable the committee to deal with that phase of the question. Mr. Driscoll, in behalf of the committee, at a later date, asked the executive council to determine whether it was authorized to proceed under the terms of the first resolution alone and confer with the representatives of the Publishers' Association with a view to arriving at an agreement providing for the amicable adjustment of all difficulties that might arise between any member of the Publishers' Association and the Typographical Union and its affiliated bodies. By unanimous vote, the executive council decided that it had authority to proceed in this way, and announced its willingness to do so. Owing to the fact, however, that a change in administration was to take place on November 1, 1900, the outgoing council expressed the belief that the negotiations should be conducted by the incoming administration.

Shortly after November 1 the question of conducting negotiations with the publishers' representatives was laid before the new council and that body authorized President Lynch to appoint a committee of three councilors for that purpose. The conferees met in Chicago, November 16, 1900, with the following present, in addition to Commissioner Driscoll: Representing the American Newspaper Publishers' Association—Alfred Cowles, A. A. McCormick (proxy for Herman Ridder) and M. J.

Lowenstein. Representing the International Typographical Union—James M. Lynch, C. E. Hawkes and J. W. Bramwood.

An organization was effected by the election of Alfred Cowles as chairman and J. W. Bramwood as secretary. Propositions offered by both parties were fully discussed during Friday and Saturday, November 16 and 17. On the afternoon of the second day a special committee was appointed to reconcile existing differences in the propositions presented, the committee being instructed to report at 7:30 o'clock Saturday evening. The report of this committee was carefully revised and an arbitration agreement approved and signed by the conferees and Commissioner Driscoll.

The board of directors of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, at a meeting held shortly after the Chicago convention, endorsed the agreement and the association at its meeting in February, 1901, approved the action taken.

By a referendum vote of the International Typographical Union, taken in March, 1901, the membership endorsed the arbitration agreement by a majority of 9,000 out of a total of 16,074 votes cast. The arbitration agreement was as follows:

Arbitration Agreement Between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union

SECTION 1. On and after ....., 1901, and until ....., 1902, any publisher who is a member of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, employing union labor in any department, or all departments, of his office, under an existing contract or contracts, either written or verbal, with a local union, or unions, chartered by the International Typographical Union, shall be protected under such contract or contracts by the International Typographical Union, against walkouts, strikes, boycotts or any other form of concerted interference with the peaceful operation of the department or departments of labor so contracted for by any union or unions with which he has contractual relations: *provided*, said publisher shall enter into an agreement with the International Typographical Union to arbitrate all differences that may arise under said existing verbal or written contract or contracts between said publisher and union employes in said department or departments, in case said differences can not first be settled by conciliation.

SEC. 2. If conciliation between the publisher and a local union fails, then provision must be made for local arbitration. If local arbitration or arbitrators

can not be agreed upon, all differences shall be referred, upon application of either party, to the national board of arbitration. In case a local board of arbitration is formed, and a decision rendered which is unsatisfactory to either side, then an appeal may be taken to the national board of arbitration by the dissatisfied party.

Sec. 3. In cases of appeal from a local board of arbitration, the national board of arbitration shall not take evidence except by a majority vote of the board, but the appellant and appellee may be required to submit records and briefs and to make oral or written arguments (at the option of the board) in support of their several contentions. The parties to the controversy may submit an agreed statement of facts, or a transcript of testimony properly certified to before a notary public by the stenographer taking the original evidence or depositions.

Sec. 4. Pending decision under such appeal, work shall be continued in the office of the publisher, party to the case, and the award of the national board of arbitration shall, in all cases, include a determination of the issues involved, covering the period between the raising of the issues and their final settlement; and any change or changes in the wage scale of employes may, at the discretion of the board, be made effective from the date the issues were first made.

Sec. 5. If, in any case, any number of the newspaper publishers of any city, forming a local publishers' association, enter into contract, verbal or written, with any of the subordinate unions belonging to or affiliated with the International Typographical Union, then and in that case such associations shall enjoy all the rights and be subjected to all the obligations hereby applying to any individual publisher as noted above.

Sec. 6. Employers whose offices are union in all mechanical departments under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, and in whose offices disputes arise affecting one or all of those departments, which can not be settled locally, shall have the right to demand the services of the national board of arbitration. Employers whose offices are union in one or more mechanical departments under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union shall have the right to demand the services of the national board of arbitration as to disputes which may arise in any of these union departments which can not be settled locally.

Sec. 7. Local unions of the International Typographical Union becoming involved in disputes with a publisher concerning the union departments of the offices heretofore described shall have the right to demand the services of the national board of arbitration, if such disputes can not be settled locally.

Sec. 8. The words "union department" as herein employed shall be construed to refer only to such departments as are made up wholly of union employes, in which union rules prevail, and in which the union has been formally recognized by the employer.

Sec. 9. It is understood that this agreement shall apply to individual members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, or local associations of publishers accepting it and the rules drafted hereunder, at least thirty days before a dispute shall arise.

Sec. 10. The national board of arbitration shall consist of the president of the International Typographical Union, and the commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, or their proxies, and in the event of failure to reach an agreement, these two shall select a third member in each dispute, the member so selected to act as chairman of the board. The finding of the majority of the board shall be final and shall be accepted as such by the parties to the dispute under consideration.

Sec. 11. In the event of either party to the dispute refusing to accept and comply with the decision of the national board of arbitration, all aid and support to the firm or employer or local union refusing acceptance and compliance

shall be withdrawn by both parties to this agreement. The acts of such recalcitrant employer or union shall be publicly disavowed, and the aggrieved party to this agreement shall be furnished by the other with an official document to that effect.

SEC. 12. The said national board of arbitration must act when its services are desired by either party to a dispute as above, and shall proceed with all possible dispatch in rendering such services.

SEC. 13. All expenses attendant upon the settlement of any dispute, except the personal expenses of the commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and of the president of the International Typographical Union, shall be borne equally by the parties to the dispute.

SEC. 14. The conditions obtaining before the initiation of the dispute shall remain in effect pending the finding of the local or of the national board of arbitration.

SEC. 15. The following rules shall govern the national board of arbitration in adjusting differences between parties to this agreement:

FIRST. It may demand duplicate typewritten statements of grievances.

SECOND. It may examine all parties involved in any differences referred to it for adjudication.

THIRD. It may employ such stenographers, etc., as may be necessary to facilitate business.

FOURTH. It may require an affidavit on all disputed points.

FIFTH. It shall have free access to all books and records bearing on points at issue.

SIXTH. Equal opportunity shall be allowed for presentation of evidence and argument.

SEVENTH. Investigation shall be conducted in the presence of representatives of both parties.

EIGHTH. The deliberations of the board shall be conducted in executive session, and the findings, whether unanimous or not, shall be signed by all the members of the board in each instance.

NINTH. In the event of either party to the dispute refusing or failing to appear or present its case after due notice, it may be adjudged in default and findings rendered against such party.

TENTH. All evidence communicated to the board in confidence shall be preserved inviolate and no record of such evidence shall be kept.

SEC. 16. The form of contract to be entered into by the publisher and the International Typographical Union shall be as follows:

[Form of Contract.]

It is agreed between ..... publisher(s) or proprietor(s) of the ..... of ....., duly authorized to act in its behalf, party of the first part, and the International Typographical Union, by its president, duly authorized to act in its behalf, and also in behalf of ..... union(s) of ....., as follows:

That any and all disputes that may arise under the existing contract(s), verbal or written, between ..... publisher(s) or proprietor(s) and the ..... union(s), or any member thereof, now operating in the ..... department(s) of the ..... shall first be settled by conciliation between the publisher and the authorities of the local union, if possible. If not, the matter shall be referred to arbitration, each party, to the controversy to select one arbitrator, and the two thus chosen to select a third, the decision of a majority of such board of arbitration to be final and binding upon both parties, except as hereinafter provided for.

If local arbitration or arbitrators can not be agreed upon, all differences shall be referred, upon application of either party, to the national board of arbitration, consisting of the president of the International Typographical Union and the commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Associa-

tion, or their proxies, and if the board thus constituted can not agree it shall be authorized to select an additional member, and the decision of a majority of this board, thus constituted, shall be final and binding upon both parties.

Pending arbitration and decision thereunder, work shall be continued as usual in the office of the publisher, party to this agreement, and the award of the arbitrators shall, in all cases, include a determination of the issues involved, covering the period between the raising of the issues and the final settlement; and any change or changes in the wage scale of employes, or other ruling, may, at the discretion of the arbitrators, be made effective from the date the issues were first made.

In case a local board of arbitration is formed and a decision rendered which is unsatisfactory to either side, then an appeal may be taken to the above described national board of arbitration by the dissatisfied party. Pending decision under such appeal from a local board of arbitration, work shall be continued as usual in the office of the publisher party to the case, and the award of the national board of arbitration shall, in all cases, include a determination of the issues involved, covering the period between the raising of the issues and their final settlement; and any change or changes in the wage scale of employes may, at the discretion of the board, be made effective from the date the issues were first made.

In consideration of the agreement by the said publisher(s) or proprietor(s) to arbitrate all differences arising under existing verbal or written contract(s) with the ..... union(s), the International Typographical Union agrees to underwrite the said existing contract(s) and guarantees their fulfilment on the part of ..... union(s).

It is expressly understood and agreed that the sections numbered from one to seventeen, inclusive, of the agreement between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union, hereunto attached, shall be considered an integral part of this contract, and shall have the same force and effect as though set forth in the contract itself.

This contract shall be in full force and effect from ..... day of ....., 190.., to ..... day of ....., 190.., unless terminated sooner by mutual consent.

In witness whereof, the undersigned publisher(s) or proprietor(s) of the said newspaper, and the president of the International Typographical Union, have hereunto affixed their respective signatures, this ..... day of ....., 190...

This covenant between the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association shall remain in effect from ..... day of ....., 1901, to ..... day of ....., 1902, unless terminated sooner by mutual consent.

Whereas in pursuance of resolutions adopted by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association at New York, in February, 1900, and the International Typographical Union in annual assembly at Milwaukee, in August, 1900, an agreement entitled "Arbitration Agreement Between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union" has this day been devised by a committee of the executive council of the International Typographical Union and the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association;

Now, therefore, it is mutually agreed as follows:

First. This agreement shall be published simultaneously by the two bodies at such time as may hereafter be decided upon.

Second. The agreement shall be submitted for ratification to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association at its annual meeting in February, 1901, and immediately thereafter either to the executive council of the International Typographical Union or to a referendum of the membership of the International Typographical Union. If formally ratified as a whole by both bodies it shall

thereupon become effective at a date to be established, to remain in full force and effect for one year thereafter, unless mutually abrogated sooner, as therein provided for.

In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed our signatures this seventeenth day of November, 1900.

ALFRED COWLES, *Chairman.*
M. J. LOWENSTEIN,
A. A. MCCORMICK
(for Herman Ridder),
For the Special Standing Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association.

FREDERICK DRISCOLL,
Commissioner.

JAMES M. LYNCH,
CHARLES E. HAWKES,
J. W. BRAMWOOD,
Representing the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union.

TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT

A conference of representatives of the several international unions interested in the tripartite agreement was held at Baltimore, beginning Monday, March 18, 1901. The International Typographical Union was represented by President Lynch, Second Vice-President Freel and Third Vice-President Miller. President Bowman, D. J. McDonald, of Boston, and Benjamin Thompson, of New York, represented the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. President Tatem, J. L. Feeney, of Washington, and C. F. Weimar, of New York, were the delegates from the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. The object of the conference was to amend the tripartite agreement so as to make it more satisfactory to the unions interested. The following constitution and rules for the government of local allied printing trades councils were adopted:

In consideration of the terms of the foregoing agreement, and with the authority vested in them by the international conventions of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the duly authorized representatives of the parties to the foregoing agreement, for the purpose of more clearly defining their obligations to each other, the powers of local allied trades, and for the further purpose of avoiding disputes and securing the harmonious co-operation of all local unions in joint defensive action and label agitation, do enact the following rules and regulations:

SECTION 1. The presidents of the high contracting parties to this agreement shall constitute a joint board of appeals.

Sec. 2. The officers of this board of appeals shall be as follows: President, vice-president and secretary.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all meetings.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a correct record of the minutes of all meetings; to receive and place before the members of the joint board of appeals all cases which are submitted to them for their consideration; he shall keep a record of all decisions and transcribe the opinions of the members of this board of appeals on all cases submitted.

Sec. 5. On the demand of two of the members of the joint board of appeals, the president shall call a meeting, at a convenient place and time.

Sec. 6. Each organization shall pay one-third of the expense of this joint board of appeals.

Sec. 7. All rules enacted by the joint board of appeals for the government of allied trades councils shall be adopted by the unanimous vote of the board, subject to the approval of the executive councils of the high contracting parties to this agreement.

Sec. 8. Should a union affiliated with an allied trades council feel that an injustice has been done by the local council, or should any officer or delegate to such council feel that he has been wronged or an injustice done him by said council, or that said council has not complied with the constitution and rules governing the allied trades council, the right to appeal shall be granted under the following provisions: Notice of intention to appeal shall be filed with the proper officer of the local council within three (3) days, and the appellant shall serve copies of all testimony and arguments on said officials within ten (10) days after the local council has rendered its decision; and respondent shall reply thereto within a like period; and forward all documents and evidence to the secretary of the joint board of appeals; *provided,* that the secretary of the joint board of appeals may grant a further extension to either party, if, in his opinion, the ends of justice will be subserved thereby.

Sec. 9. All parties to the appeal, in cases where documents are to be submitted to the board of appeals, are required to make affidavit to the truth of their statements before a notary public.

Sec. 10. For the government of local allied trades councils the following rules and regulations are adopted; *provided,* that a local council may make such additional provisions and rules for its government as are not in conflict with the constitution hereby enacted, or the international tripartite agreement by which it is governed.

Article I. (Name)

Section 1. This body shall be known as the allied printing trades council of ..... and vicinity.

Article II. (Objects)

Section 1. The objects of this organization are to encourage and foster a feeling of friendship between the organizations engaged in the printing trade and kindred branches; to discuss ways and means for bettering the condition and advancing the interests of the organizations connected with this body; to stimulate the individual membership of the allied organizations to an active interest in each other, thereby securing a better understanding and a fraternal feeling between members who are so closely allied by the nature of their respective trades or callings; to promote the settlement of disputes by arbitration and thereby discourage strikes.

Article III. (Membership)

Section 1. This organization shall be composed of the members of the International Typographical Union and all organizations holding charters from the same; the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and all organizations holding charters from the same; the International Brotherhood

of Bookbinders and all organizations holding charters from the same; and such other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as may obtain the unanimous consent of the joint board of appeals to their admission.

ARTICLE IV. (Representation)

SECTION 1. This council shall be composed of three (3) delegates from each local union entitled to representation in this body.

SEC. 2. The term of office and the manner of selecting delegates to councils and the form of credentials shall be decided upon by the local unions.

ARTICLE V. (Officers)

SECTION 1. The officers of the allied printing trades council of * * * shall consist of a president and secretary (and such other officers as the local council may decide necessary to the successful conduct of its business).

ARTICLE VI. (Duties of Officers)

SECTION 1. The duties of officers, with the exception of the secretary, shall be defined by the local.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep an accurate record of the proceedings and business of the council, which record shall be open to the inspection, at all times, of any member of the joint board of appeals; he shall transact all correspondence and be the custodian of all documents, seals, labels and property of the council; he shall secure from the headquarters of the International Typographical Union, through its secretary, such labels as the local council may require; he shall provide a safe depositary or receptacle for all labels, and shall keep a true and accurate record of all labels issued and to whom issued, and be responsible to the council for all labels intrusted to his care; he shall furnish to the joint board of appeals all information which it may request.

ARTICLE VII. (Funds)

SECTION 1. The funds for the support of any local council shall be raised in such manner as the council may decide, but no taxation shall be imposed except by a four-fifths vote of all the unions represented.

ARTICLE VIII. (Grievances and Joint Strikes)

SECTION 1. Where a local union fails to adjust a difficulty, and desires the assistance of any of the parties to the international tripartite agreement, or desires joint action, it shall report such difficulty or grievance to the allied trades council. Should the allied trades council endorse said grievance or strike, the provisions of the international tripartite agreement shall be complied with.

SEC. 2. Local vote for general strike must be had at any regular or special meeting, of which meeting and contemplated action there shall have been at least twenty-four hours' notice given by the executive committees of local unions to all members of the local unions involved in the strike.

SEC. 3. Upon failing to effect an amicable settlement of any dispute in which the members of the contracting parties to this agreement are involved, or likely to become involved, it shall be the duty of the officers of the respective unions to notify the presidents of the international unions, parties to this agreement, in duplicate communications, who shall, either in person or by proxy, proceed to the place of the difficulty and jointly endeavor to effect a peaceable settlement, failing in which they shall join in a report to the executive councils of their respective international unions, which shall, for the purpose of this agreement, at all times be composed of an equal number of members. If, on the vote being taken, it is shown that the majority of the bodies, acting conjointly, are of the opinion that the inauguration of a strike is absolutely necessary, the presidents in person, or by proxy, or one of them, as may be agreed upon by the executive council, shall again attempt a settlement, and if unsuccessful shall,

through the officers of the various unions, order a general strike of all members of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders working in the office or offices affected, and any member disregarding this order shall be promptly expelled for ratting by his subordinate union.

Sec. 4. Grievances requiring a joint strike must be decided by the executive boards or councils of an equal number of each party, and by agreement between the boards, after the united request of local unions representative of each party to this agreement where grievances exist.

Sec. 5. For the purpose of expediting business it shall be permissible for the executive councils to select one of their members, who shall be known as chairman, and to whom all communications shall be addressed, and whose duty it shall be to poll the votes of the joint councils as promptly as possible, notify the unions interested of the result, and subsequently prepare a copy of all answers received and forward it to the members of the councils.

Sec. 6. When a joint strike shall have been inaugurated by the parties to this agreement the initiating union shall pay those involved as follows: The sum of seven dollars ($7.00) per week to married men, or heads of families, and five dollars ($5.00) per week to single men or women for a period of eight weeks; after that time beneficiaries shall apply to their respective unions for further relief.

Sec. 7. Strikes may be declared off by the majority vote of the executive councils.

Sec. 8. Local unions called out on strike may receive aid from their own international funds, without subjecting such funds to demands from locals calling for assistance.

Sec. 9. Any local of either party to this agreement may strike without consent of local unions existing in the same place, and not comply with the foregoing rules and regulations; but in such case co-operation of allies can not be made compulsory, further than to restrain them from filling the places thus made vacant.

Sec. 10. Local unions engaging in strikes, and failing to comply with the provisions of the allied agreement, shall receive no assistance, financially or otherwise.

Sec. 11. Nothing in the allied agreement shall be considered as nullifying the rules and regulations of the various international unions governing strikes; *provided,* they are not in conflict with the aforesaid agreement.

Article IX. (Duties of Councils)

Section 1. To promote the interests of the union label, and create and maintain a more wholesome regard on the part of the employers and others for the rights and just claims of the members of the several unions; to make grievances of employes in one department of the establishment the grievances of those in all other departments; to effect a more thorough organization of the crafts, and to bring into closer relations with one another the various unions of working men and women engaged in the printing and kindred trades; to endeavor to amicably adjust all differences and disputes arising between employer and employe; and to promote harmony among all union labor.

Sec. 2. The council shall have charge of all union labels authorized by the international tripartite agreement, and shall have power to loan or lease such labels to employers who conduct strictly union offices.

Sec. 3. The label of the allied printing trades council, being the trade mark of union labor, shall not be used on any product of any department of the printing trade, unless such product is produced in its entirety by union labor.

Sec. 4. Labels shall be loaned only with the unanimous consent of unions

represented in allied councils. Unions objecting to label issuance must produce a valid reason for such objection, in accordance with section 16 of the international tripartite agreement; the council to be the judge of the validity of such reasons, subject to appeal to the joint board; *provided,* an active member in good standing of any branch represented in an allied trades council who runs an office of not more than two platen presses, and in the operation of such office complies with the nine-hour law and the laws of his union, shall be permitted to use the label; *provided,* that the entire work of the office be done by the proprietor thereof, and that when employment is given to any additional help, members of affiliated unions must be employed. Violation of the foregoing shall be deemed sufficient reason for immediate surrender of the label; *provided further,* that the above provisos shall not apply to cities of 500,000 population or over.

SEC. 5. Application for the label shall be presented to the council through its secretary, and in case of emergency the label shall be issued by him temporarily, under such rules as the council may adopt.

SEC. 6. Wherever an allied council is in existence, the local unions connected therewith shall be instructed to withdraw the local label of their respective unions.

SEC. 7. No other body but the joint allied printing trades council shall be permitted to grant the use of the allied printing trades council label.

INSTRUCTIONS TO LOCAL COUNCILS

The foregoing provisions must be incorporated in the constitutions of all local allied trades councils, but any local allied trades council is permitted to make such further rules and regulations for its government as in the opinion of its members may be necessary for the successful conducting of its affairs; *provided,* that no local allied trades council can in any way violate the provisions outlined in the form of constitution herewith printed, or any of the provisions of the tripartite agreement, or in any way infringe upon the legitimate functions of any of the three contracting parties to the international tripartite agreement.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, Allied printing trades councils shall not have legal existence, or be recognized as representing the allied printing trades, without a charter, which must be granted by the joint board of appeals, consisting of the three international presidents.

Resolved, When an allied printing trades council is formed, application must be made within sixty days for a charter to the joint board of appeals. The above sentiment shall go into effect upon the adoption of an agreed form of charter. Charters shall be granted without charge.

Resolved, That when an allied printing trades council refuses to comply with the unanimous decision of the joint board of appeals it may be dissolved and the unions affiliated therewith be instructed by their national officers to form a new council, and the international officers are directed to enforce the laws of their international unions pertaining to that subject.

Resolved, That it is the unanimous sentiment of the joint

conference that all unions affiliated with the internationals represented in said conference be compelled to affiliate with the allied trades councils, where such councils exist; that the matter of legislation connected with the enforcement of the foregoing sentiment be referred to the three international presidents, and that the laws approved at that meeting be referred to the conference of the three international bodies.

Resolved, That it is the unanimous sentiment of the joint conference that where there are two or more unions connected with the internationals party to the tripartite agreement, that it will be mandatory upon them to form an allied printing trades council, and that the matter of legislation connected with the enforcement of the foregoing sentiment be referred to the meeting of the three international presidents, and that the laws proposed at that meeting be referred to the conference of the three international bodies.

The joint board of appeals organized by electing James H. Bowman president, E. W. Tatem vice-president, and James M. Lynch secretary.

PRESIDENT DONNELLY'S RETIREMENT

The convention authorized the appointment of a special committee to prepare and have engrossed suitable resolutions to be presented to retiring President Donnelly. This committee was composed of Messrs. Jones (Washington), Higgins (San Francisco), Lycett (New York), Cleeton (Kansas City), and McKenna (Chicago). The text of the resolutions presented through this committee was as follows:

The delegates of the forty-sixth session of the International Typographical Union, in convention assembled at Milwaukee, Wis., August 13th to 18th, 1900, to Samuel B. Donnelly—

GREETING: On November 1st, 1900, will expire your term of office as the chief executive of our International organization. Upon your retirement from the position of honor and trust we deem it appropriate to convey to you our esteem and well wishes.

During your incumbency important legislation had to be enforced which, in some cases, met with determined opposition. We testify our belief and record our judgment that you have honestly and vigorously, yet conservatively, applied yourself to effectuate the purposes of such legislation. We believe that in all your transactions you kept the ultimate good of the organization in view and that your policy will in the future bear good results.

As presiding officer of our convention we attest your fairness and impartiality, displaying evidence of ability commensurate with the importance of your office. Your conduct both in the chair and on the floor won for you true and lasting friendships.

Personally, we found you to be straightforward, companionable and gentlemanly, and we will cherish fond recollections of your cheerful disposition.

In view of the premises, we have resolved that we express our appreciation of your good conduct and heartily endorse your administration.

That it is our earnest wish that your future relations will continue to be in the cause of unionism, and that we sincerely desire your lines to be cast in pleasant places, accompanied with a high measure of prosperity.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

JAMES M. LYNCH, Syracuse
President International Typographical Union
November 1, 1900 – 19—

graduated payments at time of death based upon length of membership; the establishment and successful conduct of a school for technical education, which is conceded by those familiar with the plans of instruction by correspondence to be among the most auspicious ventures of the kind yet attempted; the improvement and enlargement of facilities at the Union Printers Home which places the institution in a class by itself. This epoch in the history of the typographical union offers a striking illustration, in results accomplished, between that period of the union's history when local autonomy prevailed and the conditions enjoyed under a militant and powerful central government controlled by the referendum.

Convention at Birmingham

[1901] — The forty-seventh convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order in Elks' Hall, Birmingham, Ala., Monday, August 12, 1901. Rev. I. D. Steele invoked the divine blessing upon the convention, its labors and the International Typographical Union. President Nock, of Birmingham Union, and Mayor Drennan extended a hearty welcome to all, and assured the delegates of the hospitality of the city. Reply to the addresses of welcome was made by President Lynch, who, at the conclusion of his remarks, announced that the convention was ready for business.

Secretary Bramwood reported that 166 delegates representing 124 unions had deposited regular credentials and were entitled to seats. President Lynch announced the usual convention officers and also the committees on credentials and laws.

A resolution was unanimously adopted extending the sympathy and moral support of the International Union to the members of the Amalgamated Association of Steel Workers, then on strike.

A committee was appointed to interview the proprietors of the non-union offices in Birmingham, and numerous propositions and communications were received, after which the convention adjourned as a mark of respect to the memory of Ira Galbraith, a member of Birmingham Union, whose death had been announced, when the convention adjourned for the day in order to participate in a sight-seeing trip arranged by the local committee.

REVIEW OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

President Lynch opened his address to the craft and the delegates with a retrospect of the phenomenal progress and development of the International Typographical Union during the fifty years of its existence. A reference to more recent events was summarized in the following comprehensive statement:

What organization has gone through such an industrial revolution as has ours and lived? What labor union has so successfully shortened the hours, aye, and continued the movement, practically without friction? Machinery was introduced so rapidly that we scarce could comprehend the import of the new development, yet, under a wise and conservative leadership, we controlled the modern engine that was destined to assist in giving mental light to the world, and not only that, but we made it a vehicle for the movement for shorter hours, and higher wages. A statistical scale report, recently issued as a supplement to the Typographical Journal, shows that out of a total number of machines reported—4,975—4,098 are in strictly union offices, while nearly half of the balance, it may safely be asserted, are operated by members of the International Typographical Union. Then the successful movement for the reduction of hours in the book and job offices must also be given consideration and prominence. The same scale report shows that the nine-hour day—and in many instances a shorter one—is almost universal, and measures have been inaugurated that it is hoped will make it completely so. The number of instances reported in which, since November 1, 1900, hours have been reduced and wages raised, presents a most satisfactory and gratifying compendium, and should be a cause for

pardonable egotism on the part of the entire membership of the International Typographical Union. All this, taken in connection with the large and healthy increase in membership, the number of new unions established, and the non-union publications that have embraced the true faith, is an evidence of gradually growing strength and power.

Following this statement the president declared that the Typographical Union was an organization that could not live on past achievements, rather using them as an index for future greatness. The opening years of the new century were big with possibilities and live with opportunities. Conservative and intelligent action would win the prize—"radical, ill-advised and ill-considered propaganda will waste the opportunity and make of what should be progress, a weapon of retrogression." The membership at large and their representatives at Birmingham were earnestly adjured to weigh well all that affects the craft. They were cautioned as to alluring schemes and recommended to the path, "well-worn, perhaps, and slow of advancement, but one that brings, nevertheless, safe returns, adds to our stability and conserves our strength and influence." What was desired, the president declared, was not more laws but better laws; "all the liberty consistent with international safety should be accorded to our subordinate bodies and proposed and present laws designated to regulate subjects purely local, and often best adjudicated in the light of surrounding circumstances, should find no place in our International enactments."

Secession of Photo Engravers — Under the head of allied trades, after commenting on the prosperity of the allied crafts, the president spoke of the secession movement which originated among the photo engravers of New York city and had spread to the unions of Chicago, St. Louis and Milwaukee, notwithstanding the benefits secured to them through the efforts of the International.

The president was positive that if the International Typographical Union decided to continue its jurisdiction over photo engravers, it would eventually gain control over all the seceding unions. The action of New York city allied printing trades council in recognizing the seceding union of photo engravers of that city was referred to thus:

> We may, indeed, well question the present organization and system of conducting allied printing trades councils, when, in instances akin to that to which attention has just been drawn, they deliberately ignore the laws of the organization which give them being, and insolently flaunt their open defiance and illegality before the international unions of the printing trades.

Stereotypers' Separation Movement — The stereotypers and electrotypers, it was said, had prospered magnificently and had given assurance of satisfaction at the treatment accorded them. They desired, however, a full measure of liberty in the management and control of the affairs peculiar to their craft, but desired to obtain that liberty in a legal manner and not through any measure of secession. This trade district union had prepared for presentation to the convention a plan according it International prerogatives but maintaining relations with the International Typographical Union for organizing and defensive purposes. The president had this to say of the plan:

> To me it presents the ideal basis for a combination of the printing trades—one organization for defensive purposes and one common defense fund. The idea is not new to our organization. It has been agitated before, and had it been given life, instead of the hybrid tripartite agreement, the great majority of the dissensions that have arisen under the latter document would never have occurred.

Arbitration Agreement — The president earnestly invited the attention of the convention to the arbitration agreement in order that needful changes might be sug-

gested and useful amendments made. Perfection was not claimed for the document, but it was believed to be a safe and sure foundation on which could be builded a structure that might, as nearly as such an economic feature could, answer all practical purposes. The very flattering vote by which the plan was adopted was declared to be a credit to the conservatism of the membership and an evidence of an intelligent appreciation of one of the great needs of the hour. The convention authorized the executive council to make such additions and changes as it deemed necessary when negotiating a new arbitration agreement with the publishers.

To an objection urged against the agreement, the president said:

> It has been said that the arbitration agreement is not comprehensive enough, in that it does not provide for the arbitration of disputes which may arise in the negotiation of a new agreement. It will be urged upon the convention, undoubtedly, to instruct the executive council to consent to its amendment in this respect. At present we agree only to arbitrate disputes that may arise in union departments under verbal or written agreements, as to the provisions of such agreements. A verbal agreement has been defined by your officers to mean the consent on the part of a publisher or his representative to employ only union members, pay the union scale, and observe union rules. Ready consent could, I believe, be obtained to the arbitration of all disputes that might arise in the mechanical departments of any newspaper office, providing all those departments were strictly union. We can not agree, however, to bind one local union against another local union.

Tripartite Agreement — The attempt made by the pressmen and bookbinders in the tripartite conference held in Baltimore in March, to evolve a scheme for part ownership of the label, had been opposed by the Typographical Union as impracticable. President Lynch adjured that the tripartite agreement had failed of its purpose and that under its operation the three interna-

tional unions had drifted farther apart. It was thought that this was in part accounted for by the natural timidity characteristic of minor organizations and their reluctance to accept the broader views of the major organization but that the real secret was in the unfair and absolutely unjust method of representation in allied trades councils and the natural tendency of weaker organizations to combine against the stronger. After citing the defeat of the proposition that representation in allied trades councils should be on a per capita basis and stating that no attempt was made to amend the tripartite agreement at the Baltimore convention, the president said:

> It is to be hoped that the rules adopted at that gathering will restore harmony in the printing trades, and make the successful and amicable conduct of local allied printing trades councils a possibility. If this is not the result, then the ultimate abolishment of the tripartite agreement is an assured fact. I believe that the ideal combination of the printing trades lies in the formation of a scheme of allied defensive and offensive operations, with a joint defense fund, and in cases of joint action, one instead of three supreme authorities. Of the eventual possibility of this, or a similar method, I am firmly convinced, and if the wage earners are to be successful, they, like the capitalists, must recognize and adopt the ruling spirit of the age—combination.

Executive Council — It was suggested to the convention that a rearrangement of the membership of the executive council, if the scheme of operation proposed by the stereotypers and electrotypers' trade district union receive the sanction of the convention and the endorsement of the referendum, would be desirable. It was thought that in order to facilitate business the council should consist of a president, second vice-president and secretary-treasurer, the other vice-presidents to be called in only when circumstances made such a course absolutely necessary. It was also recommended that the executive council should be given more power in regard to strikes

and that no local union should be permitted to take advantage of this method until the proposed movement had received the sanction of the council both as to benefits and policy except in case of extreme emergency, the council afterward to be the judge of the merits of the exigencies that called for immediate action. It was also suggested that it would be wise to refer to the executive council the many requests usually presented at conventions for money grants.

Organizers — President Lynch was in line with his predecessors in recommending a change in the method of selecting organizers. A permanent staff of organizers to be appointed by the president was suggested, the number to be determined as the needs of the organization might require, district lines to be abolished. Organizers should hold office as long as their services were valuable to the organization and should be removed only on charges, the executive council to act as the trial board.

It was suggested that in addition to the allowance for lost time, hotel bills and railroad fare allowed organizers, provision should be made for contingent personal expense "that every past and present officer of the International Typographical Union has, to his sorrow and financial loss, found to be a necessity and an unavoidable adjunct to his work." The result of the work of organization during the year was given thus:

During the eleven months ending May 31, 1901, there were organized seventy-five unions, with an aggregate charter membership of 1,006. Fifty-one of these unions have been chartered since November 1, 1900. Twelve unions, with a membership of 238, have surrendered charters. Eight unions, with a membership of eighty-four, have been suspended, and the charter of one union, with a membership of fourteen, revoked. The average paying membership for the eleven months ending May 31, 1901, has been 34,948, and for the previous year it was 32,105, a net gain of 2,843. Were the average to be made for

the year 1901 alone, it would be much larger. It will approximate at the present time 37,000 members. We have more unions, more members and more money than at any previous period in the history of the International Typographical Union.

Label — Under the head of statistics, pleasure was expressed at the large number of unions sending reports for the statistical statement issued as a supplement to the Typographical Journal. After declaring that the importance and value of the facts deduced could not be overestimated and that the publication of data was to be a yearly feature, the president took up the question of the label and the potency of label agitation, and suggested that every local union should have a special fund for label agitation, and a special committee in charge of the work. That the International Union had no special fund for the furtherance of label advertisement was referred to as a somewhat remarkable feature of polity. While prominence and publicity of the label had been secured in many ways, yet it was suggested that there should be provision for more general promulgation of popular knowledge concerning and demand for it. The unfair conditions under which the bulk of text-books in use in the public schools were manufactured and the large profits of the business led the president to believe that the state could manufacture all text-books under union conditions and yet supply them to consumers, the mass of whom were wage-workers, at far below current prices. In the opinion of the president, if a scheme of joint agitation for union label school books could be evolved, each international union in the printing trade assuming its share of the financial outlay, success would be assured. Lacking such a co-operative project, it was urged to give to the movement added zest and vigor.

Economic Policy — After repeating the old demand for a better system of apprenticeship, the question of an

economic policy was discussed. Political beliefs, said the president, should be held sacred, and should be respected and tolerated as are religious affiliations. Every industrial panacea should be given the closest investigation and careful thought, yet the individual should be permitted to make his own selection. It was the belief of the president that with education, the toilers would work out their own salvation.

Benefits — The president suggested that the International Typographical Union should have a greater death benefit, with a maximum of perhaps $500, a sick benefit fund, out-of-work fund, old-age fund, dependent upon the length of continuous membership, and any other form of special assistance that wisdom might from time to time dictate.

These recommendations were made by the president more in the way of suggestion, and with the hope that a train of thought and discussion might be initiated which would lead to their ultimate adoption. To put them into effect would require a system of high dues—the bulwark of trade unionism. The overwhelming defeat which met the last proposition for an increase in the revenue had discouraged the idea that such a radical change would meet with approval, but it was predicted, nevertheless, that these benefits would come in time. The growing necessity for a more thorough system of mutual help and assistance would clear the way through the tangle of doubt, cynicism, misunderstanding and lethargy that then obstructed the path.

Strikes — Affairs in Pittsburgh and Kansas City were reported to have materially improved since the previous convention, especially in the latter place, while new developments had somewhat complicated conditions in Chicago. In the few strikes and lockouts that had occurred during the year the International Union had been vic-

torious in most instances. A thorough effort to organize the city of Montreal had been successful. A radical change was effected and the membership increased more than 50 per cent.

Liberty of the Press — After advising the convention to devote some consideration to increasing the circulation of the Typographical Journal among the membership, the president asserted that a false step had been taken in restricting the liberty of the labor press and therefore recommended the repeal of section 113 of the general laws.

Miscellaneous Subjects — In conclusion the president reported, among other things, that proofreaders and machinists were, with very few exceptions, members of the International Typographical Union; that it had been recommended that a member of a typographical union accepting employment in any other mechanical department that might be unorganized, should not work below the scale of his union; that contracts, before local signatures were attached, should be submitted to headquarters for approval; that in newspaper offices there had been a more general equalization in hours and wages for all union employes; that the movement for shorter hours should lose none of its force because success had attended the demand for a nine-hour day.

Stereotypers' Affairs — Second Vice-President Freel reported the success attending the effort to place stereotypers and electrotypers in a position to command the benefits to which they were entitled. The result of the well-disciplined and united membership thus secured is set forth as follows:

> Our membership has increased almost 15 per cent, our laws and aims are more thoroughly and definitely understood, and we have certainly secured a co-operation so intelligent and stable as to be a most important factor in the future solution

of questions arising between the employer and employe. This is most pleasing to us, and we believe will be deeply appreciated by our membership.

The second vice-president asked careful consideration for the proposition to be submitted to the referendum by the stereotypers and electrotypers' trade district union for a joint alliance along the lines referred to in the review of the president's report, believing that it would have a tendency to solve at least some of the problems confronting this branch of the organization. It was declared that no severance of the ties that bound them to the International Typographical Union was contemplated but that they merely were asking for a stronger and more effective future combination.

Typographia — Third Vice-President Miller reported the year a very stormy one for the German branch. The principal difficulties were met with in Philadelphia and Chicago. In the former city, non-union men were employed on typesetting machines in day time to set up newspapers or supplements for the Central Newspaper Union, and during the night union men at union wages were employed on the same machines to set up the Philadelphia Demokrat, a German daily, run as a union office for many years. The local union was compelled to protest against this state of affairs, and this protest furnished the employers the excuse that they seemed to be waiting for and the union men were locked out of the office. A boycott against the concern was being vigorously pushed by all of the labor unions and most of the German societies of Philadelphia.

A lockout in Chicago had occurred on June 1, 1901, when a new management obtained control of the Illinois Staats-Zeitung, theretofore a strictly union office, and immediately discharged all the union men and filled their places with rats. Typographia No. 9 had entered upon a

vigorous campaign against the combined publications of the new management—the Chicago Freie Presse, Illinois Staats-Zeitung and a Sunday edition named the Daheim und Westen. The management was accused of playing an old trick of using employes to form a so-called Gutenberg assembly which had obtained a charter from the Knights of Labor several years before. Notwithstanding these and a number of minor difficulties the third vice-president gave assurance that the membership of the Typographia was about the same as the year before and that the treasury contained approximately $10 per capita.

Mailers — Fourth Vice-President Canary had written to each organizer asking for opinions as to the possibility of organizing mailers' unions and reported that while some answers were favorable, a few of the organizers did not seem to understand what a mailer was. He acknowledged a debt of gratitude to Organizers Hays, White and Voiles for organizing mailers' unions in Minneapolis, San Francisco and Cincinnati, and to Secretary Looney, of the allied trades council of Louisville, who, with the president of the local union of that city, helped to organize a mailers' union in that place. President Lynch was commended for assistance rendered, especially in reorganizing the Buffalo Mailers' Union.

Newswriters — In the opinion of Fifth Vice-President O'Sullivan an effort should be made to bring into the fold of unionism by affiliation with newspaper writers' unions the many ex-members of the International Typographical Union employed as either news, desk men, editors or reporters. The system of allowing reporters to retain membership in the compositors' branch of the organization, it was claimed, was not conducive to the growth of writers' unions and in harmony with the spirit of the law which provides that men working in any branch of the industry should become members of the union of that particular

branch. Many newswriters, former members of the typographical union, feeling that they should not be compelled to pay up years of indebtedness to the International as a prerequisite to membership in this branch of the organization, feeling that the interests of the writers "to be best forwarded and preserved by cutting loose from the parent body and organizing as an independent body," a change was suggested to the convention.

Photo Engravers — Since the previous convention at Milwaukee, said Sixth Vice-President Ryan, photo engravers had experienced lively times. "A most farcical proceeding of a so-called convention of photo engravers, under the dignified title of trade district union," was criticized, and the rise in New York city of Photo Engravers' Union No. 23, International Typographical Union, from the ashes of the seceding union, was graphically described. The action of the allied trades council of New York city in permitting delegates of a seceding union to deliberate upon the issues concerning the label was severely commented on. Union No. 23 was reported to be prosperous, paying a per capita tax on 186 members. Speaking of the secession movement in general, Vice-President Ryan said:

> The photo engravers have been assisted in obtaining increase of salaries by the International Typographical Union, since the election of our present president, in Washington, Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee. Many unions that have been benefited to an extent beyond their hopes—or certainly beyond them at one time—have since deserted the International Union and have most audaciously approached Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and requested a charter from that body. The American Federation of Labor has no place for seceders. They were relegated to the cold accordingly, where they will have to remain until such time as they receive the invigorating warmth of genuine trade unionism, and upon showing true contrition for past misbehavior,

are received back into the original fold from which they should never have deserted or seceded.

Typefounders — Seventh Vice-President Nuernberger reported the successes of the typefounders during the year, saying that since the typefounders' trade district union had been formed, more of the locals seemed to take on new life; that new members had been constantly added until fully 90 per cent of the journeymen typefounders were members of the organization. Of the second session of the district union, at which a scale of prices for two years was agreed upon, the following interesting report was submitted:

The second session of the Typefounders' Trade District Union was held in New York city, beginning April 21, 1901. Every local union was represented. More than two days were required to prepare our scale for presentation to the employers who had been invited to meet us in conference on April 24, in order to again agree on a uniform scale of wages. Only one employer failed to attend this conference. After two days' session, the second one occupying twenty-two hours, a scale was agreed on, which remains in effect until June 1, 1903. President Lynch ably assisted us in making this agreement. In my opinion the typefounders' wage scale is the most complicated of any in existence in any trade, comprising as it does more than one thousand separate provisions, which includes a price for every size of type from three points to 120 points, whether casting on hand machines, steam machines or automatic perfecting machines, dressing, inspecting, paging, mold-making, matrix-fitting, and machinists; a minimum scale per hour for time work, time and a half for overtime, minimum fonts, job, sorts, etc. After this conference, the delegates drew up and adopted a constitution and laws for the government of the Typefounders' Trade District Union.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — So completely had Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood set forth the financial and statistical affairs of the International Union that there was no excuse for any one not being informed on even

the minutest details of the vast amount of important business transacted by the fiduciary officer of the organization. Because of a change in the law, the report was for a period of but eleven months. The receipts for the year (including $12,407.20 on hand July 1, 1900) were $151,-038.87, as against $197,440.77 for 1899-1900. The expenditures for the year were $118,347.54, as against $185,033.57 for 1899-1900. The cash balance on hand May 31, 1901, therefore, was $32,691.33.

There had been a gratifying increase in membership, principally confined to the typographical branch of the organization. The average paying membership for the year, as shown by the per capita tax collected, was 34,948, divided as follows: Typographical—English and German—31,600; stereotypers and electrotypers, 1,578; photo engravers, 635; mailers, 626; typefounders, 441, and newspaper writers, 68. The average paying membership for the eleven months of the fiscal year was 2,843 larger than the average for the preceding twelve months. The secretary-treasurer said that this increment was not solely attributable to the formation of new unions, though he submitted a table showing the issuance of 75 charters, the surrender of 12, the suspension of 8 and the revocation of 1, resulting in a net increase from this source of 684 members. Notwithstanding the increase in membership, the secretary had this to say:

Though there is every reason to be pleased with the growth in membership and the general progress made during the year, it should be remembered that the field for organization work is as yet unrestricted. The spirit of trade unionism is now abroad in sections where organization has heretofore been found impossible, and scarcely a day passes without the issuance of one or more charters. Let us not, however, devote our efforts exclusively to the unorganized towns, for the non-unionists within the organized cities require our attention. It is needless to say that the unionizing of several large offices, which have

been out of the fold for years, has strengthened the unions under the jurisdiction of which these offices were located. Our success in these places should be an incentive to greater effort. The time is propitious, conditions are favorable, and every subordinate union should endeavor to thoroughly organize the craft under its jurisdiction.

Considering the limited apportionment for the purpose, an encouraging condition was apparent in the defense fund. During the fiscal year, though free from difficulties of magnitude, the sum of $25,538.85 was expended from this fund, as against $92,734.60 for the preceding twelve months. The amount expended for defense purposes for the eleven-year period, 1891-1901, was $414,-338.18, including the sum transferred to the general fund for the shorter workday committee and this fund's portion of the Indianapolis National Bank loss. That the secretary-treasurer was not entirely satisfied with the condition of the defense fund, however, is shown by the following expression:

While the revenue accruing to the defense fund from per capita tax alone was sufficient for all purposes during the past year, it will be conceded that the fund is not more than adequate to the conservative demands upon it. The continued increase in membership, and in the number of subordinate unions, will make necessary the strictest economy in the disbursement of this fund if special assessments are to be avoided. While it is believed that the arbitration agreement with the publishers' association will minimize the possibility of large strikes, it must nevertheless be admitted that such difficulties are likely to occur, and we should be prepared at all times to maintain our prestige.

Although the amended law increasing the burial benefit from $60 to $65, only having been in operation since January 1, 1901, it was evident that the calculation made when the increase was suggested, that the integrity of the fund would not be impaired by the increase, was correct. During the year 406 benefits were paid, amounting to

$25,245. Had the benefit been $65 for the year, the disbursements would have reached $26,390, but this sum would not have equaled the receipts of the fund by $2,441.94. The payments from this fund from its establishment in 1892 to May 31, 1901, aggregated $227,630. The average age at death for the year was 41.94 years.

There were eighteen strikes during the fiscal year of which ten were successful; one was compromised, the union making gains thereby; one was lost and six were in progress at the time of filing the report. These strikes involved 260 members, of whom 152 returned to work when the disputes in which they were interested were settled; 14 were displaced and 94 were involved in the unsettled strikes.

Typographical Journal — Interest in the Typographical Journal had increased during the year and a considerable addition to revenue was received from individual subscriptions, and a number of unions adopted the plan of subscribing for their membership. Despite these improvements the Journal was not read by nearly as many members as it should have been—according to the secretary-treasurer—and he complained that his efforts to interest the membership in the paper had not met with marked encouragement.

Organization Work — Nearly all the organizers reported an encouraging state of affairs in their districts and the many lengthy reports submitted were replete with evidence of the great amount of efficient organizing work being done. The label was regarded as the most potent factor in advancing unionism, while the arbitration agreement, it was believed, would strengthen the union's hands in the future. A general demand for the label on school books was urged.

American Federation of Labor — The delegates to the twentieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which met in Louisville in December, 1900, along with many things of general interest, reported the following of special importance to the typographical union: That the executive council was instructed to prevent, if possible, the appointment of Harrison Gray Otis, proprietor of the unfair Los Angeles Times, as secretary of war, or to any other cabinet position; that a resolution was adopted requiring all school books used in the public schools of the various states to bear the label of the allied printing trades council; and that books used in the public schools be furnished by the state; that the report of the committee on compulsory arbitration, reaffirming the previous position of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to state compulsory arbitration, was adopted; that the resolution submitted by the machinists' delegation, calling upon the American Federation of Labor to require the International Typographical Union to turn over all machine-tenders to their organization, or revoke charter, was defeated, and the International Typographical Union was conceded to be acting within its rights in the matter of arbitration.

Home Trustees — The report of the transactions of the Union Printers' Home and board of trustees of the institution embraced the minutes of meetings held, and the reports of the treasurer and the superintendent. From these reports it was learned that the actual receipts for the year were $40,391.95 and the total expenditures, $48,719.75, leaving a balance on hand of $10,213.57. It will be observed that the expenses exceeded the receipts by $8,327.80, but this was due to the building and equipping of a laundry at a cost of over $12,000. During the year improvements aggregating $16,634.86 had been

made, the most important being the laundry and boiler house. Other improvements included a billiard room, cattle barn and furnishings.

The average number of inmates for the year was ninety and the average cost of maintaining an inmate was $6.66 per week.

During the year the mortality at the institution showed an increase. Thirteen residents had died, twenty-two vacated the Home voluntarily and six were expelled. June 1, 1901, there were eighty-four inmates in the Home. The number of deaths from tuberculosis showed a marked decrease from the previous year. This was due to the more stringent restrictions placed by the board of trustees upon the admission of applicants whose condition was such that no permanent improvement was possible. The Home physician offered the following advice concerning the admission of applicants:

> I wish to say a word in reference to cases of tuberculosis being admitted in the third stage of this disease. Such cases should not be admitted to the Home, as the altitude here is too high for such conditions; the patients have not the lung capacity to live in this rarified air, and are generally carried off sooner than they would be in a denser atmosphere. Therefore, instead of it being a charitable act to admit them, in many cases it proves the opposite. Then again, in organic diseases of the heart. Patients suffering from these maladies should never be sent to high altitudes, for, as a rule, they live but a short time. I strongly advise against admitting insane patients under the present condition of things, as we have no means at our command to give them the necessary care and attention.

The superintendent also had decided views on the purposes and limitations of the Home, and gave expression to them in the following unmistakable terms:

> There seems to be a disposition on the part of local unions to unload upon the Home any members that can not be cared for in other hospitals or institutions. A class of patients that should not be admitted comprises those suffering from loco-

motor ataxia in its advanced stage. This disease is incurable. The only relief that can be afforded is through the free use of opiates. As the disease progresses the patient sooner or later becomes helpless. Such cases are not admitted into hospitals unless the patient is prepared to pay extra compensation for a special attendant. The Home, not being intended for such cases, no provision was made for them in the erection of the buildings. We have a case in the Home now jeopardizing the comfort and health of the other residents. Some provision should be made for his care in other than the same building. If the membership continues to insist upon the admission of this class of patients a separate building should be constructed for them.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Thirteen constitutional amendments were submitted to the referendum, all of which met with approval. A summary of these propositions, together with the votes cast for and against, follows: (1) Shall the stereotypers and electrotypers be allowed to withdraw from the International Typographical Union and form an international union of their own, which shall enter into an agreement with the International Typographical Union? This proposition also embraced certain contingent legislation and empowered the executive council to make such other changes in the laws as might be necessary. Total vote, 15,798; for, 10,100; against, 5,698; majority for, 4,402. (2) To more clearly define the term "printer" as used in section 1, article 1 of the constitution. Total vote, 16,601; for, 13,872; against, 2,729; majority for, 11,143. (3) To reserve the right to re-establish jurisdiction over any branch of the printing trade in case of emergency. Total vote, 16,212; for, 13,560; against, 2,652; majority for, 10,908. (4) To specify the manner in which laws shall be classed or grouped in the book of laws. Total vote, 15,471; for, 14,194; against, 1,277; majority for, 12,917. (5) To place the appointment of organizers exclusively in the hands of the president and executive

council. Total vote, 16,016; for, 9,241; against, 6,775; majority for, 2,466. (6) To fix the salaries of the president and secretary-treasurer at $1,800 per year each. Total vote, 16,137; for, 9,548; against, 6,589; majority for, 2,959. (7) To allow organizers compensation equal to their earning capacity, or the scale of their union. Total vote, 16,040; for, 13,969; against, 2,071; majority for, 11,898. (8) To provide that appeals to the council must be in triplicate. Total vote, 15,402; for, 12,936; against, 2,466; majority for, 10,470. (9) To change the time for auditing International accounts. Total vote, 15,056; for, 13,004; against, 2,052; majority for, 10,952. (10) To allow unions to pay for the Journal monthly at the rate of five cents per month. Total vote, 16,018; for, 11,801; against, 4,217; majority for, 7,584. (11) To abolish the organizing districts. Total vote, 14,913; for, 9,221; against, 5,692; majority for, 3,529. (12) To allow the executive council to submit questions direct to the membership. Total vote, 15,974; for, 14,102; against, 1,872; majority for, 12,230. (13) Shall the tripartite agreement be abrogated? Total vote, 14,999; for, 9,857; against, 5,142; majority for, 4,715.

Withdrawal of Stereotypers — In the foregoing summary of amendments to the constitution approved by the referendum, it will be observed that the first one was an agreement permitting the stereotypers and electrotypers to withdraw from the International Union and form an international union of their own under certain conditions. The agreement between the two organizations was drawn upon the following lines:

1. That the International Typographical Union hereby agrees to and does recognize the exclusive right of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union to control, regulate, charter and hereafter organize all stereotypers and electrotypers and all those employed at any and all branches of stereotyping and electrotyping within the jurisdiction of the first named organization, and the said Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union recognizes the sole right of the International Typographical Union to charter, regulate, control and organize the compositors and other branches of the printing trade

(excepting stereotypers and electrotypers and all branches of stereotyping and electrotyping) at present or in future connected with that organization.

2. Each party recognizes the jurisdiction and authority of the other, as set forth in clause 1 of this agreement, and each party further agrees to withhold recognition from any and all persons following as a vocation any branch of the printing craft under control of the other party to this agreement.

3. The parties to this agreement hereby finally and forever abandon all right or pretense to organize, aid or abet, morally or financially, in whole or in part, a union, individual or clique of individuals employed at any branch under the control of the other party to this agreement.

4. The International Typographical Union and Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union hereby agree to co-operate with and assist each other in organizing and for offensive and defensive purposes, as hereinafter specified.

5. The International Typographical Union and Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union, each agrees to pay a per capita tax on each member thereof to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, the money so paid to be used as a joint fund by both bodies for organizing and for offensive and defensive purposes. The members of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union shall pay a monthly per capita tax of ten (10) cents, seven and one-half (7½) cents, of which shall be apportioned to the joint defense fund; two and one-half (2½) cents of which shall be in payment of privileges otherwise conferred in this agreement. The members of the International Typographical Union shall pay a monthly per capita tax of seven and one-half (7½) cents and in addition shall pay all necessary expenses incurred in the care and distribution of such fund.

6. The distribution of such fund to be under the control of a joint board representing the executive council of the International Typographical Union and the executive board of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union; such joint board to consist of the president and secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union and the president of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union. The secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union shall be treasurer of the joint fund, and shall receive and hold such per capita tax subject to expenditure by majority vote of the joint board.

7. If at any time the joint defense fund should become depleted then the joint board shall take proper measures to replenish the fund in such amount as it may determine.

8. Said Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union agrees to abide by the present laws of the International Typographical Union relating to defense fund, strikes and lockouts, and such amendments thereto as do not impair the spirit of existing laws.

9. The moneys in this joint defense fund shall be drawn on only for the following purposes: For the sustaining of legal strikes or lockouts of subordinate or affiliated unions, and for the payment of expenses of officers or organizers of both unions, when engaged in the settlement of disputes or the formation of new unions.

10. The Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union agrees to be bound by the present arbitration agreement existing between the Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union, which will expire May 1, 1902, and such further changes as may be agreed upon from time to time by the executive council of the International Typographical Union, not impairing the spirit of the agreement and in compliance with the vote by which the present agreement was adopted by the referendum of the International Typographical Union.

11. The International Typographical Union hereby consents that all subor-

dinate unions of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union may join allied printing trades councils, and further agrees that the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union shall have the right to use the allied trades council label as is enjoyed by other affiliated organizations. The International Typographical Union agrees to sanction the use of a die and stencil label by the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union.

12. The International Typographical Union agrees to aid the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union by inducing all stereotypers and electrotypers to join the nearest union of their craft, and shall, through its officers and organizers, further assist the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union in organizing stereotypers and electrotypers wherever unorganized. The Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union agrees to aid the International Typographical Union in organizing all crafts under its jurisdiction.

13. The International Typographical Union and the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union agree that all future contracts or agreements made by allied unions, either verbal or written, shall contain a proviso to the effect that such contract shall be null and void in case of strike or lockout of any other union affiliated; *provided,* that such strike or lockout occurs after all efforts of arbitration have failed.

14. The parties to this agreement agree to abide by and enforce the following general laws:

(a) Where it is in the power of a foreman to employ help of the allied trades, and he shall employ a non-union man in preference to a union man, he shall be fined not less than $5 or more than $25, and on the second offense he shall be subject to suspension or expulsion.

(b) Plate Matter—It shall be the duty of the officers and organizers of the International Typographical Union to take immediate steps to prevent local unions using stereotype plate matter, electrotype plates, papier-mache matrices, and photo-engravings unless said plate matter, electrotype plates, papier-mache matrices and photo-engravings are made by recognized union men under the terms of this agreement.

(c) The International Typographical Union directs subordinate unions to use their influence in having book, newspaper and job stereotyping and electrotyping sent to shops employing union men exclusively.

15. The International Typographical Union agrees to publish monthly in the Typographical Journal official matter, the names and addresses of the officers of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union, and also a list of subordinate unions of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union, together with the names and addresses of each secretary.

16. It is further agreed that this compact shall be binding upon the parties thereto, should either party to said agreement hereafter adopt another title.

17. The Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union hereby guarantees all present joint trade agreements entered into by the International Typographical Union.

18. The International Typographical Union and the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union hereby agree that a representative from each body shall be accorded all the privileges at conventions enjoyed by delegates thereto.

19. The Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union, its members and successors, hereby renounce all right, title and interest in the burial fund and the institution at Colorado Springs, Colorado, known as the Union Printers Home, maintained by the International Typographical Union.

20. The International Typographical Union agrees at any future time to permit the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Trade District Union to take advantage of any per capita tax privileges enjoyed by the membership of the

International Typographical Union, upon payment of the same per capita tax.

21. Other recognized printing trade organizations may become parties to this agreement by accepting its provisions, whereupon the necessary changes shall be made therein.

22. This agreement shall be continuous, and shall be accepted or rejected as a whole, provided amendments may be proposed hereafter by either party, and on ratification by both parties in such manner as their laws provide, shall become a part of this agreement.

Organizing Districts Abolished — The fifth referendum proposition abolished the district plan of appointing organizers and placed the appointment of these representatives in the hands of the president and executive council.

Resolutions — Among the resolutions passed were the following:

That the executive council be and is hereby authorized to formulate a plan, to be submitted to the referendum, for putting the Journal into the hands of all members.

That it is the policy of the International Typographical Union to favor and adopt the principle of arbitration wherever possible; and it is the sense of this convention that the executive council should devise a general plan of arbitration to be utilized in settling disputes or trouble that may arise between proprietors of book and job offices and subordinate unions of the International Typographical Union; that the executive council be instructed to make overtures to the typothetæ, or other associations of employers, looking to the adoption of a plan of arbitration whereby strikes may be avoided in case of difference between employers and employes.

That all local unions be requested to send protests to Washington against the increase of the tariff on wood pulp and paper, and request that free paper and free pulp be included in the adjustment of our relations with Canada at the earliest possible moment, and that our International officers prepare proper blanks therefor.

General Laws — Legislation regulating sub-lists took the shape of the following substitute for section 128 of the general laws:

The practice of foremen of phalanxing, or giving out six-day situations on seven-day papers, thereby controlling extra work,

constitutes a sub-list. Any member holding a position in an office, seven-day paper or otherwise, is entitled to employ in his stead, whenever so disposed, any competent member of the International Typographical Union, without consultation or approval of the foremen of said office. A fine of $25 shall be imposed upon foremen for violation or evasion of this law. Any chairman failing to report the violation of this section shall be fined $25.

The law relating to the changing of scales of prices was altered so as to require all unions to decide this question by secret ballot and three-fourths vote of six-months members except in the case of newly-organized unions.

In the payment of strike benefits, an amendment was made to the law providing for a deduction of one-fourth of the regular benefits for each day's work received.

Propositions Defeated — Two propositions defeated during the week attracted considerable attention and are given special mention. The first was an amendment to section 1 of the general laws, and read thus:

No person shall be admitted as a member of the International Typographical Union, or of a subordinate union, who is a member of the military organization known as the national guard, or any other military organization officered by men commissioned by any state or government. All members who are at present members of organizations described above, shall resign or retire at expiration of term of enlistment. (The balance of section 1 to remain as before.)

An unfavorable report was returned by the law committee and excited a spirited debate which finally resulted in the tabling of the whole question.

The second important question defeated was as follows:

Realizing that the interests of wage-workers in every craft or calling necessitates concerted action on the part of those who are brought together in the pursuit of their daily toil, the International Typographical Union of North America emphasizes that it is distinctly a class organization founded

for the purpose of embracing in its membership all workers in the printing industry, who, upon the industrial field, must wrest from the employing class every concession intended to improve their material well-being, which fact should impress the members of this organization that to conserve their interests as wage-workers it is essential that they act as a unit at all times, not only industrially, but also politically, because through control of the political power, the employing class against which the trade union is called into existence to secure for the workers recognition of their rights, derives its means to oppress and withhold from the toilers their own.

We declare, therefore, that it is consistent with the ethics of trade unionism, and it is the sacred duty of every honorable craftsman who enrolls himself as a member of the International Typographical Union, to sever his or her affiliation with all political parties that uphold the privileges of the exploiting class, which is constantly encroaching upon the liberties of the working people. And as it is apparent that private ownership of the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor and wealth created thereby is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence, which condition aggravates the discontent of the wage-working class, with its ever increasing army of the unemployed—the source from whence capitalism draws its allies to defeat unionism—because of the impossibility to get access to opportunities to apply its labor power in the production of things required to sustain life, the International Typographical Union of North America calls upon its membership to stand unflinchingly for the abolition of the wage system, which is responsible for the misery and degradation of the human family.

While this proposition was being considered, a motion to table prevailed with the author of the proposition voting in the negative.

Other defeated propositions were an amendment calling for separate charters for book and job printers in cities where 400 members are employed at that branch of the business. A recommendation favoring the piece system for machine composition was defeated, as was another proposed amendment allowing machine operators

to make their own scale of prices. The convention declined to order the early publication of the names of all members of subordinate unions in the Typographical Journal and also refused to sanction the appointment of a special committee for label agitation, believing that that work could be done by the International officers. The delegates also voted down an amendment requiring the International Union to pay the railroad fares and per diem of delegates to the conventions. Adverse action was taken on a proposition preventing "whitewashed" members from holding offices in the union.

Woman's Auxiliaries — Subordinate unions were authorized and empowered to organize woman's auxiliaries.

Limited Membership — The question of limiting the membership in the organization was presented to President Lynch, and in his annual report, the following opinion on this question was given:

Replying to your favor of the 31st ult., permit me to say that, in my opinion, the International Typographical Union can not confer limited membership. Such a course would not, I believe, be upheld by the courts, especially in view of the fact that we require equal dues from all classes on our membership rolls. However, the point which you raise is an important one, and thus far I have refrained from rendering a decision on it, preferring to allow the forthcoming convention to handle the matter.

Under a strict construction of the law as it stands at the present time, non-printer proofreaders and non-printer machinists, members of subordinate unions, are entitled to work at any branch of the trade which they are capable of filling.

The Detroit convention amended the law so as to permit of this, but the amendment failed before the referendum. The Milwaukee convention struck out all prohibitive sections, both as to securing membership and working at any branch of the trade.

The chairman of the Milwaukee laws committee, writing me on this subject, says: "The harshness and injustice of this resolution became immediately apparent, and the Detroit

convention requested the referendum to rescind it, but it failed to do so. Last year the convention did the same thing—they obliterated the regulation—and this action was endorsed by the referendum. * * * It would seem the plain duty of a union to its members to leave them unrestricted in the exercise of their talents, provided there is no vital principle of unionism violated.

The president's views were approved by the committee on laws and were also concurred in by the convention.

Chinese Exclusion — Much attention was paid to the report of the committee on the Chinese exclusion act. The report, which read in part, as follows, was adopted:

WHEREAS the Chinese exclusion act, known more generally as the Geary law, will expire on the 1st day of May, 1902; and

WHEREAS the enforcement of the provisions of that law since its enactment by the congress of the United States has had great effect in excluding from our shores the undesirable hordes of Chinese with which this country was threatened at the time of its enactment; and

WHEREAS fully believing that, without such a law on our statute books and its stringent enforcement, the ports of our country will be opened to the millions of Chinese coolies, causing great damage and irreparable injury to the American workingman; therefore,

Resolved, By the International Typographical Union in convention assembled, That we demand the enactment of a law by the congress of the United States which shall exclude from this country Chinese, Japanese, and Malays, and all people of Asiatic extraction.

Resolved, That the officers of the International Typographical Union be instructed to prepare a memorial to the president of the United States and to congress; to use every endeavor themselves, and to request the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in having congress pass and enforce such a law as will have the desired effect of excluding Chinese and other Asiatic races from this country.

Resolved, That the subordinate unions be requested to endorse these or similar resolutions, and to petition the president of the United States and the senators and congressmen of their respective states, with the view of securing their sup-

port for the enactment of such a law as will exclude the Asiatic races from the country in fact as well as in theory.

Relations With Publishers — Commissioner Driscoll, of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, addressed the convention, congratulated the organization upon the amicable relations existing between the union and the association he represented, and pointed out certain modifications in the laws of the International Union which he suggested would be agreeable to the publishers.

Tripartite Agreement Abrogated — Intense excitement prevailed throughout the convention when the committee on allied trade relations and tripartite agreement passed up its report. As a substitute for the various propositions referred to it, this committee recommended that the convention approve the abrogation of the agreement between the International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and ordered submitted to the referendum the question "Shall the tripartite agreement be abrogated?" Debate on the subject continued for some time and resulted in the adoption of the report by a vote of 142 ayes, 2 noes.

Cincinnati, Ohio, was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1902.

AFTER THE CONVENTION

Officers, 1902-1903 — During the interim following the Birmingham convention and the session held at Cincinnati, the election of officers by the referendum resulted in the selection of the following: President, James M. Lynch, Syracuse; first vice-president, C. E. Hawkes, Chicago; second vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; third vice-president, James Mulcahy, St. Louis; fourth vice-president, J. F. O'Sullivan, Boston; fifth vice-president, Charles S. Walls, New York; seventh

vice-president, P. G. Nuernberger, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Bramwood, Denver. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—James M. Lynch (president), Syracuse; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland; Frank Morrison, Chicago; William M. Garrett, Washington, D. C.; J. F. O'Sullivan, Boston. Trustees Union Printers Home—James M. Lynch, Syracuse; J. W. Bramwood, Denver; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs; William Aimison, Nashville; E. W. Patton, Washington, D. C.; L. C. Shepard, Chicago; H. H. Rogers, Chicago; Agent—William Kennedy, Chicago.

Arbitration Agreement Renewed — In the interim following the Birmingham convention and the assembling of the delegates at Cincinnati, the executive council, by authority granted at Birmingham, renewed the arbitration agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, in amended form. In the Typographical Journal of May 1, speaking of the new agreement, President Lynch said:

Today the amended arbitration agreement between the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association goes into effect. It is for five years, and for that length of time will reasonably guarantee industrial peace in about 150 of the great newspapers in our jurisdiction. The amendments to the agreement provide that all contracts coming under its provisions, and made after May 1, 1902, must be first approved by the president of the International Typographical Union, and that when the present contracts with local unions expire, and disputes arise as to hours and scales in negotiating new contracts, such disputes may be submitted to arbitration, if local agreement is impossible. It is also provided that contracts with allied trades councils shall not come under the provisions of the agreement. Since May 1, 1901, we have been working under an arbitration agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and during that entire time we have not had a dispute with a newspaper conducting union departments and a member of this association that has not been adjusted satisfactorily to both the union and the local publisher. One dispute is pending. The agreement guaranteed stability, and because of it I believe we have been able to unionize many newspapers. During the last year, about twenty newspapers have been unionized. In accordance with the instructions of the Birmingham convention, I have notified the chairman of the executive committee of the National Typothetæ that the International Typographical Union is ready to enter into an arbitration agreement with that organization. The typothetæ is the leading combination in our jurisdiction of the book and job employers, and many of the members of this society have assured me that at their next convention they will support the proposition for an arbitration agreement with the International Typographical Union. They realize that such an agreement will

be of great value to the union book and job employers, and, on our part, it goes without saying that we are also cognizant of the beneficial effect such a covenant would have, not only with typothetæ members, but with book and job employers generally. I confidently expect that before the new agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association expires there will not be an important newspaper in our jurisdiction in the non-union class. If we succeed in negotiating the arbitration agreement with the typothetæ, the effect will be the same with all important book and job establishments. We are rapidly advancing to that high plane where possibility of strikes will be reduced to a minimum, and the non-union employer is gradually but surely becoming impressed with the fact that the International Typographical Union is a factor that must be considered in the printing trade, and that business interest demands a workable and satisfactory agreement that will surely establish industrial peace.

Convention at Cincinnati

[1902] — The forty-eighth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order by President Lynch in the Pike Opera House, Cincinnati, Ohio, Monday, August 11, 1902. The gathering marked the golden anniversary of the union. Fifty years before, on May 5, 1852, the National Typographical Union had been formally launched at a convention of delegates held in Cincinnati. Again on June 6, 1870, the International Typographical Union held its first session as an International body in the same city.

Edmund O'Connell, chairman golden jubilee committee of No. 3, addressed the convention briefly and was followed by the Rev. G. H. Edwards, who invoked the divine blessing upon the convention and its deliberations. Acting Mayor Charles J. Christie welcomed the delegates and visitors and extended the freedom of the Queen City. President McReynolds assured the delegates and visitors of the pleasure which the membership of Cincinnati Union felt in entertaining them and promised that every effort would be made to send every one home feeling that the visit had been an enjoyable one. To these addresses of welcome, President Lynch responded briefly, and at the conclusion of his remarks, declared the convention open for business.

Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood reported the names of 191 regularly elected delegates, representing 145 subordinate unions. At subsequent times during the week, additional delegates arrived, swelling the total number to 205 and increasing the number of unions represented to 156, the largest gathering in the history of the organization up to that time.

The following resolution was received from the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union and ordered placed on record:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, August 11, 1902.

Resolved, That the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, in its first convention assembled, presents its sincere congratulations to the International Typographical Union upon the occasion of its golden jubilee, being observed in Cincinnati and expresses the earnest desire that the pleasant and cordial relations that have existed in the past will be continued for all future time, and that the prosperity of the International Typographical Union, at present existing under the wise and conservative policy of the present executive council of the International Typographical Union, may be continued, and bring an increased peace and prosperity to the present and future members of the International Typographical Union in particular and the entire printing trade in general.

The International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union sincerely thanks the International Typographical Union for past assistance and support, and desires to assure the delegates of the International Typographical Union at its golden jubilee celebration that it is our earnest desire that our relations may ever be of a cordial and fraternal nature, both giving our utmost support to each other, and that our motto may ever be, "An injury to one is the concern of all."

JAMES J. FREEL, *President.*
A. THOMAS CAMPBELL, *Vice-President.*
GEORGE W. WILLIAMS, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

REVIEW OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

In his annual address to the convention, President Lynch, after reviewing briefly the history of the organization from its inception in Cincinnati fifty years before, congratulated the membership on the fact that the closing year had been one remarkable for peace and tranquillity in industrial relations. He congratulated the organization on the many betterments secured during the year, and briefly outlined his policy for the future by saying that while strikes would be avoided where possible, yet if entered into, they would be prosecuted with all the

vigor that could be exercised and would not be abandoned until the unfair employer was made to feel the cost attendant upon arrogance and a refusal to accord just conditions.

The value of the annual scale reports was referred to and the last document of this character was especially commended for its completeness. Four hundred and fifty cities were represented in the tables, and it was pointed out that forty-eight was the average number of hours worked weekly by machine operators and composing room employes; the prevalence of the nine-hour day and the upward tendency in wages were referred to and a noticeable movement toward a common scale for all time employes in composing rooms moved the president to declare that emphatic endorsement could be given the scale which placed all composing room employes on an equality. A change in the form of collecting data relative to machine operators, etc., had resulted in more complete reports on those subjects, and demonstrated the correctness of the claim of superiority of union members in the operation and care of machines. The appreciable increase in the number of machine operators, tenders, etc., over the previous year, was due not only to a proportionate increase in machines but also to the increase in practice of working two shifts of operators, one day and one night, on the same battery of machines. The International Typographical Union was believed to be the only labor organization issuing such a complete scale report.

President Lynch recommended a careful reading of the reports of officers, organizers and committees and called attention to two important recommendations in the report of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor on autonomy and political propositions. He repeated his advice of the previous year on the political

question and gave emphatic expression to his opinion, as follows:

> Thus far the International Typographical Union has steered a conservative course. It has avoided all the "isms" and panaceas that are confidently recommended as cure-alls for industrial ills. It is not your president's intention to advise the membership or the convention either for or against any particular political policy. His personal opinion is that the wage earners of this country will eventually work out their political salvation, and that they will do it without adherence to or the adoption of the principles enunciated by any particular school of thought.

On the question of autonomy the president thought there should be more light and offered the suggestion that the convention should express itself on the subject and believed it would be well to refer both the political and autonomy matters to the referendum in concise questions and allow the membership to express its will as to the policy that should be pursued by the International Typographical Union and its representatives on both important subjects.

Relations With Publishers and Typothetæ — President Lynch reported that relations with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association were satisfactory. The difference between the five-year arbitration agreement entered into May 1, 1902, and that of May 1, 1901, was pointed out and a full account was given of the questions concerning International law, etc., propounded to him at the publishers' convention in February, 1902. That part of the general laws providing for the abrogation of contracts in event of trouble with allied trades was extremely distasteful to the publishers, especially the words "null and void." President Lynch thought that the publishers were unnecessarily alarmed about the law but admitted "that it is not good business policy, under ordinary con-

ditions, to sign a contract containing a stipulation that one party to the contract, without reference to any other authority, may at its discretion declare the contract null and void." The commissioner of the publishers' association wanted the section of general laws referred to eliminated or amended into what would be considered a more equitable law. The president was opposed to bringing pressure to bear on local publishers to the end that an arbitration agreement might be executed. He said:

> The benefits obtained under the agreement are just as valuable to the publisher as to the union. If the publisher believes that he does not need the protection of an arbitration agreement, then the local union can rest equally content. In other words, we stand ready to arbitrate. The instrument has been provided; it remains for the publisher to do the rest.

As the convention of the typothetæ had not been held at the time of publication of the officers' reports, it was impossible to report conclusions on the efforts to comply with the instructions of the Birmingham convention to make overtures to the typothetæ looking to a plan of arbitration.

An interesting account was given of an address delivered by President Lynch at the American Newspaper Publishers' Association convention in which he spoke of the friendly relations existing between the two organizations, the necessity for the continuance of the same and the desire that the authorized representative of the International Typographical Union be given a hearing before any legislation hostile to the International Typographical Union be enacted by the publishers' association. The excellent opportunity to make a plea for better workrooms was not lost sight of. While it was admitted that in recent years newspaper proprietors had given more attention to the conditions of their composing rooms regarding light and sanitary arrangements, yet it was a fact that there

were many composing rooms that were disease-breeding centers which annually sent forth men that were in the last stages of tuberculosis or afflicted with equally dread disease. Well lighted, well ventilated and properly arranged departments were necessary as desirable business propositions; it was held that the workingman could produce better results under the proper surroundings and with proper appliances, and, if for no other reason than this, the publishers should see to it that the conditions complained of were remedied.

Relations With Allied Trades — Under the head of autonomy and industrialism, the president discussed relations with the allied trades. He took the ground that the terms referred to were generally misunderstood. In his opinion autonomy in the management of affairs of direct and sole concern to a trade union differed essentially from autonomy in the industrial field, where the interests of many other trades might be vitally concerned. He thought that conduct of affairs of any union should not menace the general welfare and that small and weak international unions absolutely independent might embroil the entire trade in disaster and ruin. His well-defined ideas in the matter were clearly set forth as follows:

> One of the functions of our great body, owing to its wisdom, strength, and long experience, should be that of a general guardian and guarantor of the stability, integrity and strength in the industrial field of other international printing trades unions. But if we are to act in this capacity we should not be expected to do it gratuitously. The measure of protection which we are expected to afford should be paid for in proportion to its value. The general question of industrialism, not as popularly and erroneously understood, but considered from a scientific and mutually helpful standpoint, should receive attention at the hands of the convention. The representatives of the membership should express themselves in no uncertain terms.

It was believed the covenant between the International Typographical Union and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union offered the basis of a satisfactory coalition of the various branches of the printing industry. The agreement with the stereotypers was attached to the report as an exhibit, and members were invited to give it a careful study with a view to a better understanding of its terms.

The better conditions in allied trades councils was thought to be due to the abrogation of "that famous disrupter, the tripartite agreement." Allied trades councils were purely local bodies and it was surmised that fear of losing the label resulted in harmony where before it was "dissatisfaction, friction and division." It was thought that out of these local agreements would grow an international arrangement that could be generally applied. President Lynch asserted that "despite claims, bolstered by alleged arguments in a vindictive 'official' press, we still own, control and issue both the allied label and that pioneer among union trade marks, the typographical label." In this connection was furnished an important bit of label history as given in an answer to an inquirer, as follows:

"1. When did we acquire ownership?" The moment the present designs were placed in circulation.

"2. Why did we acquire ownership?" In order to adequately protect the label in case of infringement or fraudulent use, and to supervise its circulation, advertise it, and create an active demand for it on printed matter.

"3. How did we acquire ownership?" By originating the design, making labels, registering it in the various states, and putting up every dollar that has been expended thus far for its advertisement.

New Organizing System — The new organizing system was reported to be working satisfactorily. The executive's responsibility for results of organizers' work was believed

to offset the objection to an increased centralization of power and that results had justified the change in the law. Organizing expenses for the year—included under this head were expenses incurred by organizers—had been greater than any previous year, but payments of strike benefits had been correspondingly reduced. "If we were to add to this saving," said President Lynch, "the loss in wages that would have attached to cessation of work by the membership affected by the strikes, the system would receive almost unqualified endorsement and its feasibility and desirability become at once apparent."

Of the affiliated unions, all were declared to be in a fair condition with the exception of the photo engravers, in whose behalf a considerable expenditure, charged to organizing account, had been incurred.

Finance — Under the head of finances, the constant growth of the organization and the many scale negotiations—in almost every case successful—were cited as heavy drains on the funds. The revenue, it was thought, would be sufficient if industrial peace was maintained, but a comparatively small number of strikes would soon deplete the treasury. A larger income, it was thought, would be a great measure of safety. An old-age benefit was believed to be a desirable feature. The president urged that if this feature could not be established on an international basis, then the convention should at least urge local unions to consider the subject. An increased death benefit was recommended, based on the corresponding length of membership in the organization and involving a slight increase in per capita tax.

Local Contracts — The practice of making contracts with the employers was commended and it was announced that the International officers had prepared a blank form for this purpose to be used in triplicate, copies of which would be forwarded to local unions on request. It was

also suggested to the delegates that it would be well for the convention to recommend to subordinate unions that wherever possible contracts be executed and that these contracts contain arbitration provisions that would guarantee the peaceful operation of industrial departments under the terms of the contracts and make as remote as possible chance for friction and trouble.

Apprentices — The importance of the apprenticeship problem was again dwelt upon, the introduction of machinery having made a rigid system of apprenticeship more than ever necessary. The following expression on this question by President Lynch was peculiarly apt:

> The skilled artisan—the man who gained his knowledge of the printing business under the old conditions—is in demand today all through our jurisdiction, and can generally command above the minimum wage scale. If the factory method of turning out compositors is not abandoned, the skilled printer will become rare, and unless the International Typographical Union can secure the co-operation of the publishers of this country, the day is not far distant when great difficulty will be experienced by publishers in securing competent composing room help.

Eight-Hour Day Must Come — The desire on the part of the book and job members for an eight-hour day was said to have manifested itself and was a subject that should receive attention at the convention. The president said that the eight-hour day would eventually be established and that he hoped it might come peaceably, "but, in any event, come it must."

Typographia — Second Vice-President Hugo Miller reported that there had been little change in the affairs of the German unions during the year. The lockout by the management of the Philadelphia Demokrat Publishing Company still continued, this firm going so far in its hostility to organized labor as to deny the representatives of President Lynch a hearing. An earnest plea was made

that all local unions do their utmost to drive out of their cities the plates of the Central Newspaper Union, of Philadelphia (the ready-made department of the Demokrat Company). The struggle with the German-American newspapers had resulted in a slight decrease in membership in the Typographia. Only one strike had occurred during the year and that was successful. The financial affairs were, as usual, in first-class condition. Notwithstanding the great number of unemployed members, after meeting all obligations and paying all benefits, more than $11,000 remained in the treasury, or about $11 per capita. Though this was an excellent showing there seemed to be a desire for still greater benefits, the second vice-president reporting a movement to add to the several benefits already enjoyed by the members (such as out-of-work, sick and traveling benefits), an old-age, or invalid benefits, in order to protect members against being compelled to go to the poorhouse when thrown on the street because they could no longer compete with the younger men.

Mailers — In almost every large city throughout the country there were mailers' unions, said Third Vice-President Canary. He gave expression to an appreciation of the good work done for the mailers by President Lynch, to the best of his belief, the first executive who had interested himself to see that the mailers were taken care of. He called the attention of organizers to the splendid fields for organization work in Milwaukee, Baltimore and the south. An account was given of successful work in New York city and Utica, N. Y., and of good results of what at first was thought to be a hopeless trip to Philadelphia. Of conditions in general he said that all existing local unions of mailers were in a healthy state and that their funds were increasing. Mailers were represented in every allied trades council where a union of their members existed.

Newswriters — Fourth Vice-President O'Sullivan referred to the apathy so characteristic of the calling represented by his office. He said that while nearly all newspaper men agreed that wages were not being increased, that hours of labor were not being reduced and that reporters and editors were paid in many cases less per hour than were the men in any of the mechanical departments of the daily newspapers of the country, yet "the fear that trade union methods could not be brought into service in this line of industry is an imporant factor in preventing a more satisfactory growth of unionism in this profession." He was not ready to agree that it was an easy matter to put a price on brains, but thought there might be a minimum scale of wages established in the profession and that those who were not competent to earn the established scale ought not to be expected to remain in the employment of any of the American daily papers. He held that men who pursued the calling of newswriters and retained cards of membership in the International Typographical Union should be required to become members of writers' unions where such existed, and where they did not exist "they should be utilized to carry the principles of trade unionism into their calling and to organize locals of writers in every city." He suggested the following amendment to carry out the above idea: "That all members in any branch of the International Typographical Union who may be employed in any other than their original branch of the craft be required to deposit their cards in the union of that branch in which they may be engaged under the same regulations as now apply to the depositing of a card with the nearest union of the craft affiliated with the International Typographical Union."

Photo Engravers — The deplorable condition of affairs among the photo engravers was set forth by Fifth Vice-

President Walls. He narrated the difficulties encountered in reorganizing the trade district union of his craft and declared that never in such a length of time had its members been so thoroughly tested. Those working on a solid foundation put forth every effort to retain their positions, while others who had some self-constructed ideas of unionism, but had drifted away, easily found their way back into the ranks. Many of the seceded unions were said to have realized their mistake and were ready to rectify their error.

Typefounders — Sixth Vice-President Nuernberger reported that the agreement between the typefounders' trade district union and the typefounders of the United States had been observed in all but a few instances. The typefounders' scale of wages was declared to be so complicated that in a few instances trouble occurred because the scale was not correctly interpreted, but all of these difficulties had been satisfactorily adjusted.

Secretary-Treasurer — Secretary Bramwood's financial statement for the year ended May 31, 1902, was set forth with the same completeness and clearness that characterized all his reports. It was shown that at no time in its previous history had the International grown so rapidly in membership as during the fiscal year reported. The withdrawal of the stereotypers and electrotypers necessarily affected adversely the average paying membership, but the greatest gains had been made since the withdrawal of that craft, January 1, 1902. The first seven months of the year, when the stereotypers were part of the organization, showed a membership of 37,402 as against 39,711 for the five months of the year following the separation of the stereotypers. The average paying membership for the year was 38,364, which was 3,416 larger than that of the preceding year, notwithstanding the withdrawal of the stereotypers. A portion of the

growth in membership was attributed to the formation of new unions, the secretary presenting a table showing the issuance of 113 charters, the surrender of 20, the suspension of 9, the revocation of 1 and the reinstatement of 1. Five hundred and fifty-nine unions were on the rolls May 31, 1902, divided among the several crafts, as follows: Typographical unions (English), 493; German-American, 21; photo engravers, 17; mailers, 15; typefounders, 6; newspaper writers, 7.

A most unsatisfactory condition of affairs was found in the general fund. Though a balance of $2,047.30 remained to the credit of the fund on June 1, 1901, and its receipts were somewhat larger than in previous years, there was a deficit of $1,738.89 in this fund on May 31, 1902, when the fiscal year closed. The expenditures chargeable to the general fund exceeded the receipts by $3,786.19. The reason for this state of affairs was given, as follows:

> First, the excess cost of the Journal over its receipts; second, an increment in the general expenses of the organization; third, the added levies of the American Federation of Labor. That body now has the power to levy assessments and during the past fiscal year it collected a special assessment of 5 cents per member, besides increasing its monthly per capita tax to one-half cent per member per month, thus almost doubling the cost of our affiliation therewith. It is impossible for this fund to meet the increased demands upon it with the present apportionment of revenue.

The remedy was suggested either in an increased per capita tax or a change in the manner of dividing the revenues. In order to avoid submitting a proposition to the referendum suggesting increased taxes, the secretary offered the following amendment to the law:

> SECTION 2. The revenues of the International Union shall be apportioned to the several funds as follows: One-sixth to the general fund; one-fourth to the defense fund; one-fourth

to the burial fund, and one-third to the endowment fund of the Union Printers Home; *provided,* that in event the receipts of the burial fund shall exceed the expenditures therefrom during any fiscal year such excess of receipts over expenditures shall be immediately transferred to the general fund by the secretary-treasurer.

Though the expenditures authorized by the executive council and joint defense board were considerably heavier than during the previous year, the defense fund was shown to have a larger balance to its credit than at any time since its establishment, yet the sum on hand ($5,632.41) was declared to be not greater than even the most conservative members believed should be kept on hand for organizing and defense purposes.

Burial Benefits — Four hundred and seventy-four burial benefits were paid during the year, a greater number than ever before, and yet the amount to the credit of the burial fund increased $3,717.84. The death rate for the year was .01235 per cent of the average membership —one in eighty-one. The greatest number of deaths resulted from tuberculosis and other diseases of the respiratory organs, and the average age at death was 42.949 years. The average death rate since the establishment of the fund had been .01318 per cent—one in seventy-six. In a table of comparison it was shown that during the preceding ten years 4,495 benefits had been paid, amounting to $258,440.

Strikes — Twenty strikes, involving twenty-five unions, took place during the fiscal year; nine resulted in victories for the union while three were lost and eight were in progress at the time the report was filed. In these twenty difficulties, 388 members took part, of whom 145 returned to work when the disputes in which they were interested were settled; fifty-six were displaced and 187 were involved in the strikes remaining unsettled.

Receipts from and benefits drawn by subordinate unions were set forth in an interesting set of tables showing the payments of each union into the International and Home funds, the burial benefits drawn by each union and the moneys received by them from the defense fund in strike benefits or special assistance.

An instructive feature of the secretary's report was a table showing the amount of money in the treasuries of subordinate unions, the membership in good standing and in arrears, and the total membership of each.

Typographical Journal — While there had been an increase in the sum received during the fiscal year from subscriptions to the Journal, it had not been such as was desired nor what it should have been had the membership taken advantage of its opportunity to secure the publication. The net cost of the paper on the basis of the average membership was a little more than 12 cents per member, an increase over the preceding years, due to publishing an extra number of pages and additional matter. In connection with this expense attention was called to the fact that a large portion of the magazine was devoted to official matter, which obtained a wider and better circulation through the Journal than it could in any other manner. It was asserted that if the Journal were credited with fair advertising rates for the strictly official matter, a far better financial showing could be made. While the subscription list of the paper was larger than at any previous period, yet it contained the names of less than one-sixth of the membership. It was asserted that but a limited number of unions had taken advantage of the Birmingham amendment permitting subordinate bodies to subscribe for their membership at a monthly rate and that the returns failed to meet the expectations of the advocates of the new law. Only forty-five out of a total of 559 subordinate unions carried paid cards in the Journal.

The secretary said that two courses were open if the membership desired that the monetary returns of the Journal should approximate the expenditures—either an increase in the subscription rate or the publishing of a monthly rather than a semi-monthly. In closing that part of his report referring to the Journal, the secretary said:

> While there are among our members some who believe it inadvisable to use for that purpose the sum now annually expended in the publication of our Journal, it is my firm conviction that the money thus used brings returns to the organization of a value that can not be adequately expressed in dollars and cents. Besides furnishing a means of placing official matter before our locals and their members, the Journal constantly reflects the greatness and grandeur of the International Typographical Union. Throughout its career the Typographical Journal has enjoyed the reputation of being clean, consistent and conservative, and its standard has at all times been in keeping with the position our organization holds in the trade union movement.

Organizers' Reports—The work of organization was being carried on apparently with unabated vigor, judging from the voluminous reports of the organizers. Affairs in general seemed to be in good shape with the exception of the photo engravers' troubles in a few places. The label was urged as a potent factor in accomplishing good results and the arbitration agreement seemed to be viewed with favor on all sides. There were expressions in the reports indicating a general condition of harmony between the employer and the employe.

Organizer Bonnington, of San Francisco, reported that a vigorous campaign was being waged against the Los Angeles Times and that a strong effort was being made to dislodge the fraternity from its last stronghold on the Pacific coast. He recommended that the convention take steps to continue the fight "on the present effective lines so long as necessary." The placing of literature in the

hands of those unacquainted with the organization was believed to have a beneficial effect. The boom being enjoyed by the label on the Pacific coast, and the efforts to reap the benefits thereof without complying with the necessary conditions, impelled Organizer Bonnington to urge the enactment of legislation rendering its use by unfair offices practically impossible. He suggested:

> Where a label office in a union town sublets to an office in another city a contract for printing which is to bear the imprint of the original contractor and the label of the home union, the label should be sent by the secretary of that union to the secretary of the union in whose jurisdiction the work is to be done, to be by him issued to the office doing the printing, and be returned at once upon the completion of the work. This would preclude the possibility of the label (in my opinion our strongest weapon) getting into the wrong kind of an office, as happened in this city not long since.

Organizer Brady gave an account of his efforts to assist Louisville Union and the allied council in having a law passed by the Kentucky legislature requiring the label on state printing and said the defeat of the bill was brought about by the opposition of the pressmen's union.

American Federation of Labor — Delegates to the American Federation of Labor reported that the organization was in a healthy condition. The income of the federation for the year had been $115,220.89, including $31,932.27 collected from assessments. Expenses had been $118,708.39, including $28,712.02 appropriated for the International Association of Machinists and metal trades in San Francisco, and $32,328.74 expended to keep organizers at work in the various states, territories and provinces. The reports from unions represented in the American Federation of Labor showed that the membership had increased 364,410 and that 4,056 charters were issued, 916 of them direct by the American Federation of Labor. One thousand and fifty-six strikes were

reported involving 171,223 members and of that number 153,505 were benefited; 585 strikes were won; 242 compromised; 37 pending and 153 lost. The total cost of the strikes reported was $548.003.40.

The report also referred to the opposition of the International Printing Pressmen's Union to the typographical label, but in this instance as well as in every other wherein the representatives of the pressmen's union attempted to secure the passage of resolutions hostile to the International Typographical Union, their efforts were defeated.

Union Printers Home — The report of the board of trustees of the Union Printers Home contained the minutes of the meetings of the corporation and the board of trustees, the financial statement of the treasurer and the report of the superintendent, the latter document including a brief report from the Home physician.

At the annual meeting of the trustees at the Home, action was taken on many propositions submitted to them. Among those of special interest may be noted the change of the name of the institution to Union Printers Home; the adoption of the ruling that failure of the original donor to refurnish a room, after given the option to do so, forfeited the right to have the memorial plate on the door of the room; requiring officials of the International Typographical Union or Union Printers Home to resign their office as a prerequisite to admission to the Home; declining to accept application papers in instances where it was clearly shown that the applicant had not been a continuous member of the organization for five years next preceding the date of his application; acquiring a lease on 240 acres of land adjoining the Home property, and ordering many minor changes for the comfort and convenience of the residents and the beautifying of the grounds of the institution.

The report of the Home treasurer showed the receipts

to have been $57,280.18 (including a balance on May 31, 1901, of $10,213.57) and the expenditures $41,076, leaving a balance of $16,204.18. The receipts for the year, therefore, exceeded the expenditures by $5,990.61, notwithstanding the numerous improvements.

The Home library at this time contained about 2,000 volumes, the limit of its capacity. Seventy-one daily papers, seventy-five weeklies and twenty-two monthlies were regularly received through the courtesy of their publishers and a dozen dailies and twice that number of weeklies were received by individual residents from friends. The superintendent suggested that the next enlargement of the steadily growing institution should be in the direction of a new library building which could also contain a room for public gatherings. He suggested a Christmas gift of 50 cents from each member under the jurisdiction of the International as a means to raise sufficient funds for the purpose.

The mortality record at the Home showed that during the year nine residents died from tuberculosis, two from old age, one from Bright's disease and one from cancer of the stomach. The records of the Home showed that during the first ten years of its existence, there had been 113 deaths and of this number seventy-one died from pulmonary tuberculosis. The superintendent declared this was due to the admission of patients in the advanced stages of the disease and said it seemed impossible to remedy this evil.

An account was given of the celebration of the decennial anniversary of the Home, and the following recommendations were made by the superintendent: That some provision be made to increase the capacity of the dining room; that a small creamery be erected for the proper preservation of the milk and cream, and that steps be taken to acquire additional land adjoining the Home plot in Evergreen cemetery.

The conduct of the residents during the year was declared to have been uniformly good and during this period forty-three had been admitted, sixteen died and three expelled; of the latter, two were expelled for intoxication and one for obnoxious conduct.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Four constitutional amendments were submitted to the referendum, all of which were adopted.

Amendments to the original law are indicated by italics. It will be seen that these amendments denied membership to non-printer proofreaders; fixed the minimum wage at $4 per day for unsalaried officers while on duty; increased the revenue of the general fund, and changed the Typographical Journal to a forty-eight page monthly publication and provided for the payment of five cents, in addition to the monthly per capita tax, for the purpose of sending the Journal to all members of the organization. The general laws were also amended to conform with the constitutional changes. The laws, as amended, follow:

Section 1, article i. This body shall be known as the International Typographical Union of North America. Its jurisdiction shall include all branches of the printing and kindred trades, other than those over which jurisdiction has been conceded by agreement. In it alone is vested power to establish subordinate unions of printers (printers, proofreaders *who are practical printers*, machine-tenders, and all other skilled employes not otherwise herein excepted), photo-engravers, mailers, typefounders, editors (other than managing editors), reporters and kindred trades, and its mandates must be obeyed at all times and under all circumstances. To the International Typographical Union of North America is reserved the right to fix, regulate and determine all matters pertaining to fellowship in its branches of the printing and kindred trades, while to subordinate unions is conceded the right to make all necessary laws for local government which do not conflict with the laws of the International Union. In cases where allied trades have formed trade district unions the powers hereinafter specified shall be delegated to said trade district unions.

Result of vote—For, 17,355; against 3,545; majority for, 13,810.

Section 2, article viii. The compensation of any officer other than president, second vice-president or secretary-treasurer, or any member performing service under the direction of the president or executive council, shall be an amount for time lost equal to his earning capacity, or, if unemployed, the regular scale of his union, *but not less than $4 per day.*

Result of vote—For, 13,717; against, 8,071; majority for, 5,646.

Section 2, article ix. The *dues* of the International Union shall be apportioned to the several funds as follows: One-sixth to the general fund; one-fourth to the defense fund; one-fourth to the burial fund, and one-third to the endowment fund of the Union Printers Home; *Provided, That in event the receipts of the burial fund shall exceed the expenditures therefrom during any fiscal year, such excess of receipts over expenditures shall be immediately transferred to the general fund by the secretary-treasurer.*

Result of vote—For, 15,307; against, 5,444; majority for, 9,863.

Section 2, article ix. In addition to the monthly dues provided in this article, every member (except members of the Typographia and those domiciled at the Union Printers Home) shall pay the sum of 5 cents monthly as a subscription to the Typographical Journal, the same to be collected with the monthly dues and transmitted to the secretary-treasurer of the International Union, to be placed to the credit of the Typographical Journal.

Section 3. The *dues* of the International Union shall be apportioned to the several funds as follows: One-sixth to the general fund; one-fourth to the defense fund; one-fourth to the burial fund, and one-third to the endowment fund of the Union Printers Home.

Section 1, article xv. There shall be published *monthly* by the secretary-treasurer a paper of *forty-eight* or more pages, to be non-political and non-sectarian, and to be known as "The Typographical Journal: Official Paper of the International Typographical Union of North America," which shall be, so far as practicable, the International Typographical Union's official organ of communication to subordinate unions.

Result of vote—For, 11,545; against, 9,375; majority for, 2,170.

GENERAL LAWS, RESOLUTIONS

The general laws were amended requiring a majority of local auditors to be present at the examination of the secretary's accounts and forbidding members of auditing committees to attach their signatures to a report unless they had personally participated in the examination of the books and accounts.

The law forbidding speed contests on typesetting machines was amended to include contests of any character.

It was provided that a strike in any subordinate union could be declared off by a majority vote of the membership.

Subordinate unions were requested to adopt a concilia-

tory method of making important changes in their scales of prices, and it was required before any change in scales of prices was sought to be made effective, such proposed changes must be submitted to all the employers interested. It was also provided that upon request a representative of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association must be allowed a hearing on important changes in the scale.

Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

That local unions in forming new scales make an effort to secure the eight-hour day, and that all local unions be required to report to the 1903 convention the advisability of establishing an eight-hour day throughout the entire jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

That as anarchy is largely on the increase in this country, and we as good American citizens should abhor this condition of affairs, the International Union, at its forty-eighth session, tenders its aid in helping to exterminate from our country this class of people who violate our laws and are a menace to good government.

That our delegates to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor do not work or vote for any proposition which may be introduced which has for its object the placing of the American Federation of Labor on record as advocating socialism or any other political idealism, and that our delegates stand so instructed.

That the executive council of the International Typographical Union and the first vice-president are directed to act as a committee for the purpose of devising and putting into effect plans for the establishment of an eight-hour day throughout the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union at as early a date as practicable; that local unions be required to act in conjunction with the said committee in furthering its plans, and that they be enjoined from making contracts extending beyond October 1, 1905, which require their members to work more than eight hours per day; that the said committee bring the matter before the National Typothetæ, to the end that the eight-hour day may be put into operation without friction; that should the committee deem it necessary to add to its numbers, it shall be empowered to do so.

That the International Typographical Union is unalterably opposed to the practice followed by many employers of our members, who maintain workrooms that are positively detrimental to the health of those employed therein; and that the president of the International Typographical Union is hereby ordered to call the attention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and other employers of our members to the sanitary and other conditions existing, and he is hereby ordered to demand from all such that steps be taken as soon as possible to remedy the existing evil, and that the International Typographical Union hereby pledges itself to lend all aid and assistance through its local unions to bring about the much-desired result.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Following the Birmingham convention, President Lynch was requested by Los Angeles Union to send an organizer into that jurisdiction for the purpose of conducting a vigorous campaign against the unfair Los Angeles Times. It was stipulated in the request made by the union that the organizer placed in the field be selected from some section of the International jurisdiction remote from Los Angeles, the purpose being that the situation be placed in the hands of an individual entirely free from local prejudice and influences. By agreement with Los Angeles Union, Arthur A. Hay, of Syracuse, N. Y., was selected and proceeded to Los Angeles to take up the work outlined.

Mr. Hay made a complete and thorough report of his activities in Los Angeles to the Cincinnati convention, including therewith an appeal from No. 174 for financial assistance in the fight being waged against the Times. Realizing the need of vigorous action in the case, the convention adopted the following resolutions and the delegates present pledged themselves to work for the passage of the assessment by the referendum:

Resolved, That a proposition for an assessment of five cents per month per member for a period of one year be submitted

to a special referendum one month after the other propositions from this convention, this money to be paid to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, and to be used in assisting Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174 to unionize the Los Angeles Times.

The above proposition providing a fund for carrying on the fight against the Times was endorsed by the referendum by a vote of 22,066 for, 3,975 against, and thus the membership, aroused to the necessity for action, endorsed the fight against the Times and provided the funds necessary to carry on a vigorous campaign.

RELATIONS WITH THE PRINTING PRESSMEN

During the progress of the convention, the following communication, received by President Lynch, was referred to the committee on allied trades relations:

CHARLESTOWN, MASS., August 11, 1902.

Mr. James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union of North America.

MY DEAR MR. LYNCH: At the late convention of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, held at the city of Baltimore, week of June 16th, 1902, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the board of directors, or such a committee to be selected, shall call on the officers of the American Federation of Labor to demand a ruling as to the trade autonomy of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union in the printing trades. No matter what the decision may be, the same committee to call on executive board of the International Typographical Union and demand that steps be taken immediately to reinstate on the part of the International Typographical Union the tripartite agreement, through their referendum or in such a way as the executive council of the International Typographical Union may determine, and in event it is refused, no matter what excuse is offered, that all members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union be ordered not to print any form containing the label now known as the International Typographical Union or allied printing trades label. Then said committee shall call a committee of all international organizations that have representation in the printing trades as employes for the purpose of forming an international allied printing trades council, and adopt a suitable label not later than November, 1902.

The above resolution speaks for itself and was offered with a view of having the International Typographical Union declare in no uncertain terms their position relative to the tripartite agreement and the ownership of the allied printing trades label; also the trade autonomy rights of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

Trusting that a fair and practical discussion on the part of your International body will bring the matter to a just and equitable conclusion, where all sides may agree, I am,

Fraternally and respectfully,

MARTIN P. HIGGINS.

The committee recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the International Typographical Union, in convention assembled, denounces the action of the late convention of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union in adopting a resolution antagonistic and threatening to the International Typographical Union, and hereby notifies the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union that the allied printing trades label and the typographical label are the property of the International Typographical Union solely, and will be upheld and defended to the utmost by this organization.

Resolved, That the reinstatement of the defunct tripartite agreement is not to be considered for a moment, through the referendum or in any other way. If the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union desires an agreement for mutual benefit with the International Typographical Union, the proposition must come from the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

Resolved, That the International Typographical Union, under certain conditions, has jurisdiction over all branches of the printing trades except stereotypers and electrotypers and all branches of the stereotyping and electrotyping business.

Resolved, That all members of the International Typographical Union be hereby prohibited from inserting in any job they may be given to produce any label detrimental to the interests of the International Typographical Union, or in the interest of any other organization opposed to the International Typographical Union.

After some debate a roll call was ordered and the report of the committee unanimously adopted.

A meeting of representatives of the printing trades unions was held in Indianapolis, January 26-28, 1903, with the following in attendance: James M. Lynch, J. W. Bramwood, C. E. Hawkes and Hugo Miller, representing the International Typographical Union; Martin P. Higgins, W. H. Burklin, T. F. Galoskowsky, Benjamin F. Thompson and C. R. Johns, representing the International

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; E. W. Tatem and Robert Glockling, representing the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; James J. Freel and L. P. Straube, representing the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union. James M. Lynch was elected chairman and E. W. Tatem, secretary. Chairman Lynch said that the conference was the result of an agreement reached at the Federation convention in New Orleans between representatives of the International Typographical Union and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and the object of the meeting was to endeavor to formulate an agreement between the international organizations of the printing trades that would prove satisfactory to the interested parties. All matters in connection with the proposed agreement received careful attention and considerable discussion resulted. The best of feeling prevailed throughout the conference, it being the evident desire to prepare a document that would meet the approval of the membership of the different unions. The agreement which follows was unanimously approved by those present and was signed by the presidents of the international unions interested.

AGREEMENT

Between the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union.

The duly authorized representatives of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, for the purpose of more clearly defining their obligations to each other, the powers of local allied printing trades councils, and for the further purpose of avoiding disputes and securing the harmonious co-operation of all local unions in joint defensive action and label agitation, do hereby agree:

JOINT BOARD OF APPEALS

1. For the purposes of this agreement a joint board of appeals shall be created, as follows: Three representatives from the International Typographical Union, one representative from the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, one representative from the International Brotherhood of

Bookbinders, and one representative from the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers.

2. The joint board of appeals may adopt such rules of procedure in the hearing of appeals and the conduct of other business, that may properly come before it, as do not conflict with this agreement or the laws of any of the organizations parties hereto.

3. The officers of the joint board shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and such other officers as the board may determine, but no two executive officers shall be chosen from one organization.

4. On demand of a majority of the organizations that constitute this joint board, the president shall call a meeting at a convenient time and place.

5. In the event of the representative of any other party to this agreement voting with the International Typographical Union on an appeal, and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders being jointly dissatisfied with the verdict, the two last named organizations shall have the right to call for a seventh disinterested party, who shall be unanimously agreed upon, to act as arbitrator, whose decision shall be final. If a tie vote should occur under any other circumstances, a seventh party, as above, shall be called in, and his decision shall be final. On a question of appeal, all organizations named herein must vote.

6. Each organization shall pay the incidental expenses of the joint board in proportion to its representation.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCILS

7. In localities where there are unions chartered by two or more of the organizations parties to this agreement a local allied printing trades council shall be formed. Should any such chartered union decline to form an allied printing trades council, the aggrieved union or unions shall be allowed an appeal on this question to the joint board, through their respective international organizations.

8. Allied printing trades councils shall be composed of three delegates from each local union holding a charter from one of the parties to this agreement, and the same number of delegates from such other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as may receive the unanimous consent of the joint board to their admission.

9. Each delegate present at any meeting of the allied printing trades council shall be entitled to one vote; *provided,* that a roll call may be demanded, by the representatives of any union, on a question of the raising of revenue or the election of officers, and on such roll call each union shall be entitled to additional votes, as follows: For fifty (50) members of the local union represented, one vote; for each additional fifty (50) members or major fraction thereof, up to three hundred (300) members, one vote; for the next two hundred (200) members or major fraction thereof, one vote; for each additional five hundred (500) members or major fraction thereof, one vote; the membership to be computed in accordance with the last per capita tax paid by each local union.

10. Allied printing trades councils may elect such officers and adopt such provisions and rules for their own government as are not in conflict with this agreement, or the laws of the organizations parties hereto; but no more than one officer may be chosen from the representatives of one local union, except by unanimous consent.

11. The powers of allied printing trades councils shall not exceed those specified in this agreement, and such councils shall not take hostile action of any character except by unanimous consent of the unions represented therein.

12. Any local union may request the assistance of the allied printing trades council in the adjustment of any difficulty that may arise. Upon failure of the council to effect a settlement, and should a joint or sympathetic strike be desired, the question shall be referred to the local unions for action, in accordance with the laws of their respective international unions.

13. Should an allied printing trades council refuse to abide by the decision of the joint board of appeals, it shall be dissolved, and the unions affiliated therewith instructed by their international officers to form a new council, on the basis of the decision of the joint board.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCIL UNION LABEL

14. The International Typographical Union shall procure and hold all allied printing trades council union labels, and shall loan same to local allied printing trades councils, as its agents, in accordance with the terms of this agreement, upon receipt of a sum of money from the local council not exceeding 10 per cent above the cost of production and distribution of said labels.

15. No allied printing trades council shall issue any label not procured as above, nor any label differing in design from the label now known and registered as the allied printing trades council union label, nor duplicate nor allow the duplication of said label, except in the case of stereotyped or electrotyped forms, in which case the label appearing in the plate or plates shall be destroyed immediately upon completion of the work on which it is used.

16. No other body than the local allied printing trades council shall be allowed to grant the use of the allied printing trades council union label in any jurisdiction.

17. Labels shall be loaned only with the unanimous consent of unions represented in the allied printing trades council. Unions objecting to the issuance of the label in any instance must produce a valid reason for such objection, the council to be the judge of the validity of such reason, subject to appeal to the joint board; provided, that an active member in good standing of any branch represented in an allied printing trades council, who runs an office of not more than two platen presses, and in the operation of such office complies with the nine-hour law and the laws of his union, shall be permitted to use the label; provided, the entire work of the office be done by the proprietor thereof, and that when employment is given to any additional help, members of affiliated unions must be employed. Violation of the foregoing shall be deemed sufficient reason for the immediate surrender of the label. The above provisos shall not apply in cities of 500,000 population or over.

18. In regard to label issuance, should any union chartered by a party to this agreement feel that an injustice has been done, or should any local allied printing trades council feel that the action of any such union is detrimental to the best interests of the council, an appeal may be taken to the joint board, under such provisions as may be adopted by said board.

19. Wherever an allied printing trades council is in existence the local unions affiliated therewith shall withdraw the label of their respective unions, unless otherwise decided by the joint board.

MISCELLANEOUS

20. When a joint or sympathetic strike shall have been inaugurated by the parties to this agreement the initiating union shall pay those involved as follows: The sum of seven ($7.00) dollars per week to each married man involved, and five ($5.00) dollars per week to each single man or woman involved, for the period of eight weeks, unless settlement is sooner effected.

21. This agreement may be altered or amended on motion of any one organization party to this agreement, and if said motion receives the unanimous consent of the other parties hereto.

22. This agreement shall go into effect on its ratification, as a whole, by the proper authorities of the organizations signatory hereto.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands this 28th day of January, 1903, at Indianapolis, Indiana.

For the International Typographical Union,

JAMES M. LYNCH.

For the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union,

MARTIN P. HIGGINS.

For the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders,

E. W. TATEM.

For the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union.

JAMES J. FREEL.

The conference also unanimously adopted the following:

It is the sense of the joint conference that, where allied printing trades councils require the number of an office, or the number of the label, to appear with the label, the same shall be placed alongside the label in type, rather than cast on the label.

It is recommended that labels be marked by each allied printing trades council with consecutive numbers punched in the side of the labels, and that receipts for labels from offices contain such numbers, and that the records of each council shall show the number on each side of the labels loaned any office.

THE PHOTO ENGRAVERS

A conference between representatives of the photo engravers affiliated with the International Typographical Union and those connected with the independent organizations was held in Indianapolis January 23-24, 1903, and resulted in the following agreement:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., January 24, 1903.

In consideration of the surrender of jurisdiction by the International Typographical Union over photo engravers, the following is agreed to by representatives of the International Typographical Union and independent wings as organized in the photo engraving trade:

That, on the endorsement of the following plan by the proper authority of the International Typographical Union, a convention of representatives of the photo engravers' unions of the country shall be called, at some point to be hereafter agreed upon; that this convention shall form a new international union of photo engravers; that this new organization shall agree to work in harmony with the International Typographical Union, and at no time or in no manner antagonize its interests; that should trouble arise in the photo engraving trade, threatening to involve the International Typographical Union or its subordinate unions, the International Typographical Union shall be given opportunity to pass on the matter and adjust the dispute, if possible; that, should a strike be necessary at any time on the part of photo engravers, and sympathetic action be sought on the part of the International Typographical

Union, the International Photo Engravers' Union, or whatever the organization may be termed, shall first guarantee to the International Typographical Union, by cash deposit, that all expenses connected with the joint strike shall be borne by the organization of photo engravers; that the new organization of photo engravers shall at no time give aid or comfort or assistance to any trade organization opposed to the International Typographical Union; that, pending the endorsement of this plan by the International Typographical Union, or its proper authority, there shall be no interference with photo engravers' unions now connected with the International Typographical Union, or subsequently organized by the latter body.

In witness whereof, the undersigned representatives of the International Typographical Union photo engravers and the independent organization have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 24th day of January, 1903.

In the event of the various "allied printing trades" at the coming conference agreeing to a similar proposition to the above, the words "International Typographical Union" wherever they appear in the proposition submitted by Mr. Walls, to be eliminated, and the words "allied printing trades" be substituted therefor.

CHARLES WALLS.
LEWIS FLADER.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

Immediately following the adjournment of the Cincinnati convention, the eight-hour day committee, composed of the executive council and first vice-president, began the work of preparing the membership for the struggle. In the Typographical Journal of December 1, 1902, President Lynch said:

The Cincinnati convention considered many important matters affecting to a large degree the interests of the International Typographical Union. It is my purpose in this column to touch on only a few of these, in order that the attention of the Journal readers may be centered on questions that will be an important part of the history of the International Typographical Union for the next few years. Official circulars will be issued from this office and read at the meetings of subordinate unions, quoting in their entirety the various resolutions to which reference is herein made.

Perhaps the most important act of the forty-eighth convention was embodied in its disposition of the resolutions relating to the establishment of the eight-hour day in the book and job rooms. After providing for a committee to handle the matter, the convention prescribed, "That local unions be required to act in conjunction with the said committee in furthering its plans; that they be enjoined from making contracts extending beyond October 1, 1905, which require their members to work more than eight hours per day." The convention further ordered "That local unions, in forming new scales, make an effort to secure the eight-hour day, and that all local unions be required to report to the 1903 convention the advisability of establishing an eight-hour day throughout the entire jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union." There can be little question as to the advisability of establishing an eight-hour day, but there may be some doubt as to the feasibility, and this the committee in charge of the matter will endeavor to ascertain, and will be in a position to report to the convention that is to be held in Washington next year. In the meantime, each local union should put forth

strenuous effort to obtain the eight-hour day. Every union achieving success in this connection aids the International committee and makes its task easier. In my annual report I said, "Various methods have been suggested whereby the eight-hour day can be generally put into effect in book and job rooms, and all of these have merit. One of these suggestions which particularly appeals to our members as feasible, and also just to the employers, is that the working time shall be reduced fifteen minutes each year for four years, or until the eight-hour day is an accomplished fact." Local unions, in requesting the shorter workday, may find it to their interest to incorporate the above suggestion in their negotiations with book and job proprietors. Incidentally, it may be well to mention here that a well-filled local treasury is the best lubricant for the eight-hour movement.

Again in the Journal of September 15, we find in the president's column:

In compliance with the instructions of the recent convention, the eight-hour movement was launched from headquarters on September 2, in circular No. 1. Especial attention is directed to that portion of the minute adopted by the recent convention reading, "That local unions be required to act in conjunction with the said committee (the International eight-hour committee) in furthering its plans, and that they be enjoined from making contracts, extending beyond October 1, 1905, which require our members to work more than eight hours per day." Continuing, the circular read: "The report of the president treating of the eight-hour day in book and job rooms said: 'Various methods have been suggested whereby the eight-hour day can be generally put into effect in book and job rooms, and all of these have merit. One of these suggestions, which particularly appeals to our members as feasible, and also just to the employers, is that the working time shall be reduced fifteen minutes each year for four years, or until the eight-hour day is an accomplished fact. * * * That the eight-hour workday will eventually be established as the maximum for our entire membership goes without challenge. We trust that it may come peaceably, but in any event, come it must.' "

Three recommendations were contained in circular No. 1 which should have careful attention and compliance from subordinate unions, as follows: That, in the making of new scales or contracts, local unions endeavor to incorporate the suggestion contained in the president's annual report and made a part of the circular—that the working time in book and job rooms be reduced fifteen minutes each year for four years. This suggestion to apply in case agreements embracing better terms can not be negotiated. That an eight-hour committee of not less than five members be appointed at once. That immediate steps be taken for the establishment of an eight-hour fund. The local eight-hour committees will be important adjuncts to the international movement. In fact, the success of the project for the further reduction of the hours of labor will depend on enthusiastic support from local unions. Circulars will be issued from time to time containing further advice and instructions. It is expected that the next letter will go from headquarters about October 1. If the condition of the printing industry remains in as prosperous a state as at present, it will very greatly aid the eight-hour movement. There is no reason why our members employed in book and job offices should work more than eight hours. The newspaper plants almost uniformly work eight hours or less. In the instances where newspapers work more than eight hours the movement for the eight-hour day will apply. The committee in charge of the eight-hour agitation will be pleased to receive suggestions from members interested in the project. Each member of the International Typographical Union should constitute a committee of one for the furtherance of the effort to reduce the working time.

Convention at Washington, 1903

Washington, D. C., was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1903.

Convention at Washington

[1903]—The forty-ninth session of the International Typographical Union was called to order in the Columbia Theater, Washington, D. C., by F. N. Whitehead, chairman of the entertainment committee of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101. Rev. George E. Maydwell invoked the divine blessing. Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, commissioner of the District of Columbia, noted the fact that the International had not met in Washington for a quarter of a century and expressed the hope that it would not be so long before another convention was held there. Prof. Willis L. Moore, director of the weather bureau, referred to his connection with the typographical union and paid a tribute to the International. Daniel C. Vaughan, vice-president of Columbia Union, welcomed the delegates and visitors on behalf of No. 101. President Lynch replied, thanking the preceding speakers for their kind welcome. He then declared the convention open for business.

The secretary-treasurer reported that credentials had been deposited by 231 regularly elected delegates, representing 179 unions. Credentials were presented by five irregularly elected delegates and referred to the credentials committee.

An invitation was extended to the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union convention, then in session at Washington, to visit the sessions of the International Typographical Union.

Review of Officers' Reports

In his report to the members of the International Union and the delegates to the forty-ninth session, President

Lynch said that the year just closed had been a notable one for organized labor in general. The spirit of organization had prevailed in trades and callings which, previous to that time, had been almost unknown, while the older organizations had made steady progress and gained in membership. He continued:

It is a pleasure to be able to report that we are no exception to the rule of progress outlined. Our field is necessarily somewhat circumscribed, and in the main lies in the smaller cities and towns. The locality of any considerable importance without a typographical union is rare. But the avenue open to us for added membership contains, nevertheless, almost unlimited possibilities. It is bounded only by the confines of our immense jurisdiction. * * * During the past year we organized nearly 160 unions. To accomplish this a large outlay in money was necessary, and was coupled with the energy, loyalty and ability put forth by our agents. In this work your president has attempted to continue the working out of the idea imbuing him when first honored as your executive—that, despite the great strength of the union, there are new fields that should be given attention. The benefit accruing from thorough organization has been repeatedly made apparent where employers seeking to secure non-unionists in order to defeat union activity, have failed. This was especially true in the Atlanta strike, the only affair of magnitude occurring during the year. In the furtherance of the work of organization let us make effort to devise some plan whereby we can reach the isolated printer working in localities supporting from one to six of our brother artisans, or not enough to warrant organization. It has been found not practicable, in fact, to organize unions of less than ten members. What would seem to be desirable would be to attach the printers, working where it is not possible to organize, direct to the parent body. It may be said that we can do that now through what is termed provisional membership; but during the time that such membership has been available it has failed to attract new material in any appreciable quantity. With a proper system of insurance and other benefits the provisional scheme would have undoubtedly been a greater success as an organizing agent.

During the industrial crisis brought about by the vast

increase in the number of trade union adherents, the president said that the International Typographical Union had been fortunate in preserving its equilibrium and had pursued a calm and peaceful course. In discussing unions of employers the president expressed regret at the tendency on the part of trade unions to make light of these associations and questioned whether it would not be better to display a tolerant spirit toward them in the hope of establishing friendly relations. "Surely we can not deny to others the right which we claim—the right to organize—and it is not aside from the probabilities that during this era of organization may come the era of peace." In this connection, President Lynch said that amicable relations existed between the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and that with the United Typothetæ of America there was at least an armed neutrality.

In calling attention to the work for the future, the president observed:

> The extension of the work and scope of the International Typographical Union can take the course of added benefits to its members in the way of financial relief, the renewal of the demand for better sanitary conditions of the workroom, insistence on the proper instructions for apprentices, the advancement of the union label; but, above all, there should be an effort to encourage a system of education that will bring to our membership a knowledge of the conditions which surround them, and enable them to defend their position as trade unionists and members of a great international organization.

Great progress had been made in localities where unions had existed for years, and many new members had been added to the rolls as a consequence.

Arbitration Agreement — Commenting on the arbitration agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, which had been in force for over two years, the president reported that all but two disputes had been

settled in a fairly satisfactory manner and that the friendly agreement between the two organizations had established a much better feeling. The president characterized the verdicts rendered in the Minneapolis and Spokane cases as "outrageous, unjust and ridiculous," and said that arbitration had received a decided setback in those cities. He said:

Ours is the first international union to negotiate a general arbitration agreement. Thus far we have carried it out faithfully, and with an earnest desire to promote and make secure industrial peace with union employers. That this idea is correct in theory and right in practice can not be disputed. Its practical application has resulted in the conversion to unionism of many important newspapers. If, however, the arbitration agreement is juggled with by unscrupulous individuals, and made the vehicle for unjust and questionable decisions, through the connivance of any interested party, then the cause of arbitration, and necessarily the cause of industrial peace, will receive a blow from which recovery will not be possible for years. Other organizations, profiting by our experience, will be slow to adopt arbitration, and the last condition of the relations between capital and labor will be worse than that which arbitration was intended to remedy. It is for the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, if it desires the continuance of amicable and secure relations, to consent to such amendments to the agreement as will guarantee justice and fair dealing, and prevent the repetition of the unfortunate and dangerous conditions brought about in Spokane and Minneapolis through decisions rendered by men who, to say the least and express it in the most charitable manner, were absolutely unable to grasp and pass upon the important questions entrusted to their judgment. The arbitration agreement has not quite four years to run. That period can be made one of satisfaction and industrial peace, under necessary amendments to the agreement, and its fair application, or it may be a period of bickering, dissatisfaction and industrial chaos, marked by events, unfortunate but none the less unavoidable, that will mean death to the arbitration idea. It is not believed that our members will long continue to accept unjust decisions. In the adoption of the arbitration agreement by a vote of 12,544 to 3,530, our Inter-

national expressed its endorsement of the peaceful method, and the Birmingham and Cincinnati conventions by resolutions denoted satisfaction with the idea.

President Lynch made his address to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association a part of his report. In it he adverted to the fact that there had been no strike or cessation of work since formal relations had been entered into between the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and suggested that the latter accept certain amendments to the agreement offered by the executive council of the International Union. He also argued for better sanitary conditions in workrooms and the adoption of a proposed apprenticeship plan.

Organizing Work — In speaking of the work of organization, the president said that the spirit and intent of the Cincinnati convention, when it directed that he appoint not more than six organizers, had been taken into consideration and that four or five organizers had been kept almost constantly in the field, this being as many as the money on hand would permit. He suggested the formation of some plan to reach the isolated printer; called attention to the organizers' reports and asked that the suggestions made therein receive consideration.

Atlanta Strike — The strike at Atlanta was then given attention and the events leading up to its inauguration were stated thus:

The employers of Atlanta in the book and job branch formed an association or club. Among other provisions in their agreement there was a price schedule. The club has been in existence more than two years. About one year ago it was claimed that one employer violated the price agreement, and, under the contract between No. 48 and the firms, the latter demanded that we withdraw our men from the offender's composing room. We declined to do this under our construction of the contract, and trouble threatened. I visited Atlanta and

succeeded in adjusting the quarrel. In March the same employer was again charged with treachery to his associates. As in the previous incident, we were requested to withdraw our men, or, in plainer English, strike the office. This we again refused, and rested the case on our construction of the local contract, offering, however, to submit that construction to arbitration. The associated employers refused to arbitrate; insisted that their construction and contention were the only ones that could be made; charged us with violation of the contract and declared their composing rooms open. There the matter rested until the largest office employed two non-unionists, and then No. 48 promptly accepted the gauge of battle and struck the "open" office. The next most important concern attempted to aid the firm in trouble with the union, and another strike resulted. So it went all down the line, until 140 of our members were idle. The Atlanta affair was caused by our refusal to strike an office at the dictation of an association of employers. This association could not discipline its offending members, so insisted that we do it. We refused. The pressmen and bookbinders went with the employers' club, on the ground that "if fourteen offices are against one, go with the fourteen." The strength of No. 48 was shown, as office after office became involved, and with few exceptions the men promptly responded to the call.

Kansas City — The reclamation of Kansas City, the president set forth, was brought about by a well-defined and well-executed plan of action which had had a most important effect. It changed Kansas City from a haven for non-unionists to a union stronghold.

Agreement With Allied Trades — The agreement arrived at between the four international unions of the printing trades and also between the two factions of the photo engravers, it was suggested, should be submitted to the referendum for ratification or rejection.

Trade Union Incorporation — On the subject of trade union incorporation it was claimed that comparatively few of the local unions were incorporated and in these cases the action had been taken for especial reasons, or on account of peculiar state provisions. It was recommended

that the convention adopt a law forbidding local unions to incorporate except under exceptional conditions and with the sanction of the executive council.

Per Capita Tax — Under the sub-heading "Per Capita Tax," President Lynch suggested:

> It might be well for this convention to submit to the membership a proposition making the per capita tax 40 cents. It will be 35 cents, even should the Los Angeles assessment be discontinued at the end of the year, and it is believed that it will be necessary to carry the contest against the Los Angeles Times for a longer period than the present assessment has to run. Even though we are successful in the Times contest sooner than we expect the increased revenue can be used to advantage for similar purposes in other sections.

Miscellaneous — In the closing paragraphs of his address to the membership, President Lynch, after expressing his disapproval of the action of some central labor bodies in boycotting union newspapers because of their editorial policy, referred briefly to the abuse of the right to appeal; the failure of the efforts to secure the passage of an eight-hour law by congress; the establishment of printing offices on the factory plan in small villages; the flourishing condition of the printing business, notwithstanding the continued introduction of improved machinery; the vigorous prosecution of the campaign for label text books; the necessity for better sanitary conditions in composing rooms; the apprenticeship question, and, in conclusion, he said:

> We are doing well. Careful action on the part of the delegates, coupled with moderation and ordinary business sagacity, will accelerate our progress, add to our stability as an organization, make our future even more secure, and be of inestimable benefit to the membership represented in this forty-ninth session. Let wisdom be the watchword.

Typographia — The second vice-president began his report by saying that, with the close of the fiscal year, the Typographia ended the thirtieth year of its useful career

and that it was in better financial condition than at any previous period in its history. While the membership had decreased during the last decade, owing to the reduction in the number of German publications and the introduction of typesetting devices, never before had the German-American unions more fully controlled their branch of the printing trade. Vice-President Miller also reported that after a struggle which had lasted for more than seven years the Illinois Publishing Company, of Chicago, had been unionized. During the twelve months the funds of the Typographia had been increased from $11,000 to $16,500, notwithstanding the decrease in membership. There were but two German offices in the United States, of considerable size, outside the union.

Mailers — Third Vice-President Mulcahy reported that he had been busy during the year organizing new subordinate unions and strengthening old ones. A trade district union had been formed and since its inception unions had been organized in Omaha, Providence, Springfield, Mass., and Buffalo, N. Y. The International Typographical Union organizers had rendered the mailers great assistance in the work of organization and thanks were extended to the International officers for assistance in organizing mailers' unions at Indianapolis, Ind., and St. Joseph, Mo. The vice-president complained that organization by correspondence failed to produce satisfactory results and asked that the sum of $1,000 be set aside to meet the expenses of an organizer to work among the mailers.

Photo Engravers — Notwithstanding the legislation enacted by the International as a means to suppress the seceders among photo engravers, Vice-President Walls reported that the secession movement had been gaining strength, especially in New York city. "Every possible means has been used to persuade the seceding photo

engravers to again connect themselves with the International Typographical Union, but all in vain." On January 24, 1903, an agreement was arrived at between the representatives of the two factions to form an international union of photo engravers which should work in harmony with the International Typographical Union provided it received the endorsement of the proper authority of the latter body. Later on they had an agreement to exchange traveling cards. Vice-President Walls thought it better to accept this agreement than to continue strife, and concluded his report by saying that it would be presented to the convention in regular form and that it had the unanimous endorsement of the photo engravers connected with the International Typographical Union.

Typefounders — The time and attention of the sixth vice-president had been given to the adjustment of disputes and to prevent the disruption of unions by the employers who made special efforts to induce those holding positions as foremen to withdraw from the union. In only one instance, however, had this attempt been successfully carried out. Vice-President Nuernberger reported the organization of a typefounders' union in San Francisco with all journeymen working at the trade as members. A proposition made by the employers at a conference with delegates from local unions in New York suggested that the delegates make an agreement binding the members to sign individual contracts. This proposition was rejected. Up to date of his report, Vice-President Nuernberger said that all members had remained loyal to the union and were working under the uniform scale adopted two years previously.

Secretary's Report — Secretary Bramwood's report showed that the growth in membership had been in keeping with the advances made in other directions, the increase in the average paying membership during the

year having been more than 4,000, the largest in the history of the organization. Per capita tax was paid on an average membership of 42,436.

A tabulated statement of the number of charters issued, reinstated, suspended and surrendered was submitted, which showed a net gain in membership of 2,031 from this source.

The record of local unions showed that on June 1, 1902, there were 559 unions under the jurisdiction of the International. The report also showed that during the fiscal year 159 new unions were chartered, 1 reinstated, 2 suspended, and 18 surrendered, the total increase in the number of local unions for the twelve months being 140, while the total number of subordinate unions to the International on May 1, 1903, was 699, divided among the several crafts as follows: Typographical (English), 616; German-American, 21; photo engravers, 16; mailers, 21; typefounders, 7; newspaper writers, 18.

The number of death benefits paid during the year was 476, which involved an expenditure of $30,940. The receipts of the fund were $7,318.77 in excess of the expenditures, and that amount, pursuant to law, was transferred to the general fund. The death rate for the year was about 11 per 1,000, while the average death rate since the inception of the burial fund had been nearly 13 per 1,000. A total of 4,971 death benefits were paid from 1892 to 1903, inclusive, incurring an expenditure of $289,380. The amount of benefit paid had been increased from time to time, but nevertheless the receipts had always exceeded the expenditures and the secretary recommended that the death benefit be increased to $70, with no increase in the per capita tax. A tabulated statement giving the age at death, the cause of death, and the number of deaths at certain ages was presented, the average age at death during the year having been 42.62.

The sum of $50,925.03 was transferred to the Union Printers Home fund as its share of the per capita tax for the fiscal year.

Typographical Journal — On account of the change from a semi-monthly to a monthly, two statements were furnished regarding the Typographical Journal account. The excess of expenditures over receipts for the first half of the fiscal year was $3,880.68, making the net cost of the paper for this period 9 cents per member. The secretary was of the opinion that a most progressive step had been taken in adopting a plan which allowed every member to become a reader of the official paper. Notwithstanding the fact that every effort had been made to increase the advertising patronage of the Journal, there had been little progress in that direction.

Strikes — Nineteen unions were involved in eighteen strikes during the year and the number of men affected was 397. Of the strikes, six were won, seven lost and five were pending at the time the report was filed. Fifty-five men were displaced on account of strikes, 202 returned to work on the settlement of disputes and 140 were involved in the pending troubles.

Organizers' Reports — The reports of the organizers, as a rule, were of an encouraging nature. With their assistance increases in wages and reductions of hours had been gained in various jurisdictions and many new unions had been organized as a result of their efforts.

Organizer Bonnington, of San Francisco, said the year had been one of progress in his territory. Referring to the Los Angeles situation he said: "The effects of the fight against the non-union Los Angeles Times were apparent in every town in southern California. During an organizing trip in January, I visited many places in that part of the state and found the union men everywhere enthusiastic in our cause. As this matter will no doubt be

fully dealt with in the reports of the officers handling the contest I will only add the earnest recommendation that the convention adopt whatever means is suggested by them to carry to a successful conclusion the winning fight now being waged against the last stronghold of the fraternity on this coast."

Committee on Benefit Features — The committee on the establishment of benefit features reported that while it favored three classes of benefits—funeral, which should be graded according to length of membership, and sick, superannuation or pension—it was not prepared to recommend all three for immediate adoption, but considered it wise to recommend the establishment of a graded and increased funeral benefit for consideration by the convention, the other proposed benefits to be taken up at a later date.

American Federation of Labor — The delegates to the American Federation of Labor submitted an exhaustive report of the transactions of that body at its New Orleans session. The following is quoted as having direct bearing on the International organization:

In the controversy between the International Printing Pressmen's Union and the International Typographical Union, the committee on executive council's report reported as follows:

"It is also pleasing to report that the delegates representing the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Typographical Union have agreed upon a basis by which they will endeavor to settle by conference their differences as outlined in the executive council's report and resolution No. 128. The resolution referred to has, therefore, been withdrawn."

Home Trustees — The report of the board of trustees of the Home contained the minutes of the meetings of the corporation and board of trustees, the reports of standing committees, the financial statement of the treasurer and the report of the superintendent, this latter document

containing a brief report from the Home physician. Several propositions were discussed involving proposed improvements at the Home and it was decided that all work should be done by day labor as far as practicable. It was decided to add another story to the hospital annex. The report of the Home treasurer showed total receipts for the fiscal year to have been $68,002.07, with expenditures of $60,833.49. The admission committee had approved eighty-one applications and disapproved eight during the year. The mortuary record of the Home for the year showed fourteen deaths, seven of which resulted from tuberculosis. The number of residents domiciled at the Home at the close of the year was 113.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Eight propositions were submitted to the referendum by the convention, all of which met with approval.

The first proposition was to amend section 1, article i, constitution, relinquishing jurisdiction over photo engravers. It was approved by a majority of 14,121 out of a total vote of 17,438.

The second proposition amended section 1, article ii, of the constitution, providing that the International body should not enact legislation relative to the internal affairs of printing offices. The majority for this proposition was 13,055.

The third amendment provided a salary of $50 per annum for the mailer vice-president and was approved by a majority of 8,790.

The fourth proposition amended section 1, article ix, constitution, creating a special defense fund. Previous to the adoption of this amendment the International dues of each member were 30 cents per month and 5 cents additional for subscription to the Typographical Journal. For the year following the Cincinnati convention, an assess-

ment of 5 cents per member per month was collected to carry on the Los Angeles fight, making the total payment 40 cents per member per month. The amendment increased the dues to 35 cents per member per month, the extra 5 cents being placed in the special defense fund, thus making the regular dues and Journal subscription, 40 cents per member per month. The convention also endorsed a proposition to continue the Los Angeles assessment, but by the adoption of the amendment creating a special defense fund there was no necessity for submitting this matter to the membership.

The fifth proposition amended section 1, article ix, constitution. The old law required that International dues for each month be forwarded to the secretary-treasurer on or before the third Monday of the succeeding month. The amendment provided that such dues should be forwarded before the 20th of the succeeding month, thus fixing a definite day and allowing a little more time in most instances.

The sixth proposition increased the burial fund from $65 to $70, with no increase in dues. While this proposition was endorsed by the referendum, 1,695 votes were cast against it. As the amendment proposed a substantial increase in the burial benefit without added taxation it is presumed that the negative votes on the proposition represented an element in the union opposed to benefit features on general principles.

The seventh proposition amended section 3, article xvi, constitution, forbidding subordinate unions, or a combination of subordinate unions, issuing labels of different designs than that furnished by the International, and prohibiting more than one design of label being used in any jurisdiction.

The eighth proposition was a proposed agreement with other printing trades organizations recognizing the autonomy of the printing pressmen, the bookbinders,

stereotypers and electrotypers and forming a joint board of appeals. The document was the same as agreed upon at the conference held following the Cincinnati convention which is printed in full in the synopsis of that convention (1902).

General Laws, etc. — The general laws and the by-laws were amended to conform with the constitutional changes and with the new agreement entered into with the allied trades. Among the resolutions adopted by the convention were the following:

That the International Typographical Union in convention assembled requests W. R. Hearst to acquire a morning newspaper in Los Angeles.

That the executive council be instructed to expend such sum as it may see fit to assist Philadelphia Union in unionizing that city, the same to be spent under the direction of the executive council of the International Typographical Union. That owing to the peculiar conditions in Philadelphia, which are best known to the executive officers of the local union, the executive council, after consultation with the executive officers of Typographical Union No. 2, shall select its representative to supervise said work.

RELATIONS WITH NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS

The relations of the International Typographical Union with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association had become somewhat strained owing to the wide differences of opinion regarding the purposes and limitations of the arbitration agreement. The matter was brought squarely before the convention on certain changes that were suggested be made in the agreement. Commissioner Driscoll, of the publishers' association, was invited to attend the convention and address the delegates. In view of the importance of the questions at issue between the publishers' association and the union, Mr. Driscoll's address is reproduced in full:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I appear before your organization in convention assembled for the fourth time as the representative of the American

Newspaper Publishers' Association, and, as usual, by the cordial invitation of President Lynch. It is true that this invitation was extended before the unpleasant disturbance of our heretofore completely harmonious relations, which happened last month. I will say, however, that since the regrettable occurrences of July, and notwithstanding the same, this invitation has been verbally repeated by the members of your executive council.

In the year 1900, at the initiatory request of our association, I urged your body to take such action as would secure arbitration in the settlement of any differences arising which could not be adjusted by conciliation. You adopted such action and set in motion the machinery by which representatives of both organizations met and arranged a plan of arbitration, which was subsequently approved by your referendum and our convention. The following year, at Birmingham, you empowered your executive council to enlarge the scope and length of the term of the arbitration plan, which was done in conjunction with our special standing committee.

For more than two years, covering the execution of the original plan and the enlarged one, we all enjoyed continuous industrial peace, and until the month of July just past, when two inexcusable strikes occurred in the offices of our members, one at Seattle, on July 7, and the other at Spokane, on July 26.

I use the word "inexcusable" with the fullest deliberation, for, in my judgment, the reasons put forth for justifying these strikes are not tenable.

I state unhesitatingly that if arbitration had been adhered to according to the obligations of our agreement there would have been no strike or disturbance of our friendly relations.

The national board of arbitration should have been organized as provided in the contract in each of the two cases referred to. That board, if it had found prior irregularities or even fraud, if publishers or unions had asked for consideration of subjects not allowed in the contract, has and does possess all necessary power to annul and wipe out all previous proceedings, and begin anew from the inception of the issues raised and give an award which would be accepted by all parties in interest.

It is not a pleasant duty for me, I assure you, after years of business intercourse with your president and executive council, unruffled by any serious differences, and always characterized by the most gentlemanly conciliation, to stand before you, their constituents, and criticize and condemn their official action during the past month.

But as a friend of your organization, as a representative of the publishers of our association, as a man and a citizen, I am obliged to enter my most solemn protest against these gross violations of our arbitration contract.

As a friend of your organization, I believe you will give me credit for doing all in my power since I accepted the office of industrial commissioner to improve the labor situation between your members and the publishers of our association who had trade relations with the union.

Representing the publishers' association, I have labored constantly for a strict observance of the arbitration contract. As a man and citizen I know that if contracts with the unions are not strictly observed and are ruthlessly broken, then we have arrived at the end of industrial peace, and we will be moved backward to the disastrous days of the strike and lockout.

With reference to the Seattle case, there is no word of the arbitration contract which has been violated by the publishers of that city, and I challenge any truthful denial of this statement. There is nothing in that contract which prohibits a publisher from presenting a counter proposition when the union makes a demand for increased wages or shorter hours. If there was it would be an unequal contract, in that it would deny to the publisher, one party to the contract, the same right conceded to the union. The president and executive

council acknowledge the right of the publisher to make an original demand for reduced wages or increase of hours, and in that case the union could not present to the board a counter proposition for its consideration. To practically carry out this idea would require a half a dozen ambulatory boards traveling all over the country to hear in one case the union demands, and during the next month of the publishers' association. If it is desired to prevent the board of arbitration from considering all the facts in each case, this is a patent method of accomplishing unfair work, and of needlessly multiplying labor and effort, while keeping both parties in interest in frequent and unnecessary turmoil.

This ruling or interpretation, so-called, has been made by President Lynch, representing one of the parties to this agreement, while the commissioner has dissented therefrom in emphatic terms. In June, 1902, President Lynch agreed in writing with Mr. McCormick, the chairman of our special standing committee, after a conference on the subject, that whenever the two members of the national board of arbitration disagreed as to the interpretation of the terms of the contract, such difference should be arbitrated by the selection of a third arbitrator. Out of the many differences of interpretation which have arisen but one case has been arbitrated as provided.

In addition, I contend that even if the publisher had exceeded his rights under the contract in demanding to have arbitrated matters which were outside of the limitations imposed in said contract, the national arbitration board had power to hold each party within their proper limitations to consider only what was proper to be heard, and to make an award based on the evidence and pleadings.

In the same way the trouble at Spokane could have been avoided. Even if gross fraud was proven on the part of the local board, which I utterly deny, it was wholly within the power of the national board, when appeal and review were granted, to have ignored all that had previously transpired, and to begin anew from the inception of the union's demands. I made the proposition to President Lynch to join with me in selecting a third arbitrator, but he declined to do so unless I would consent to exclude consideration of the publishers' requests, and I regret to have to state he most grossly violated the express provision of the contract bearing his own signature and promise to the publisher that there should be no strike during the life of that contract.

Now, in view of this sad experience, you will all concede it would seem to be useless to make any amendments to the contract with parties who have heretofore broken it. The special standing committee is ready and willing at any time to take up with your executive council the consideration of whatever may seem to you as unequal or unfair in the arbitration agreement. The only assurance which would be convincing to the publishers that you would carry out your agreed part in any amended arrangements would be that you should respect the existing agreement and restore to the publishers of Seattle and Spokane the *statu quo* before the strike, and proceed with regularity under the terms of the existing contract to arbitrate and finally settle the differences existing in our offices in those two cities.

If you are indisposed or refuse to furnish such assurance the publishers certainly would look upon the prospect of your union keeping any amended agreement and faithfully observing its obligations as hopeless.

We regard the honor of your organization is at stake. Your union has the reputation of being one of the most conservative, honorable and intelligent of all the unions of the country. As it is one of the oldest unions its long experience should apparently, at least, have enabled it to acquire more wisdom than is possessed by many younger organizations. This wisdom should teach the lesson that it is extremely unwise to trifle with a sacred contract between two great organizations like ours, and that no violation of contract should be counte-

nanced by your convention in this crisis. The happiness and comfort of thousands of your members are involved in this issue, as to whether you will abide by or break your contracts. Any party who breaks contracts forfeits the confidence and good faith which previously reposed in him.

It remains for this convention to determine what path shall be pursued hereafter. If the straight path of carrying out our sacred obligations is followed, industrial peace with its numerous blessings will result. If the crooked path of broken contracts is to be pursued, the consequence will be deplored on every hand.

Finally, I can not urge you too strongly to adhere to the straight path, and thereby not only preserve the general estimation in which your organization is held, but also secure to your membership the greatest good to the greatest number.

The address was referred to the committee on arbitration. This committee submitted a report covering the entire matter at issue between the representative of the publishers' association and the executive council. The report of the committee is given below:

Your committee on arbitration respectfully presents the following for your consideration:

In the famous Spokane and Seattle cases, in which President Lynch is charged by Commissioner Driscoll with violation of the arbitration agreement, we find, after careful consideration of all evidence adduced:

That the publishers precipitated the trouble by a display of bad faith in the outset.

We believe the arbitration agreement was promulgated by honorable men, who were unable at its inception to see the loopholes through which an unfair publisher or union might take advantage of it.

We believe that the apparent bad faith of the above-mentioned publishers nullified the arbitration agreement as applied to them, and justified President Lynch and the executive council to take the course they pursued.

Commissioner Driscoll and President Lynch agree, and so does your committee, that the whole trouble arises over the lack of a code of procedure which shall define what and how any question or questions are to be arbitrated.

We hold that this code of procedure should be fixed only by the parties who conceived and promulgated the original arbitration agreement.

We submit that this agreement was effected without arbitration in its popular sense, and now that it has been discovered that the agreement is ineffective without a code of procedure,

we recommend that if the agreement is to live its acknowledged shortcomings shall be remedied as above set out.

We do not believe the arbitration agreement contemplated the arbitration of questions of International Typographical Union law, but should be confined only to questions over established wage scales and the new one proposed by the dissatisfied party.

The International Typographical Union law in existence at the inception of the arbitration agreement can not be arbitrated for the reason that only by referendum vote can it be receded from or altered. The International Typographical Union constitution and by-laws, like those of the United States government, represent what the members of this union believe to be principles that can not be arbitrated, and their arbitration was never contemplated. They are necessary to the life of the organization and must be maintained.

Commissioner Driscoll proposed to arbitrate with our president the questions presented in Spokane and Seattle, and to leave it to any third man that they may agree upon.

For reasons above set forth your committee is of the opinion that this can not be done.

The publishers there demanded the arbitration of matters prohibited by our laws, and therein violated the agreement, putting themselves beyond the pale of arbitration.

We assert that we believe in arbitration, but arbitration is only possible where parties in dispute approach the question in a fair and conciliatory manner.

We recommend that the convention endorse President Lynch and the executive council in pursuing the course they did pursue, believing that it was the only one open when the discovery was made that the publishers were not living up to the spirit of the contract.

President Lynch, in his supplementary report to the convention, referred to the matters touched upon by Commissioner Driscoll in his address. In order that the reader may have a full understanding of both sides of this controversy, so much of President Lynch's report as refers to the controversy with the publishers' association is included herewith:

Arbitration Developments — Recent happenings in connec-

tion with arbitration will be of interest. The typographical union in Seattle presented a revised scale, embracing an increase in the wage and a reduction in the hours. The proprietors wanted arbitration. The union was not unwilling; that is, not until the employers presented a counter proposition. Aside from the demand for the arbitration of a few laws, the reduction in scale, the increase in hours, the regulation of apprenticeship terms, etc., embraced in this counter proposition, there was a skilfully worded blanket paragraph under which almost anything might have been brought before the arbitration board. Communication was opened with headquarters. The International officers were of the opinion that if the arbitration agreement was to be jockeyed with generally it was time to take an unequivocal position. The Seattle Union was given some advice. No. 202 interviewed the employers and asked that the questions to go to the arbitration board be defined and agreed to. This was refused. The union then enforced its scale.

The Developments in Spokane — The scale of No. 193 was $4 and $4.50, seven and one-half hours. The union asked for $4.50 and $5. The chairman of the local board voted to increase the hours and decrease the scale. The union appealed to the national arbitration board, and in consequence I visited Spokane last month. The question of the illegality of the proceedings of the lower board, raised by No. 193, was reviewed by the national board. It was shown that the local chairman was in frequent consultation with the interested proprietor; that the union's representative was denied the right of attending these conferences; that certain telegrams asking as to living conditions in other cities were sent out from the office of the interested newspaper without the consent of the union's arbitrator, and that the replies to these telegrams, supporting, as was to be expected, the office contention, were submitted to the chairman of the arbitration board. Replying to this charge, the weak claim was made that these telegrams did not affect the final decision. Then to give the proceedings the necessary theatrical finish, the alleged award was written and signed by two of the arbitrators, and thus promulgated, without giving the union's representative on the board opportunity to discuss the terms of the written award, suggest a change or modification in these terms, or even protest again them. After the review by the two members of the national board of arbitration it was my decision that the interested newspaper proprietor had violated his arbi-

tration contract, and was therefore entitled to no further protection under it. The Spokane Union then enforced its revised scale of prices.

Meeting with A. N. P. A. Representatives — Ninety days prior to May 1, as required by the arbitration contract, the executive council prepared the following amendments to that document.

First. Amend section 8 of the arbitration agreement to read as follows:

Section 8. This agreement shall bind only those individual members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and local associations of publishers entering into the "contract" as herein set forth, and this contract shall not apply to disputes having their inception within sixty days after such agreement shall have been countersigned and guaranteed by the president of the International Typographical Union. The inception of a dispute is the date that notice is given of a desire in any way to change existing conditions.

Second. Amend section 15 so that the last paragraph but one shall read:

This contract shall date from ..... 190....

(This date to be the date of signature by the president of the International Typographical Union and continue to the first day of May, 1907, unless amended sooner by mutual consent.)

Omit date of signatures in last paragraph of contract.

Third. Amend section 1 by striking out all subsection "b."

In case amendment No. 3 fails to meet the approval of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the following alternative amendments are proposed:

Fourth. Amend subsection "a" of section 1 so that the proviso shall read:

Provided such publisher shall have made an agreement with said local union to arbitrate all differences that may arise under said verbal or written contract or contracts between said publisher and the local union, affecting union employes in said department or departments, if such differences can not be settled by conciliation.

Fifth. Amend subsection "b" of section 1 to read:

b. Such agreement with the local union may also provide that all disputes arising over scale provisions relating to wages and hours in renewing or extending contracts shall likewise be subject to arbitration under the provisions of this agreement, if such disputes can not be adjusted through conciliation.

Sixth. Amend section 2 to read:

Section 2. The International Typographical Union further agrees to arbitrate any and all differences that may arise in the mechanical departments of any newspaper, member of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, which shall enter into an agreement with the local unions to that effect; provided, etc.

Seventh. Amend section 15 so that the first paragraph and the first paragraph of the contract shall read:

Section 15. The form of contract to be entered into by the publisher and the local union shall be as follows:

Contract.

It is agreed between ..... publisher and proprietor of the ..... and ..... of ..... duly authorized to act in its behalf, party of the first part, and ..... Union, by ..... duly authorized to act as follows:

Eighth. The last paragraph of contract in section 15 to read as follows:

In witness whereof, the undersigned publisher(s) or proprietor(s) of said

newspaper and ..... representing ..... Union, have hereunto affixed their respective signatures in triplicate this ..... day of 190....

.....

Publisher(s) or Proprietor(s).

.....

On behalf of ..... Union No. .....

This contract is entered into by and with the consent of the International Typographical Union, and the International Typographical Union, through its authorized representative, hereby agrees to protect the party of the first part in case of violation of the agreement by the said party of the second part under the jurisdiction of said International Union.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this ..... day of .....

.....

President International Typographical Union.

In accordance with the action of the Cincinnati convention, the following apprenticeship plan was also submitted to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association:

To maintain the standard of our craft, to give apprentices an opportunity to become competent workmen within the term of their apprenticeship, and to give a guarantee to employers that some return will be made them for an effort to turn out skilled workmen, apprentices must be allowed to assist journeymen on all classes of work practicable, under the instructions of the journeymen or foreman, but they shall not be allowed to operate typesetting machines until the last three months of their apprenticeship and after they have become proficient in the other branches of the trade. Apprentices shall not be confined exclusively to proving galleys, distribution, or any other work requiring comparatively little skill for an undue length of time. The term of apprenticeship shall not be less than four years.

Subordinate unions shall make regulations limiting the number of apprentices that may be employed in an office to one apprentice for such number of journeymen as shall be just to the journeymen and enable the apprentice to receive proper instruction.

Apprentices, upon entering offices under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, shall be registered by local unions. A record shall be kept of such apprentices and a certificate issued to each, which certificate shall be presented to the union where application is made for membership as a journeymen, said certificate to be as follows:

CERTIFICATE OF APPRENTICESHIP
(International Typographical Union)

This is to certify that ..... has on this date entered the employ of ..... as an apprentice.

.....

Chairman of Office.

.....

Secretary Typographical Union No. ....

(Date.)

Rigid examination as to the competency of applicants for membership shall be made by a committee of the local union.

On Monday and Tuesday, July 27 and 28, 1903, the officers

of the International Typographical Union met the representatives of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in Chicago, and at this meeting our propositions were considered. The newspaper representatives agreed to the apprentice plan, but declined to accept the vital propositions affecting the arbitration agreement. This decision has been withheld temporarily in order to give this convention opportunity to consider further amendments or suggestions. If these are made by the convention they will be taken up and considered by the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The correspondence in connection with the Chicago meeting is embraced in an executive council document, and will be placed before the convention or the proper committee, if desired, as will also the documents relative to the events in Spokane and Seattle.

During the consideration of the committee's report, President Lynch replied at length to the charges made by Commissioner Driscoll in his address. He gave a detailed statement of the Spokane, Seattle and Minneapolis cases, pointing out that the interested publishers and not the International officers had been guilty of a breach of the arbitration agreement. The president insisted the International officers favored arbitration and that the publishers had not shown a disposition to be fair. The opinion was expressed that when the publishers understood that the International Union would not be imposed upon they would manifest a spirit of fairness and that the differences would be adjusted.

The report of the committee with its recommendation was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The convention then approved of the changes suggested by the executive council in the arbitration agreement.

During October following the Washington convention, representatives of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union met in New York for the consideration of the national

arbitration agreement between the organizations and for the purpose of preparing a code of procedure to govern future arbitration proceedings. After a full discussion of all the points involved, specifications and interpretations were prepared and a code of procedure adopted. The conclusions were reached unanimously and it was the opinion of the conferees that the action taken would result in a more harmonious relationship and a better understanding of the rights of both parties. After this business had been disposed of, it was unanimously decided that the disputes in Spokane and Seattle should be considered at a later conference to be held at Indianapolis. The points to be considered in the cases were determined, with the understanding that a decision would be reached by the joint committee consisting of three members of the executive council of the International Union and three members of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and without the aid of an umpire or seventh member. At the subsequent meeting, both the Seattle and Spokane cases were settled by the board on a basis quite satisfactory to both parties.

Code of Procedure — Following are the specifications, interpretations and code of procedure decided upon by the joint committee at the New York meeting:

Defining Matters Subject to Arbitration — 1. In determining and interpreting the provisions of subsection b, in section 1 of the arbitration agreement between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union, it is understood that hereafter only disputes arising over scale provisions relating to wages and hours shall be subject to arbitration.

2. In determining and interpreting the provisions of section 2 of the arbitration agreement between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union, it is understood that hereafter all matters affecting wages and hours shall be subject to arbitration: *Provided,* that local union laws not affecting wages and hours, and the laws of the International Typographical Union, shall not be subject to the provisions of the arbitration agreement: *Provided further,* that International and local laws enacted subsequent to the execution of an arbitration or a local contract shall not affect either contract during its life.

3. Whenever the members of the national board of arbitration shall disagree as to the interpretation of any part of the national arbitration agreement,

or as to this code of procedure, such disagreement shall then be referred for settlement to a joint conference consisting of the three members of the executive council of the International Typographical Union and the three members of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. If this joint body can not agree, it shall select a seventh member, or if it can not agree on one, then the selection of the seventh member shall be referred to the National Civic Federation. The decision of the arbitrator in either case shall be final and binding upon the joint conference and on the members of the national board of arbitration.

4. A form of certificate shall be prepared, and this certificate shall contain a statement that the office of the publisher desiring an arbitration contract is union in the department or departments to be covered by the contract; that there is at the time of execution of the certificate no issue pending between the publisher and the local union, nor a new scale or change of scale of prices under consideration by either party; and that therefore the full execution of the arbitration agreement is satisfactory to both parties. This certificate shall be signed by the president and secretary of the local union, with seal attached, and by the interested publisher, and forwarded by the latter, with his executed arbitration contract, to the commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and by the latter to the president of the International Typographical Union. If there is an issue pending, it shall be defined in the certificate and be considered exempt from arbitration, but as to all other matters the national arbitration agreement shall apply in the usual manner. No new issues shall be raised by either party until at least sixty days shall have elapsed from the date of signing the above certificate.

5. An issue is raised at the time a written request for a change of conditions is made by either party.

Local Arbitration — 6. Within thirty (30) days after a union has made a demand for a change of scale, or within sixty (60) days after a publisher has made such a demand, the two parties in interest must have a conference. A shorter period than above specified may be agreed to. At said conference the party on whom the original demand was made shall also have the right to present a proposition. This conference shall be one of conciliation, and every effort shall be made to agree upon the points of difference. The points upon which no agreement is reached shall be certified by both parties as questions in dispute to the national board of arbitration, which board shall determine the questions or subjects which can be properly submitted to arbitration. In case the two members of the national board can not agree, their differences shall be submitted to the joint conference for decision, and further procedure shall then be in accordance with the provisions of section 3 of this code.

7. After the questions to be arbitrated have been finally determined, and local arbitration has been agreed upon, and the local board selected, the said board shall proceed forthwith to conduct the hearing under the following rules:

8. The party making the original demand shall have the right to present its case and evidence without interruption, excepting that when oral evidence is introduced, cross-examination of witnesses shall be allowed. The opposing party shall have the same right in turn. The first party shall then have the right to present evidence strictly in rebuttal, and the opposing party shall be allowed to present counter-evidence strictly in surrebuttal.

9. In case of the inability of either side to present evidence at the moment, the order may be varied to the extent of allowing such evidence to be presented at such session as may be agreed upon by the parties to the contest or as may be ordered by a majority of the local board of arbitration. No evidence shall be received or considered that was not presented at a regular open session of the board.

10. Oral argument shall be limited to one speech on each side, after all evidence has been presented. Written pleadings instead of oral arguments shall be allowed whenever agreed upon by the parties to the contest or whenever ordered by a majority of the local board of arbitration.

11. There shall be an agreement by at least a majority of the members of the board as to the exact times and places of hearing, of which both parties shall be notified in season. The sessions shall be continuous, except for necessary intermissions, until the hearing is concluded.

12. The chairman of the board, or umpire, shall not privately confer, directly or indirectly, on the matter at arbitration with either or any of the parties at interest, from the time of his appointment until the formulated award has been duly signed by the board or a majority thereof. It shall be allowable for all the members of the board in any case to visit together any office to see the operation of labor therein or for any other laudable purpose to aid in arriving at a just decision providing such action is agreed to by all members of the board. Any violation of the provisions of this section shall invalidate the decision and proceedings shall begin anew.

13. When said hearing is concluded, the board shall, without unnecessary delay, go into executive session, from which all persons except the members of the board shall be excluded, for the determination of its award. The award of the board must be formulated and signed by at least two members thereof, at a regular executive session, after there has been full opportunity for consideration and discussion, due notice in writing of such session having previously been given to each member. Any violation of the foregoing provisions shall invalidate the award and proceedings shall begin anew. If any member of the board dissents from the award, and wishes to file a dissenting opinion, he shall give immediate notice to that effect, and shall, within forty-eight hours after the award has been decided upon, and before it has been promulgated, formulate his reasons for dissenting, and such opinion must be signed by him before final adjournment at a regular executive session, of which due notice in writing shall have previously been given to each member. Such dissenting opinion, when thus signed, must be attached to the award.

14. The board shall not be compelled to set forth its reasons for making the award, and may only do so in the written award. In framing its award the findings shall be expressed in detail, to the end that no misunderstanding shall afterward occur.

15. All expenses of the local arbitration board shall be divided equally between the union and the publishers. On the demand of either party the board shall employ a competent stenographer to report the proceedings, and the transcript of such report shall be accepted as the best evidence of what occurred at such hearing, unless it can be shown that gross errors exist in the said transcript.

The National Board — 16. So far as they are applicable, the foregoing rules of procedure for the local arbitration board shall govern the national board of arbitration, in addition to the rules comprised in section 14 of the national agreement. In case of any conflict between the two sets of rules, the provisions of said section 14 of the national agreement shall prevail.

17. Should it be alleged against either party to a local arbitration under the national agreement, that it has omitted to perform any duty prescribed therein, or attempted to evade any of these rules, or has secured any unfair or fraudulent advantage, it shall be the duty of the national board of arbitration to proceed without delay to the locality affected, and consider the case in conformity with the rules provided by this code and the national agreement. Should a majority of the board determine, after a fair and impartial hearing, that evasion, neglect, collusion or fraud has characterized the previous proceedings, it shall be wholly within its power to commence anew in any case, and reject all that

has been previously done; or it may find against the offending party, or annul the arbitration contract.

18. In the absence of a local agreement to the contrary, all awards of the national board shall be for at least one year.

19. These rules and this code may be amended at any time by the joint action of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the executive council of the International Typographical Union.

20. These stipulations and the code of procedure as hereinbefore set forth, are hereby ratified and confirmed this the eighth day of October, 1903, by the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the executive council of the International Typographical Union, and it is agreed that hereafter the national arbitration agreement shall be interpreted in accordance herewith.

[A comparison of the code and rules with the report of President Lynch, covering the Seattle and Spokane cases, will show that every contention he made was recognized, and the code and rules designed to prevent their recurrence.—Ed.]

ALLIED TRADES AGREEMENT RATIFIED

A meeting of representatives of the parties to the agreement between the international unions of the printing trades was held at International headquarters at Indianapolis, Ind., on January 29th, 1904. A temporary organization was effected and the agreement previously adopted by the organizations interested was ratified as a whole and declared effective on and after the above date.

Pursuant to section 1 of the agreement, the following were designated as representatives of their respective organizations on the joint board of appeals: International Typographical Union, James M. Lynch, J. W. Bramwood, Hugo Miller; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Theodore F. Galoskowsky; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Edward W. Tatem; International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, James J. Freel. The joint board of appeals was permanently organized by the election of Theodore F. Galoskowsky as president; James J. Freel, vice-president, and J. W. Bramwood, secretary-treasurer.

It was decided that upon application the photo engravers' unions, when amalgamated, should become a party to the agreement, after being granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor. Provision was made for

the creation and maintenance of a fund of $200 to meet the incidental expenses of the board. A resolution was adopted making the rules governing the joint board of appeals a part of the agreement. These rules provided that the representatives should vote for and bind their unions; specified the manner of making appeals to the joint board by local councils; provided for arbitration in event of dissatisfaction with the verdict of the joint board; for naming the date and place of the annual meeting, at which time the officers were to be elected, and for the filling of vacancies occurring between the annual meetings; gave members of the board the privilege of delegating power to proxies; declared that labels should be procured from the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union and that any infraction of the last-named rule should be cause for dissolution of the offending council.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

In his annual report to the convention President Lynch referred to the Los Angeles Times affair. He said that through the columns of the Typographical Journal the membership had been made aware, step by step, of the progress made in the contest. Referring to the propositions submitted by the Cincinnati convention to levy an assessment of 5 cents per member per month for a period of one year for the benefit of Los Angeles Union, the president said this was a magnificent endorsement of the contest which the International Typographical Union in conjunction with No. 174 was making against the Times and that it was a most emphatic answer to the editorials printed in the Times vilifying and traducing trade unions and their officials and the efforts made by the Times literary bureau to prejudice the membership against the assessment proposition. As a matter of fact the union in

self-defense was compelled to take up the gauntlet that the Los Angeles Times threw down.

A special committee appointed to investigate the progress of the Times contest reported having carefully scrutinized the work from the documents available and from the information furnished by Mr. Arthur A. Hay, the special representative of the International Typographical Union in Los Angeles, and Mr. T. D. Fennessy, delegate from Los Angeles Typographical Union, and reported that every possible effort had been made to record another victory for the organization.

Mr. Hay was introduced to the convention and fully explained the progress of the contest, showing what had been accomplished in a few months, and urged favorable action by the convention on the proposition to continue the assessment. Mr. Fennessy supplemented the remarks of Mr. Hay in a most convincing manner and assured the delegates that his union was grateful for the support given it.

In making his verbal report Mr. Hay announced that "Tip" Hoy, of Washington, D. C., had contributed $25 to the Times fund and had promised to make it $100.

[Mr. Hoy for many years was the proprietor of a well-known printer hostelry in Washington, D. C., and his name and fame as a friend of union printers is still remembered throughout the entire jurisdiction.—Ed.]

The convention endorsed the work of the International representative at Los Angeles and the manner in which the contest had been carried on and it was ordered that the work undertaken be continued and that ample funds be provided.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

The committee on the eight-hour day presented a report congratulating the president and the executive council on the large number of unions that had secured or partially secured the eight-hour day the preceding year and it was

urged upon all local unions and eight-hour committees to put forth the greatest efforts during the coming year. It was announced that a large number of local unions had failed to report their status on the eight-hour question on the blanks that had been furnished them requesting such information and the committee urged all unions to take a more active interest and lend greater support to the executive officers. It was recommended and urged upon delegates at the convention to incorporate in their reports a statement of the progress the eight-hour day had made during the preceding year and to use their best endeavors to have their local union inaugurate the movement without delay in such places as the matter had not been taken up.

HATS OFF TO THE PRINTERS

During the convention week the Washington Post, under date of August 10, published an editorial with the above caption. By order of the convention, the editorial was read to the delegates by the secretary and ordered to be printed in the Typographical Journal. It follows:

Here is where we all take off our hats. We are accustomed to the great officials, the accidents of fortune, the wealthy, the aristocratic, and all the rest of it, and we easily know each one of them for what he really is. But when the typos come to town and gather together in convention we realize that we are in the presence of the most potent force of civilization—of the chosen representatives of the craft which for centuries has led all others in the dissemination of knowledge and the exaltation of mankind.

Without them the teachers of the ages would have taught in vain; the dreams of philosophers would have vanished with the tapers that burned for their meditations; Luther, Shakespeare, Gœthe, Wesley, Swedenborg, Newton, Jenner, Stephenson, Rousseau would be unknown beyond a narrow and jealous circle; the Dark Ages would still brood over the human race, and ignorance and fear and superstition hold us in degrading bondage. They have been the pioneers of the army of human progress and emancipation. Through them the thoughts, the precepts, the inspirations of the captains have reached the rank and file. Their hands have held the torches of illumination in whose radiance the mind of man has quickened from its swoon. They are the agency of the moral and intellectual growth which has lifted the world out of savagery and given it to reason and to truth.

Printing is the science of all sciences, the art of all arts, for it has opened the fair land of opportunity to the untold millions and destroyed the cruel monopoly of the few. Since its discovery and practical application mankind has experienced more blessings, greater enlightenment, larger happiness, truer

liberty than had come to it with the blind gropings and the voiceless aspirations of the countless centuries preceding. To that art, science, craft—call it what you will—the race owes its rescue from the blight of barbarism. For those who have practiced it from the beginning to the present day no monument of human gratitude would be high enough.

The average individual seldom considers this aspect of the case. He is so used to the fruits of the beneficent civilization made possible by the printer's art that he has come to take it all for granted. But the rulers, the writers, the public men of our day are conscious of a keener obligation, a far closer intimacy. It is not only that the types enable them to communicate their thoughts to others and to impress themselves upon the age; it is that the typo is their guide, philosopher, and friend besides. Speaking for those who write for publication, we make grateful acknowledgment of that debt. Since the first type was set, those centuries ago, the printer has known the maker of the manuscript as no one—not even the wife of his bosom—knew him; known his faults, his virtues, his weakness, and his strength; penetrated his secret purpose, unveiled his hypocrisies, perceived his errors, shams and subterfuges. To delude the reading public is not impossible. To delude the typo is beyond hope of the most subtle humbug. The man at the case feels, as none other can, the beat of the loyal, kindly heart. He detects, with equal certainty, the false ring of the counterfeit. To know what the printers of that day thought of Dean Swift's alternations of mawkish sentiment and passionate ferocity; of Doctor Johnson's solemn reverberations; of Congreve's sprightly wit, and Charles Lamb's buoyant persiflage—to know this would be to know far more than any human being knows and to be wiser than any one alive.

But here are the typos of our generation, assembled now in Washington, and to them, as the finished representatives of the printing art in its last and best development, we wish to pay the tribute of our sincere appreciation and respect. To tell the story of what this writer or that, or of what this public man or that, owes to their patience, their understanding, their sympathy, and their enlightened appraisement would be to exhaust the space this morning at our disposal, and then be at the threshold of the undertaking. Enough to say. All hail, and thanks!

Officers, 1904-1905 — At the biennial election held in May, 1904, the following officers were selected for the two-year period, beginning November 1, 1904: President, James M. Lynch, Syracuse; first vice-president, John W. Hays, Minneapolis; second vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; third vice-president, James J. Mulcahy, St. Louis; fourth vice-president, E. J. Bracken, Columbus, Ohio; fifth vice-president, P. G. Nuernberger, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Bramwood, Denver. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—James M. Lynch (president), Syracuse; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland; Frank Morrison, Chicago; Frank Foster, Boston; Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee. Trustees Union Printers Home—

James M. Lynch, Syracuse; J. W. Bramwood, Denver; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs; Thomas F. Crowley, Cincinnati; W. J. White, San Francisco; L. C. Shepard, Chicago; H. H. Rogers, Chicago. Agent—William Kennedy, Chicago.

Convention at St. Louis

[1904] — The fiftieth session of the International Typographical Union was called to order by Chairman M. R. H. Witter of the arrangements committee of St. Louis Union No. 8, in Convention Hall, World's Fair Grounds, on Monday, August 8, 1904. Rev. Dean Carroll M. Davis invoked the divine blessing on the proceedings of the convention and President Joseph A. Jackson, of St. Louis Union, together with Chairman Witter, welcomed the delegates and visitors to the World's Fair city. Mr. Witter presented the International president with a handsome union-made gavel on behalf of the local body. President Lynch returned thanks briefly, and declared the convention open for business.

Secretary Bramwood reported that the credentials of 264 delegates, representing 211 unions, were regular and that those presented by four others were defective in that the unions had not held their elections according to law. An attempt was made to pass a motion allowing the privileges of the floor to ex-delegates, but this was ruled out of order by the president.

A resolution of greeting to the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, then in session in St. Louis, and extending to that body an invitation to attend the sessions of the International Typographical Union, was adopted.

E. E. Gessler, delegate from Manila, P. I., presented President Lynch with a handsome gavel and sounding

board made from a rare quality of hardwood found only in the Philippine Islands.

REVIEW OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

In volume and in number of subjects treated the officers' reports submitted to the St. Louis convention were more comprehensive and contained more information relative to the interests of the membership than any documents of like nature ever offered at a previous convention. President Lynch touched upon the industrial disturbances that had occurred during the year, declaring them to be of an even more turbulent nature than the year preceding, and said that the opposition to union labor by employers' associations had been still more pronounced. This statement was made in order that the membership might be reminded of the dangers existing to the end that the policy and methods of the International Typographical Union should be dictated by wisdom, prudence and forethought. Continuing on this subject the president said:

> We should be careful not to expose ourselves to attack, and every movement that we design for the betterment of the conditions that surround us should be capable of justification to the world. At the same time there can be no relaxation in the forward movement. We must continue to organize, continue to uplift, continue the agitation for reasonable hours and fair wages, and persevere in the task of making our great union the ideal workingmen's organization. Not forgetting the rights of others and our obligations to society, at the same time let us ever bear in mind our rights and the obligations we owe to those dependent on us. Mindful of our present interests, there should not be forgetfulness of the future generations, and we should so build that the structure we are rearing may be both of present service and enduring character.

Strikes — Following this the International executive referred to the three notable strikes of the year: "Their loss is to be regretted, but they teach valuable lessons,

which should be studied and remembered." The strike of the typefounders was almost unavoidable and its loss was due mainly to treachery by members. The president referred to the strikes in Boston and Louisville and asserted that they were in defiance of International law and the advice of the International officers and that their failure had done much harm to the local and International organizations. The lack of funds had not caused their loss. Had the prospects for success warranted the expenditure, funds would have been provided by the executive council. The local officers in each case acknowledged defeat. In this connection, President Lynch said:

> If the law is not strong enough and explicit enough to prevent unauthorized strikes, then change should be made, and injunction should be laid on the International officers, wherever a strike occurs without sanction from the council, to immediately disavow the act of the local union and to guarantee protection to such members as remain at or return to work. In both Boston and Louisville, after the unauthorized strikes had taken place, the council was practically powerless. If these strikes had been terminated by the council, the charge would have been made that but for International interference victory was assured. These affairs are more to be deplored when it is remembered that the International officers were and are firmly of the opinion that had the law been observed and negotiations continued, satisfactory settlements would have been forthcoming.

Turning to the brighter side, the president referred to the progress made during the fiscal year and said that the victories of the organization demonstrated that the International Typographical Union occupied a higher and more advanced position on May 31, 1904, than it had occupied on the same date in 1903.

Eight-Hour Day — Under the caption, "The Eight-Hour Day," President Lynch had this to say:

> The eight-hour day subject will not grow old until the inauguration of the eight-hour day is itself an event of the past, rather than something that must yet be brought about. A

suggestion has been made to the effect that many of our members do not thoroughly appreciate the benefits that will be derived by reason of the reduction in hours contemplated by the eight-hour movement. If this is true—and it is beyond belief—then a great object lesson has not been taken advantage of, the betterment of conditions because of the enforcement of the nine-hour day. * * * If our members do not appreciate the benefits that will follow the eight-hour day, if they are not alive to their interests, if they will not arise to the duty of the hour, then they must assume the responsibility that attaches to the crime of keeping the International Typographical Union in the rear of the great progress that is being made by the industrial army.

Following this came a statement of the conference held on the subject of the eight-hour day with the committee of the United Typothetæ. The president declared that the answer received from the typothetæ was not unexpected. It was contained in these resolutions:

WHEREAS the International Typographical Union has asked the United Typothetæ of America to declare its position upon the proposed eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS under existing conditions any attempt to reduce the hours of labor in the printing trade would be disastrous to the employer and employe alike; be it

Resolved, That the United Typothetæ of America declares that it is opposed to any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week; and, be it further

Resolved, That the United Typothetæ of America will resist any attempt on the part of the International Typographical Union to reduce the present hours of labor.

It had been asserted by some employers that the International Union was bound by the Syracuse agreement, but a reading of the agreement referred to, made in 1898, would seem to demonstrate conclusively the lack of basis for the statement made by the typothetæ. The agreement only specified the days on which the nine and one-half and nine-hour day should become effective.

Boston and Louisville Strikes — The correspondence

between the officers of the Boston and Louisville unions and executive officers of the International, as well as the reports of the organizers sent to assist the officers of the last-named union in effecting a settlement of the controversy, was presented to the delegates by the president. The basis of settlement of the Boston strike, as given in the Journal, was quoted, and in reply to the open shop criticism in this regard, President Lynch said:

The council has been criticized for the Boston settlement, and it is claimed that because of that settlement open offices were established in Boston. As a matter of fact, open offices have existed in Boston for years and years. The large number of female compositors outside of the union, and the hitherto unsolved problem of how to induce them to affiliate with the union has made open offices in Boston an insurmountable obstacle. The agreement presented by No. 13 to the Boston Typothetæ, prior to the strike, did not provide for union offices. During the strike a very large number of women remained at work in the offices affected. It is also a fact that the local committee urged the council to accept the proposition that was finally agreed to, and that two of the members of this committee, officers of the union, coupled with this insistence the declaration that if the council left Boston without effecting a settlement disaster and ruin would follow.

The council, after its Boston investigation, was confirmed in its opinion that had the advice given in its telegram of January 30 been followed, and in the event of non-agreement, an International officer given an opportunity to take up the negotiations, that a strike would not have resulted. The council is also of the opinion that had its negotiations taken place with the union members at work in the offices, instead of on strike—the condition that faced the council—a much better settlement would have been possible.

Arbitration — Referring to the arbitration agreement, President Lynch said that following the adoption of the code of procedure the relations between the International Union and the publishers' association under the agreement had been most cordial and the arbitration cases had been

conducted and completed harmoniously and satisfactorily. In using the word "satisfactorily," it was not meant that in the few cases where the verdict had not been favorable to local unions, these unions had been wholly contented. The main point was, however, that the arbitration agreement had preserved peace and whether the verdict had been in favor of the union or the publishers, work continued, and strikes, friction and disaster had been averted. The continuance of such relations with the majority of the great newspapers of the country was worth while and it was pointed out that when the cases that had been won were taken together with those lost, and the results averaged up, it would be found that the union was steadily making progress. A list of the cases settled by the national board of arbitration was given in the report. It showed substantial gains for the unions in almost every instance.

Organization — On the subject of "Organization," the president said that more attention had been devoted to strengthening the unions already in existence than in forming new ones and the effect of this work was shown by the total gain in membership during the year. The greater portion of the work done by the organizers was in settling disputes between employers and unions and only on rare occasions had these officers been sent out for the sole purpose of forming new unions. It had been the president's aim to retain the experienced organizers and none had been removed. It was thought that the system of permanent organizers had worked for the benefit of the International Union and this statement was backed up by statistics showing the results of the work done by the organizers. Commenting on the open shop, President Lynch observed:

If the International Typographical Union had been willing to recognize the open shop, a working agreement with the

United Typothetæ of America would now be in effect. Failure to perfect such a contract was due almost solely to the desire of the employers' committee to incorporate the open office provision in the proposed agreement. Our union may properly be termed the originator of the strictly union office. This requirement has been a leading feature for all of fifty years. For the greater part of that time, the union office rule attracted little attention from the public, but recent events have given what is now termed "the closed shop" a prominent place in public discussion. At the October meeting, under the auspices of the Civic Federation in Chicago, the "closed shop" topic occupied a conspicuous place in the deliberations. The trade union is a labor trust, but it is a combination for the benefit of the many rather than the few. Membership in our International Union is open to every competent printer of good character. Possessing this membership, the "closed office" is no longer closed. We never have tried to create a close corporation. On the contrary, the effort has been to seek out all journeymen printers worthy of the title, and induce them to affiliate. Lack of opportunities to labor, or their plentitude, has made no difference. One job and fifty applicants, all an equal chance, with the only requirement union membership, which in its turn means that there shall be no cutting under the established wage, the living rate, by any applicant of the fifty. With such a fair field, the closed shop loses many, if not all, of the terrors for the wage-earner that its enemies seek to ascribe to it. There remains the charge that the unions compel the employer to accept, with the union office, rules that are obnoxious. Perhaps this is true so far as some employers are concerned. But any rules, almost any wage, are obnoxious to the individual whose one aim in life is profit. The workers have a right to prescribe the conditions under which they will sell their labor, and where these conditions are acceptable to 90 per cent of the employers in a given trade, they must have good reason for their existence. We have had large experience with the open and closed office question, and it has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the strict union requirement is necessary if satisfactory and amicable relations are to be maintained, and the union live. Let our critics remember that we aim to meet conditions as they exist, and that our union enactments are founded on necessity and not on theory.

Considered as a body, the only free wage-earners today are those who hold union membership. The rest have as a class or individually absolutely nothing to say in the disposition of the only commodity they have for sale—labor. It is well enough for the anti-unionist to shout freedom of contract. But is there any freedom of contract for the individual? Is it not a fact that it is the purchaser who sets the price, and that this price is arbitrary, final, brutal in its conception, selfish in its application? Work made a prize for the needy, dangled before their wants, in order that traffic may be made in misery, and a job knocked down to the lowest bidder. Is it not better that the wage-earner should pool his labor, and then sell it through the collective method, rather than that labor should be made the sport of the man who can buy? The cry against the closed shop is raised because it involves a feature of trade-union policy difficult for the inexperienced to grasp, analyze and understand. Employers believe if the open shop can be established there will be speedy end to trade unionism. Once open the way for elimination of the man with a price on his labor, and his place will be quickly taken by the man with labor to sell at any price. The International Typographical Union has gone through it all. It knows the value of the closed shop. It realizes the necessity for collective bargaining. As soon as the reasons underlying the demand for the union office are more generally understood, the critics will without doubt make their attacks in another direction. Let the criticism come. It all advertises trade unionism. And in the meantime we will continue to organize the printers and unionize offices.

Label — The president said that nothing was of greater service to local unions than the label and added: "It is a source of regret that after all the label propaganda there is not a more general demand for union-made commodities."

Beneficial Features — The president again presented that portion of his report to the Washington convention concerning the value to the organization of benefit features, such as out-of-work, insurance, etc., "in the hope that in the near future the greater percentage of the

membership might be brought to a realization of their value." Under the heading "Laws Should be Consistent," the president said:

The Washington convention adopted and the referendum approved this amendment to the constitution, and it now appears in section 1, article ii:

"But nothing shall be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices." There are a number of general laws enacted prior to the approval by the membership of the amendment quoted that are inconsistent with it. If the declaration is to remain our enactments should conform with it, and with other changes in our laws that will be suggested by the International officers will go to a list of the statutes that it is believed are related "to the internal affairs of printing offices."

The elimination of these laws will make drastic changes in many hitherto accepted policies. Inasmuch as general laws are subject to final action by the convention, this is a feature of the convention work that will require special consideration by the delegates.

The Union Printers Home, the Los Angeles Times fight, finances, the unionizing of Philadelphia were among the other subjects noted in succession in the report of the president, who concluded by congratulating the membership on the reputation, strength and usefulness of the International Typographical Union.

The several vice-presidents submitted reports covering activities in the affiliated trades during the year.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Hugo Miller, of the Typographia, reported quite a successful year, noting increases in wages and improved conditions in various points in the jurisdiction. The financial affairs of the German branch as usual were found to be in excellent shape, the general fund containing $22.80 per capita, notwithstanding the fact that the out-of-work benefits had been increased $1 per week. The Typographia still continued its fight against the Philadelphia Demokrat, the

only German printing office of any consequence outside the union fold at that time.

Mailers — Vice-President Mulcahy, of the mailers' branch, reported that his union had gained recognition in Louisville and Indianapolis during the year. Also a new union had been organized in Des Moines and the local at Buffalo, N. Y., was reorganized.

Newswriters — Fourth Vice-President Bracken reported a slight improvement in the newspaper writers' branch during the year, and said:

> The newspaper writers will be of immense value to the labor movement in general, and the printing crafts in particular, when by association with the trained unionists of the mechanical part of the trade they acquire a correct knowledge of the aims and objects of organized labor, and with intelligent sympathy for the cause will write the truth, and thus disperse the false conception in the public mind that often leads it to espouse the cause of the union oppressor and condemn the oppressed.

Typefounders — The fifth vice-president, representing the typefounders, devoted his report entirely to detailing the efforts made by the International Union officers to bring about an amicable settlement of the typefounders' strike. He acknowledged valuable assistance rendered by the executive council and the organizers and spoke of the appreciation of the typefounders for the valuable aid given by several of the subordinate unions during the struggle.

Secretary's Report — Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood, as had been his custom before, presented a summary of the financial transactions of the International Union in brief form, though complete in detail. It showed that the total receipts of the executive council and joint defense fund for the year, including the balance from the previous twelve months, were $75,921.64, and the expenditures $73,420.26, leaving a balance to the credit of the fund of $2,501.38.

The secretary-treasurer reported that the membership of the International had increased more rapidly during the fiscal year than in any period in its history, except the fiscal year of 1902-1903, due mainly to more thorough organization by the unions already established. While the withdrawal of the photo engravers had affected the total membership in a minor way, the greatest gains were made after the date of their retirement—January 1, 1904. The total number of members upon whom per capita tax was paid during the first seven months of the year was 45,500, while during the last five months of the fiscal year per capita tax payments had been made upon 47,095 members, making the average paying membership for the year 46,165. The increase in membership from 1891 to the close of the fiscal year was shown in tabular form.

Sixty unions, with a total membership of 766, were chartered during the year; forty-one unions, with 640 members, surrendered their charters; the charters of twenty-five unions, having a total membership of 298, were suspended and one charter was revoked, but the union was at once reorganized. The total number of local unions—692—at the close of the fiscal year was seven less than at the same time the previous year.

For the purpose of comparison, the secretary-treasurer submitted a tabulated summary of the receipts and expenditures of the International Union from 1891 to 1904, as follows:

Notwithstanding that the burial benefit had been increased to $70 at the beginning of the year, the receipts of the burial fund exceeded the expenditures. The secretary presented a table showing the total number (5,549) and amount ($328,305) of benefits paid since the establishment of the fund in 1892. The total number of deaths during the fiscal year was 578, the average age at death being 45.5 years. The table giving the age and cause of

death and the number of deaths at certain ages was a feature of this section of the report.

During the year the secretary-treasurer transferred to the Home fund the sum of $55,670, being its share of the per capita tax. The new law providing that 5 cents of the total per capita tax collected from each member monthly should be credited to the special defense fund became effective on January 1, 1904, the receipts from which, to May 31, 1904, amounted to $9,622.95, and that amount stood to the credit of the fund, there being no expenditures up to the time the report was filed.

YEAR	RECEIPTS	EXPENDITURES
1891	$53,483.50	$57,296.26
1892	113,134.49	112,118.22
1893	127,764.14	120,984.95
1894	119,051.33	108,960.92
1895	92,902.66	89,650.72
1896	95,042.90	93,210.08
1897	110,519.53	125,162.97
1898	113,163.79	111,978.02
1899	128,436.70	*135,762.54
1900	177,484.79	185,033.57
1901	138,631.67	118,347.54
1902	151,141.23	145,760.31
1903	185,183.08	174,085.33
1904	240,005.00	252,817.38
Total	$1,845,944.81	†$1,831,168.81

* Embraces loss in Indianapolis National Bank, $19,955.98.

† Includes sum transferred to treasurer Union Printers Home, $476,505.33.

A statement of the Los Angeles assessment fund showed that the secretary-treasurer received from January 1, 1903, to May 31, 1904, $26,350.11 and transferred to the union at that place, $24,185.31. Including $2,500 drawn by Los Angeles Union before this assessment was decided upon, that local had received from the International Union during the two fiscal years a total of $26,685.31.

Regarding a bond investment, the secretary-treasurer said:

Three years have elapsed since the first of the bonds now held were bought. The first, second and third purchases were

composed of ten one-thousand-dollar 2 per cent United States bonds. In this fiscal year another purchase of fifteen bonds of the same character was made. The aggregate sum paid for the forty-five bonds was $48,525. Shortly after the last bonds were acquired, our typefounder members became involved in a strike. The large number of men on the roll soon made it necessary to convert some of our bonds into cash, and before the strike was finished fifteen bonds had been sold for $15,918.75. Thus the investment was reduced to $32,606.25. On these bonds the sum of $1,300 has been received, $800 being credited as interest, and $500 against the investment, reducing it to the present figures—$32.106.25. The bonds will be at par when they mature, hence it is necessary to charge a portion of the interest received against the investment, in order to reduce the investment to the exact face of the bonds by the date of maturity.

The receipts of the Typographical Journal fund for the fiscal year were $31,316.78, and the expenditures $28,511.75. The members of the union were again urged by the editor to patronize the Journal and to help to increase its efficiency.

In reference to the cost of publication of the annual scale report, Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood said:

Among the expenditures of this year will be noted an item of $1,255.59 for the printing and distributing of the scale report issued as a supplement to the Journal of February, 1904. It has been my privilege on four occasions, assisted by local secretaries, to gather data relative to the wages received and hours worked by members of our organization, together with statistics regarding the machines in use, the number of operators, etc., under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union. The information thus obtained was compiled and published by your secretary-treasurer in the shape of four separate reports, the first appearing February 15, 1898, the second June 1, 1901, the third May 1, 1902, and the last in February, 1904. Each report has been more complete than its predecessor, the last one comprising returns from 619 cities and 627 unions. These reports are valuable not merely because they show the increases in local scales and the reduction in hours of labor; they awaken apathetic unions to the opportunities before them and lead to additional progress in this direction.

Our laws provide for the annual compilation of these statistics, and the publication thereof in the official paper. The wisdom of the latter regulation has been frequently attacked during the year. It is claimed that the printing of such data in the Journal not only saves the employing printers the cost of gathering the figures, but places in their hands a potent weapon with which to combat the efforts of local unions for further increases in wages or reduction in hours. Those holding to this idea advocate the confining of its distribution to the members of subordinate unions, which can not be done as long as the present plan is followed. Your secretary-treasurer does not care to discuss the merits of these claims at this time, but the subject is worthy of the attention of the convention. While the preparation of such statistics adds to the work of the secretary-treasurer, and imposes additional duties upon local secretaries, the value of the information thus afforded more than justifies the effort necessary to its compilation.

Two of the leading features of the secretary-treasurer's report were the tabulated statements under the heading "Receipts From and Benefits Drawn by Local Unions" and "Our Subordinate Unions—Finances and Membership."

These reports showed the exact amount received from each subordinate union and to what funds amounts received had been credited, also the exact amount expended from these funds for the benefit of each subordinate union.

Twenty-five strikes occurred during the year in which 674 members of twenty-eight local unions were involved. The number of men who returned to work when a settlement was reached was 481, while 141 were displaced, 52 being involved in the pending disputes at the time the report was filed. The strikes in Boston and Louisville were not included in the statement as they were undertaken without the sanction of the International Union.

CHANGES IN THE LAWS

Six constitutional amendments were submitted to the referendum by the convention.

The first proposition was to amend section 1, article ii, of the constitution by striking out the words "but nothing shall be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices."

In order that the reader may fully understand the importance and grasp the real meaning of this proposition, it is necessary to present a résumé of the events leading up to its adoption by the convention and presentation to the membership.

At the Washington session in 1903, section 1, article ii, of the International constitution, was amended to read as follows:

> The International Typographical Union may enact and enforce laws for its government and that of subordinate unions and members thereof throughout its jurisdiction (but nothing shall be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices).

The words in parentheses constituted the amendment. This change in the laws was submitted to the referendum and ratified by a vote of 16,884 for; 3,829 against.

The new law became effective January 1, 1904. When this amendment was enacted nothing was done toward harmonizing the law with sections 95, 96, 97, 102 and 103 of the general laws, which related specifically "to the internal affairs of printing offices." Article xviii of the constitution declared that "all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this constitution are hereby repealed or changed in accordance therewith, and the secretary-treasurer is hereby authorized to make necessary changes." Had the secretary-treasurer exercised this authority in compiling the book of laws for 1904, it would have been necessary for him to have eliminated a portion of section 95, and sections 96, 97, 102 and 103 of the general laws, because they were in conflict with section 1, article ii, of the constitution, as last amended. The situation was care-

fully considered. Realizing the importance of the general laws in conflict with the constitution, and thinking that the effect of the constitutional amendment adopted by the membership might not have been thoroughly understood, the secretary-treasurer, after consultation with the other members of the executive council, decided to leave the sections in question in the book of laws, and to call the matter to the attention of the next convention. The executive council therefore presented to the St. Louis session the following:

Proposition No. 13—By the executive council:

The repeal of the following general laws, which appear to be in conflict with that portion of section 1, article ii, constitution, which declares that "nothing shall be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices:"

That portion of section 95 reading "such decrease to be accomplished by discharging first the person or persons last employed either as regular employes or as extra employes, as the exigencies of the matter may require. Should there be an increase in the force within sixty days after a decrease, the person or persons displaced through such cause shall be reinstated in the order in which they were discharged before other help may be employed." And "persons considered capable as substitutes by foremen shall be deemed competent to fill regular situations, and shall be given preference in the filling of vacancies in the regular force." Balance of section to remain as at present.

Section 96.

Section 97.

Section 102.

Section 103.

NOTE—The council, in compiling the above, desires to bring the general subject before the convention, as explained in the following section of the report of the International president:

"LAWS MUST BE CONSISTENT."

"The Washington convention adopted and the referendum approved this amendment to the constitution, and it now appears in section 1, article ii: 'But nothing shall be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices.' There are a number of general laws, enacted prior to the approval by the membership

of the amendment quoted, that are inconsistent with it. If the declaration is to remain, our enactments should conform with it, and with other changes in our laws that will be suggested by the International officers will go a list of the statutes that it is believed are related 'to the internal affairs of printing offices.' The elimination of these laws will make drastic changes in many hitherto accepted policies. Inasmuch as general laws are subject to final action by the convention, this is a feature of the convention work that will require especial consideration by the delegates." The referendum voted on the proposition to amend the constitution as follows: For, 16,884; against, 3,829; majority for, 13,055.

The committee on laws submitted a favorable report, and a general debate was had on this question. It was claimed by many delegates that the membership had not voted intelligently upon the constitutional amendment submitted by the Washington convention. The members of the executive council maintained that a conflict existed between the constitution and general laws, and urged the adoption of legislation tending to harmonize them.

It seemed that a large number of the delegates favored the retention of the general laws. Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood took the position that if the general laws under consideration were to be retained, the constitutional provision in conflict therewith should be eliminated, and that the International Union should not by law require the secretary-treasurer to do what its delegates declined to do.

After further debate, Delegate Athey, of Portland, Ore., moved to amend proposition 13, by substituting therefor the following:

In article ii, section 1, of the constitution, strike out the words "but nothing shall be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices."

In the event of this amendment carrying by the referendum, that portion of section 95, as provided in proposition No. 13, sections 96, 97, 102, 103, general laws, to stand. In the event of the loss of the amendment, the sections named shall be stricken out.

This proposition was referred to the committee on laws, reported favorably and adopted by the convention. The first proposition, as it appeared on the ballot, therefore read:

FIRST PROPOSITION. Amend section 1, article ii, constitution, by striking out the words "but nothing shall be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices"; the amended section to read as follows:

"ARTICLE II—LAWS

"SECTION 1. The International Typographical Union may enact and enforce laws for its government and that of subordinate unions and members thereof throughout its jurisdiction."

In event of this amendment carrying, the following general laws will stand. Should the proposition be defeated, that portion of section 95 in italics, and all of the remaining sections herewith presented, will be stricken from the book of laws:

"FOREMEN

"SECTION 95. Foremen of printing offices have the right to employ help, and may discharge (1) for incompetency, (2) for neglect of duty, (3) for violation of office rules (which shall be conspicuously posted) or of laws of the chapel or union, *and* (4) *to decrease the force, such decrease to be accomplished by discharging first the person or persons last employed, either as regular employes or as extra employes, as the exigencies of the matter may require. Should there be an increase in the force within sixty days after a decrease, the person or persons displaced through such cause shall be reinstated in the order in which they were discharged before other help may be employed.* Upon demand, the foreman shall give the reason for discharge in writing. *Persons considered capable as substitutes by foremen shall be deemed competent to fill regular situations, and shall be given preference in the filling of vacancies in the regular force.* This section shall apply to incoming as well as outgoing foremen.

"SEC. 96. *Foremen shall not designate any particular day, nor how many days, a man shall work in any one week.*

"SEC. 97. *The practice by foremen of selecting their forces from day to day, or not having any regular situations in an office, is prohibited. Foremen must give out such minimum number of situations as are needed to meet office requirements.*

Employment other than a regular situation shall be classed as extra work.

"SEC. 102. *The practice of foremen of phalanxing, or giving out six-day situations on seven-day papers, thereby controlling extra work, constitutes a sublist. Any member in an office, seven-day paper or otherwise, is entitled to employ in his stead, whenever so disposed, any competent member of the International Typographical Union, without consultation or approval of the foreman of said office. A fine of $25 shall be imposed upon foremen for violation or evasion of this law. Any chairman failing to report the violation of this section shall be fined $25.*

"SEC. 103. *Sections 100, 101 and 102, general laws, shall be posted in all chapels and enforced by all unions under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union."*

This proposition was adopted by the referendum by a vote of 19,994 to 4,515, the majority being 15,429.

The second proposition submitted to the referendum provided for an increase of salaries of the president and secretary-treasurer, and was defeated by a majority of 5,839.

The third proposition was to include a provision in section 1 of article ix, revenue and funds, "that unions located so far from headquarters as to make it impossible for their dues to reach there within the prescribed time should not be considered delinquent if their remittances bear postal mark date prior to the 15th of the succeeding month." The proposition was approved.

The fourth proposition, which was also approved, required that "any subordinate union which shall fail to make reports required by law or the executive council, or which shall neglect or refuse to obey any law, or legal mandate of the International Typographical Union or executive council, may be fined or have its charter suspended by the executive council."

The fifth proposition, which was also adopted, amended the law governing all appeals from the decision of a sub-

ordinate union, requiring that such be submitted "in written or printed form only."

The sixth proposition submitted to the membership proposed a method of financing the struggle for an eight-hour day and is included in the summary of this convention under that head.

Several amendments to the by-laws and the general laws were adopted by the convention, the most important among which was the following section added to the general laws, enacted, upon recommendation of President Lynch, because of abuses occurring occasionally in the administration of the union's laws governing strikes:

> Whenever a strike occurs without the sanction of the executive council, the council must immediately disavow the illegal strike and notify all subordinate unions to that effect. Protection shall be guaranteed to all members who remain at, accept or return to work in offices affected by the illegal strike, as specified in section 122. Any officer or member of a union who shall suppress or conceal from his union or the executive council any official information concerning a strike, or a proposed strike, shall upon conviction by the local union be suspended or expelled.

ARBITRATION AGREEMENT

The committee to which was referred that portion of President Lynch's report relating to the arbitration agreement between the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association referred in its report to the satisfactory conditions that had followed the adoption of the amended agreement, which provided a code of procedure. The committee congratulated the executive council on the manner in which the difficulty that had been before the Washington convention was adjusted and expressed the conviction that peaceful relations with the newspapers comprising the publishers' association would be maintained for the life of the agreement. Quite in contrast to the sentiments

expressed in his address before the previous convention, Commissioner Driscoll, who was invited to again address the convention, spoke as follows:

It gives me pleasure to state that while at your last convention it was my unpleasant duty to criticize the acts of your president I appear before you today to testify to the full measure of peace which has characterized the labor situation of our members having trade relations with the unions during the past year. Differences have arisen in numerous localities, but they have been mostly settled, either by conciliation or arbitration. Some differences yet remain unadjusted, of comparatively recent origin, which it is reasonable to expect will be disposed of in like manner. After more than two years' experience of the practical working of the arbitration agreement between our organizations, and more especially since the adoption of the code of procedure last fall, I am sure all will agree that the ensuing beneficent results have fully justified the policy and established the wisdom of arbitration.

President Lynch, in his annual report submitted to this convention, included a statement of the cases of differences settled by the National Board of Arbitration, in which statement twenty-three cities are named where such settlements were effected. Of these the unions in twenty cities received an increase of scale, more or less, and but three failed to receive any increase. In these twenty-three cities one hundred and four newspaper offices, and, it is carefully estimated, more than 2,500 employes, were involved. In addition, new scales, as well as "differences," have been settled by conciliation in a number of cities, without reference to the National Board of Arbitration, and these settlements were effected mainly because the parties otherwise could demand arbitration as a last resort. In view of these results I fully agree with President Lynch when he states, from a strictly union standpoint, "that we have made considerable progress."

During the past year there has been a widespread agitation and discussion of the question of the open versus the closed shop. The attitude of your union on this question is well known. Notwithstanding decisions of the courts in the various sections of the country, the publishers whom I have the honor to represent fully realize that all of them who have entered into arbitration contracts with the International Typographical Union are thereby bound morally, if not legally, to the closed shop until May 1, 1907.

There are certain matters, however, which seriously affect the opinion of our publishers on this subject. The first I will mention is the manifest endeavor of local unions to exclude all unskilled workmen from performing unskilled work in the composing room. The publishers strenuously object to paying journeyman's wages for that portion of labor which requires little or no skill or experience. The position has been taken by the highest authority in your union, that all labor in the composing room must be performed by members of the union or union apprentices, so long as the present International Typographical Union laws remain in force. Not only is the number of apprentices allowed by the union unreasonably limited, but the recently increasing requirements to teach the trade to these apprentices will, if carried out, prevent them from doing much of this unskilled work, so that, if other unskilled labor is prohibited, the publisher will be forced to pay the full scale for this inferior and subordinate work.

Another requirement the publishers would ask is, that the foreman should not be necessarily a member of the union. Of this I have spoken at several previous conventions, urging its adoption, but without avail.

If, however, you are unwilling to make this change in your laws, we do insist that you shall repeal all laws relating to the duties of a foreman which

hamper him in performing his duties and obligations to his employer. If he attempts to prove faithful to such duties he is liable to be heavily fined by the local union. Should this policy continue to characterize the "closed shop" of the future, the number of its enemies will increase, and the opposition grow until the "open shop" triumphs over such injustice and unfairness.

If you insist that the foreman must be a member of the union, give him the liberty to be a man, free in every way to perform his full duty to the publisher, free to employ the best man he can secure for any situation which becomes vacant. Don't trammel him with priority lists and sub-lists, and appeals to the union and fines by the union, when he is struggling to do his best for the interest of the office, without acting unfairly toward the workman.

With reference to the priority law, I quote from a contributor to the July number of The Typographical Journal:

"* * * The so-called priority law should be abolished. There is no substantial reason why a foreman should be bound hand and foot by drastic exaction that works benefit to one to the disadvantage of another. All should stand on an equal footing, and in these piping times of strenuous exertion there should be some slight reward for the better man. The law is not recognized in job offices—at least not in Chicago—and should have no standing in the newspaper business. Foremen are given their authority because of their ability to get a maximum amount of work from a minimum number of men. He naturally wants to attain that end, and he should be allowed that privilege. He may have some partially incapacitated or other men on his force whom he dislikes to dispense with for various reasons, because they can do some classes of work as well as another; but when it comes to giving out a situation that requires an all-round man he should be allowed some latitude. The argument that if a man is competent to work as a sub or extra he is competent to fill a situation, is untenable and misleading. It must be admitted that there are decided grades of workmen, both as to quality and quantity of results produced. One can be lacking in both these respects, yet he may hold a semi-situation for years. It would be an injustice to refuse him a chance to work, for he is entitled to an opportunity to earn his daily bread as a divine right. Yet he can not hope to compete with the more active craftsman. His abilities are limited. He simply fills in because there is partial employment to be dispensed. To logically follow out the priority law he should be refused the right to work because the time is surely coming when he can claim the regular situation as a priority right, or else there must be a continual changing of the medium or poor-grade workman in order to avoid the necessity of giving him the situation when that time arrives. Either of these alternatives would be a more inhuman act than to slight him when the office has a situation to give out. The workman who shows ability gets the regular situation because he can be utilized to better advantage. That is the law of expediency and not priority. In fact, it is an exemplification of the old saying, 'May the best man win,' or, 'You can't keep a good man down.' No matter how many laws the International Typographical Union makes, merit will win, just as good seed will sprout and grow, while the bad and indifferent will fail to come up, or die before maturity. The law is a handicap; it has no standing as between merit and mediocrity. It should be abolished."

This is testimony and advice from the union standpoint, by one who has labored inside and who has witnessed the working of the "priority" policy.

The following was received from a publisher since this address was prepared:

"At a conference between our typographical union and the newspaper publishers, held less than a year ago, the publishers complained to the International Union representatives present about the operation of the priority law in this city. The International Union representative told the conference

there was no such law as priority law in the International Union. Our union, however, has a priority law in operation. I am unable to learn whether such a law is purely local, or is based upon an interpretation of International law, section 95. If based upon interpretation of 95, such interpretation is wrong, in accordance with statement of the International official. If it be a local law, it is manifestly unjust in that, not being general, it permits foremen in one locality to invade another locality for its best workmen, the privilege of replenishing its staff of operatives with efficient workmen. New York city, for instance, has no priority law and is consequently the Mecca of all first-class men who are at liberty to travel. The priority law here, which in effect is the same as the one Mr. Rapier quotes from New Orleans, is a serious menace to the organization and discipline of the composing rooms, and when these two essentials are undermined, not only the publisher will suffer, but the union men themselves will invite the inevitable results of the employer's legal and instinctive right of self-preservation.

"The foreman, under the operation of the priority law, is nothing more than a clerk. He has been denied the right to hire help. The act of subbing is a voluntary one on the part of the sub. He reports on the floor for work, and by this act establishes his seniority or priority in the office. When a vacancy occurs the foreman has no discretionary power. He must put to work the substitute longest in employ in the office, regardless of his efficiency, reliability or personal decorum. The sub becomes the regular, not through choice of the directing foreman, but by his own act of reporting for work.

"It has been the custom here for a number of years for foremen to fill the vacancies by selecting a man from the substitutes working in his office. The justice of this practice I will admit, but I contend the foreman should have the discretionary power to select from those subbing in his office the one whom he considers the most efficient, reliable and congenial with the men with whom the regular must associate. This, I believe, is the intent of section 95, and an intelligent reading of the section, I contend, will admit of no other meaning. A competent sub will be a competent regular, and he should in fairness be given preference in the office in which he works, but there is no reference whatever to the order in which the subs in an office should be given preference. Therein, I believe, the International Union law contemplates that foremen should have the privilege of selecting their men with discretion and an eye to the welfare of his employer.

"I trust you will have success in your effort to point out the errors of local unions to the International convention."

In view of the fact that your referendum has adopted an amendment to your constitution that nothing will be enacted relative to the internal affairs of printing offices, I fully agree with your president when he says in his report that you have many general laws in force enacted prior to last year which are inconsistent with the new amendment. I trust this opportunity will be taken to repeal at least all laws to which I have referred.

I beg to call your attention to the experiences of the past year with other organizations than ours, as set forth in the president's report; the typefounders' strike, which taxed your treasury about $40,000; the strike in Boston, which resulted in the continuance of the open shop in the book and job offices of that city, and finally the strike in Louisville, which after a sixty-day struggle, was declared by your organizer as "hopelessly lost." In the month of June the lines of battle were defined on the eight-hour issue between your organization and the United Typothetæ so that the immediate future of your relations with the latter organization looks exceedingly warlike.

Now, contrast all this struggling warfare with the existing peaceful conditions and relations between your organization and ours. Is it not in every

way desirable to promote and foster our present harmonious policy by removing every cause for friction between the publisher and the union.

The newspaper composing room employe is favored with very much higher wages and also reduced hours than union printers receive from any other class of employers. Therefore, in all fairness, should not the union treat the newspaper publisher with greater consideration than has been shown in the past. Do not attempt to govern the business administration of the composing room. Do not interfere with the judgment of the foreman as to the competency of workmen by establishing low standards of competency in your local union laws and thus reducing the output. Repeal all priority lists and sub-lists, either in International Typographical Union or local laws. Allow the office to employ unskilled workmen to perform unskilled labor at a proper wage for such work. Then will publishers cease to object to a closed shop covering only skilled labor. We have before us nearly three years in which to improve our trade relations, during which time we will be bound by arbitration and the closed shop. It is for you delegates, representing a membership of nearly fifty thousand, to determine whether or not you will so act as to legislate to bring about the results indicated, to make our present peaceful relations permanent and enduring, bearing in mind that an unfair policy can not be enduring, and that reason, not force, must determine all issues, unless we wish to retrograde from our present high state of enlightened civilization back to the barbarism of the savage.

In closing, I wish to thank President Lynch for his courtesy in inviting me to be present on this occasion, and also to express my gratitude to you for your patient hearing of my frank presentation of the views of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. If, after a full and fair consideration of the suggestions I have made, you should assent to the adoption of any or all of them, rest assured such action will be greatly appreciated by our members, and that the results will tend to the continued growth and usefulness of the International Typographical Union.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

The story of the struggle for the eight-hour day can perhaps be told best by the reproduction of the reports of President Lynch outlining the work done in preparation for the struggle and the action of the conventions upon recommendations made in these reports. In order that this important part of the history may be presented in a manner so that the reader may follow the story from its inception to the finish, the method thus outlined will be pursued. In his report to the St. Louis convention, 1904, President Lynch said:

The eight-hour day subject will not grow old until the inauguration of the eight-hour day is itself an event of the past, rather than something that must yet be brought about. A suggestion has been made that many of our members do not thoroughly appreciate the benefits that will be derived by reason

of the reduction in hours contemplated by the eight-hour movement. If this is true—and it is beyond belief—then a great object lesson has not been taken advantage of, the betterment of conditions because of the enforcement of the nine-hour day. In the letter mailed to each member it was said: "If you will investigate, you will find that the wage-earner working short hours receives high pay. In our own trade, the book and job printers are paid as much—and in many cases more—for nine hours as they formerly earned in ten hours." The trite expressions that found coinage in connection with the eight-hour agitation that has been general for years, still apply. "Eight hours for work, eight hours for sleep, eight hours for what you will," is as potent a rallying cry today as at any time. "Whether you work by the piece or work by the day, decreasing the hours increases the pay," is as true now as the day it was penned. If our members do not appreciate the benefits that will follow the eight-hour day, if they are not alive to their interests, if they will not arise to the duty of the hour, then they must assume the responsibility that attaches to the crime of keeping the International Typographical Union in the rear of the great progress that is being made by the industrial army. "In the last analysis victory depends on the support accorded by the membership."

Conference with Typothetæ — The recently oft-repeated assertion that the eight-hour day in book and job rooms is a question for adjudication between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America was put to the test in St. Louis on June 22 and 23. The annual convention of the typothetæ was held in the Exposition City the week of the 20th. Prior to this gathering the International president addressed a letter to the typothetæ secretary reciting the action taken by our Cincinnati convention on the eight-hour proposition, and continuing: "It has been frequently intimated by local associations of the typothetæ that the eight-hour day was an issue that should be adjusted between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America, and that these local associations were willing to accept and put into effect any conclusion that might be arrived at by the higher bodies. So often, indeed, has this intimation been made, and in several instances accepted by our local unions, that the eight-hour committee for the International Typographical Union is prepared and anxious to demonstrate the effectiveness of the

suggestion. Therefore, our eight-hour committee will be in St. Louis during your eighteenth annual convention, which, I understand, will be held during the week commencing Monday, June 20, 1904, in the convention hall of the Century building, Ninth and Olive streets. Our committee will at that time, or at such time during the week as may be designated by your convention, be pleased to meet a committee representing your association, for the purpose of discussing the eight-hour day, and, if possible, arriving at a conclusion that may be submitted to the United Typothetæ of America and the International Typographical Union for consideration and possible ratification."

The Committees Meet — In accordance with our request, the typothetæ convention instructed a committee to meet with our International representatives, and conferences were held on June 22 and 23. At the first meeting the employers asked us to make a proposition for the inauguration of the shorter workday which they would present to their convention. This was declined, our committee requesting that before any discussion as to detail, the typothetæ should declare its position on the shorter workday proposition. If this attitude was favorable we said the two committees could then take up and endeavor to reach an agreement as to the date on which the reduction or partial reduction in hours should take place. On the other hand, if the attitude of the United Typothetæ was unfavorable to a curtailment of the present working time, then we wanted to know that, and in such a way that there would remain no room for misunderstanding. In other words, if the employers should give us a negative reply, we wanted it on the main question, and not on a proposition from us for the inauguration of the shorter workday on a certain date, which might leave local associations free to assert that the United Typothetæ had not declared itself against an eight-hour day, but only against its initiation on the date which our committee had named. This was finally agreed to, and on the 23d we were given a copy of the resolutions adopted by the typothetæ convention, squarely setting forth the position of the United Typothetæ of America on the request made by the International Typographical Union for an agreement under which the eight-hour day would become effective in book and job rooms. It was just the answer we expected, and we were in nowise disappointed. Indeed, we believed we had

reason for congratulating ourselves in that the atmosphere had been thoroughly cleared, and henceforth we would know exactly where we stood. There can be no further shifting of the problem to other shoulders by either local unions or local employers. It is a clean-cut, well-defined, pressing condition.

The Resolutions — The following are the resolutions adopted by the United Typothetæ in convention in St. Louis, together with the letter of transmission to our representatives:

St. Louis, June 23, 1904.

Messrs. Lynch, Bramwood and Miller, *Committee from International Typographical Union.*

Gentlemen: In accordance with your request, expressed in the conference yesterday, that we should obtain from the convention a statement of its attitude upon the proposed eight-hour day, we placed the matter before the convention, and also the telegram addressed to you from Indianapolis, and beg to submit in reply thereto the following resolutions which were passed unanimously:

"Whereas the International Typographical Union has asked the United Typothetæ of America to declare its position upon the proposed eight-hour day; and,

"Whereas under existing conditions any attempt to reduce the hours of labor in the printing trade would be disastrous to the employer and employe alike, be it

"*Resolved,* That the United Typothetæ of America declares that it is opposed to any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week; and, be it further

"*Resolved,* That the United Typothetæ of America will resist any attempt on the part of the International Typographical Union to reduce the present hours of labor."

Yours very truly,

William Green,
George H. Ellis,
Harry P. Pears,
Thomas E. Donnelley,
F. C. Nunemacher.

What It All Goes to Show — Recently I made reference in my Journal notes to "Circular No. 6," issued from the headquarters of the United Typothetæ of America, and which contained this statement: "The efforts of the International Typographical Union to inaugurate a shorter workday have been met by the earnest opposition of the United Typothetæ of America, and every possible effort is being made to advise cities where agitation is carried on to turn a deaf ear to any such suggestion, and, if necessary, to fight it." On this the following comment was made: "Some of our members have inclined to the belief that conferences should be sought with the officers of the United Typothetæ of America relative to the eight-hour day, and the above quotation may bring about a change in this regard. The typothetæ intends to oppose the eight-hour day just so long as opposition is feasible. When the employing book

and job printers become convinced that we are determined in our efforts to secure the shorter workday, then will it be possible to confer with prospect for success. The agitation for the nine-hour day extended over many years before it crystallized and had result. Success came when the membership was aroused." Under the caption "Some Additional Evidence," the following was also printed in my department: "In an address delivered at New Haven, January 19, before the Connecticut State Typothetæ, by the secretary of the United Typothetæ of America, that official is reported to have said: 'The length of the workday is not of so much importance as the returns received. We are endeavoring to suppress all agitation started by the International Typographical Union. If the hours are reduced the expenses of the business are added to by 15 per cent. There is a movement in congress to frame an eight-hour day, which is a dangerous one. We are opposing it because it is unwise, and we are petitioning our members to have their senators oppose the bill. We are also antagonizing the anti-injunction bill. We stand for the "open" office, although we agree that the union men are the best workmen we can secure.' Could there be clearer outline of the attitude of the associated employing printers toward the agitation for a shorter workday? Yet we are told to confer with the United Typothetæ of America! Yes, when we have aroused the union printers of the country, when we have imbued them with eight-hour enthusiasm, when we have solidified and crystallized the eight-hour demand, when there is no room for doubt as to our attitude, then we will confer. And then will a conference be successful." Nevertheless the agitation for the conference continued. It has been held. We have the result. And we repeat: "When the employing book and job printers become convinced that we are determined in our efforts to secure the shorter workday, then will it be possible to confer with prospect for success." The next chapter must be written by the St. Louis convention.

The Syracuse Agreement — In some localities employers insist that we are bound by the nine-hour agreement. On this point, a typothetæ circular says: "It must not be forgotten that the United Typothetæ of America has an agreement with the International Typographical Union, as well as the other unions connected with the printing trades, for a fifty-four-hour week, entered into at Syracuse in 1898, and that the terms of this agreement have never been changed, and must remain in

force until formal notice of withdrawal or request for an alteration of its requirements has been submitted to the United Typothetæ of America." A reading of the 1898 agreement referred to will demonstrate conclusively the lack of basis for the statement made in the official circular. It only specified the dates on which the nine-and-one-half-hour day became effective.

Several queries have been received from eight-hour towns asking why eight-hour literature is sent into these jurisdictions. "We have the eight-hour day, and we are satisfied," is the assertion. In each case the answer has been that it is the desire of the International committee to arouse interest in the eight-hour day in every jurisdiction, and that the present eight-hour towns can do much to assist unions that have not been fortunate enough to obtain the eight-hour day. It is necessary, therefore, that the eight-hour cities appoint eight-hour committees, and that these committees shall give active support and encouragement to the effort that is being made by the International eight-hour committee to bring about an eight-hour day in all of the book and job rooms in the International jurisdiction. Those who enjoy the shorter workday jeopardize it by non-action.

The convention committee on the eight-hour day, to which was submitted that portion of President Lynch's report dealing with the subject, submitted the following to the convention:

Your committee on the eight-hour day has carefully considered that portion of the report of President Lynch captioned "The Eight-Hour Day," and which we are informed is intended as the report of the International eight-hour committee, and has also had in review the circulars thus far issued by the International eight-hour committee, seven in number. We have also had before us President Lynch, who has explained fully and in detail the various steps taken by the committee, the work performed and the general object in view.

After a careful review of the eight-hour movement and the documents indicated, we desire to report to the convention as follows:

First. We endorse without reservation the work and methods of the International eight-hour committee. We believe in this connection that the committee has thoroughly covered the ground and has put into effect every method that thus far has given promise of advancement to the eight-hour cause.

SECOND. We believe with President Lynch that "the eight-hour day subject will not grow old until the inauguration of the eight-hour day is itself an event of the past rather than something that must yet be brought about."

THIRD. We regret that the eight-hour day in book and job rooms is not a question at the present time for adjudication between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America, but in view of the action taken by the United Typothetæ of America in convention assembled at St. Louis, in which it is asserted "That the United Typothetæ of America declares it is opposed to any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week" and "that the United Typothetæ of America will resist any attempt on the part of the International Typographical Union to reduce the present hours of labor," no other conclusion is possible. That an agreement on peaceable lines is not now possible is solely the fault of the associated employers, and this contention is borne out by the action of their last convention. Further, we dispute the statement of the typothetæ that a reduction in the hours of labor would be disastrous to the employe. We maintain that the eight-hour day is the logical workday, that it is sufficient for the needs of the trade, and we give emphatic endorsement to the doctrine that the introduction of labor-saving machinery is not for the benefit of the employer alone, but should also result in better working conditions for the employe in the way of reduction in the hours of toil and increased remuneration.

FOURTH. The claim advanced by the typothetæ that it has an agreement with the International Typographical Union for a fifty-four-hour week which precludes any attempt on the part of our organization for a shorter workday or week, is not borne out by the terms of the Syracuse agreement, and we believe it is made at this time simply in furtherance of the intention to construct as many obstacles to the eight-hour day as is possible.

FIFTH. We congratulate the International eight-hour committee on the large number of unions that have thus far succeeded in inaugurating the eight-hour day, or that have made arrangements under which the eight-hour day will shortly come into effect. In view of the fact that it took more than twenty years to bring about the nine-hour day, we have especial cause for jubilation over the progress that has thus far been made toward the logical and inevitable eight-hour workday.

SIXTH. We endorse the statement made by President Lynch, and we desire to impress it on the delegates to this convention and through them on the membership at large, that "when the employing book and job printers become convinced that we are determined in our efforts to secure the shorter workday, then it will be possible to confer with the United Typothetæ of America with prospect for success."

After weighing carefully the various plans and methods that have been suggested to your committee the committee recommends to the convention the adoption of the following preamble and resolutions, which, when referred to the referendum and adopted by it, will place the International Typographical Union squarely on record on the eight-hour day proposition, and indicate beyond question the date on which the eight-hour day shall become effective in all union establishments:

"WHEREAS in the movement for an eight-hour day for the book and job members of the typographical union, authorized by our Cincinnati convention, the International eight-hour committee has sought an agreement with the United Typothetæ of America, under which the eight-hour day could be made effective on a mutually satisfactory plan, and with the minimum of embarrassment to the interests of our employers; and

"WHEREAS the overtures for peace thus made were refused and declined, and replied to with a threat, combined with a practical declaration of war should any effort be made to achieve the shorter workday, as witness the language of the resolutions adopted by the late typothetæ convention; and

"WHEREAS we reaffirm and again demand the eight-hour day for our book and job members.

"WHEREAS your committee having carefully considered propositions Nos. 35, 61, 62, 63, 98, 103 and 129, submit in lieu thereof the following:

"*Resolved,* That we again declare our entire willingness to negotiate with the United Typothetæ for an agreement under which the eight-hour day will become operative, and so instruct our eight-hour committee;

"*Resolved,* That an assessment of one-half of one (1) per cent of all moneys earned be levied upon the membership of the International Typographical Union for the purpose of a defense fund. Such fund to be held and expended by the subordinate union, except in those cases where no trouble is experienced in putting in operation the eight-hour day, and in such unions

one-half of the assessment to be subject to call of the International officers for use in the furtherance of the eight-hour day as deemed in their judgment necessary;

"*Resolved,* That on January 1, 1906, the eight-hour day shall become effective in all union establishments under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, where existing contracts do not prevent, and in each instance where the eight-hour day is refused work shall cease."

In conclusion, your committee desires to urge upon this convention and the membership at large the advisability and necessity of adopting the resolutions herein set forth and preparing in every way possible for effective action if resistance to the eight-hour day develops on or prior to January 1, 1906.

The report of the committee, after prolonged discussion by many delegates and after an attempt to amend, was finally unanimously adopted, and the recommendation contained in the committee's report regarding the levying of an assessment was favorably acted upon by the referendum by a vote of 19,483 ayes, 5,398 noes—majority, 14,085.

THE PHOTO ENGRAVERS

The Washington convention adopted, and the referendum approved, changes in the law necessary to permit the surrender of jurisdiction by the International Typographical Union over photo engravers. As soon as possible, after the amendments became effective, an agreement was reached with the International Photo Engravers' Union, as follows:

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION AND THE INTERNATIONAL PHOTO ENGRAVERS' UNION

In consideration of the surrender of jurisdiction by the International Typographical Union over photo engravers, the following is agreed to by the executive council of the International Typographical Union, acting with full authority, and the executive council of the International Photo Engravers' Union, acting with full authority.

FIRST. That the International Photo Engravers' Union agrees to work in harmony with the International Typographical Union.

SECOND. That should trouble arise in the photo engraving trade, threatening to involve the International Typographical Union or its subordinate unions, the International Typographical Union shall be given opportunity to pass on the matter and adjust the dispute, if possible.

THIRD. That should a strike be necessary at any time on the part of the photo engravers, and sympathetic action be sought on the part of the International Typographical Union, that the International Photo Engravers' Union shall first guarantee to the International Typographical Union, by cash deposit, that all expenses in connection with the joint strike shall be borne by the International Photo Engravers' Union.

FOURTH. That the International Photo Engravers' Union shall, at no time, give aid or comfort or assistance to any trade organization opposed to the International Typographical Union. The maintenance of a neutral position by the International Photo Engravers' Union shall be deemed a compliance with this section.

FIFTH. That all contracts with employers entered into by photo engravers' unions while under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, shall be faithfully observed, and their execution is guaranteed by the International Photo Engravers' Union.

The obligations embraced in this covenant and set forth in paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4, shall be mutual; that is, they shall also apply to the International Typographical Union in its relation with the International Photo Engravers' Union.

This agreement shall take effect immediately.

In witness whereof, the undersigned representatives of the International Typographical Union and the International Photo Engravers' Union have hereunto set their hands and seals, this April 24, 1904.

LOUIS FLADER, *President,*
H. J. GRIFFITH, *First Vice-President,*
AUGUSTUS E. BLANCK, *Second Vice-President,*
EDWARD L. HENKE, *Third Vice-President.*
H. E. GUDBRANDSEN, *Secretary-Treasurer.*
Executive Council International Photo Engravers' Union.

JAMES M. LYNCH,
HUGO MILLER,
J. W. BRAMWOOD,
Executive Council International Typographical Union.

After the signatures had been attached to the foregoing document the executive council withdrew all objection to an International Union of Photo Engravers, and the new organization was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor. The union was also admitted to membership and participation in the compact between the international unions of the printing trade.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

In his annual report to the convention, President Lynch referred to the fact that on December 12, 1903, an event was chronicled in Los Angeles of supreme importance to the International Typographical Union. On that day the Los Angeles Examiner made its appearance as a morning daily and in direct competition with the unfair Los Angeles Times. The contest in Los Angeles had been initiated more than two years previously and it had been conducted stubbornly and determinedly. Obstacle after obstacle had been thrown in the way, but the union had persevered. The entire membership rallied to the fight with magnificent courage and on two occasions, by gratifying majorities, voted the money necessary for the struggle. For years the Times had been on the non-union list and had never lost an opportunity to injure trade unionism and editorially and otherwise accepted every opening that gave promise of harm to the unions and especially to the International Typographical Union.

In concluding his reference to the Times, President Lynch said: "This has been endured with patience until finally our preservation, almost our existence, compelled us to accept the gauge of battle. It may take years to win this contest, but it can be won."

The convention committee to which the Times affair was referred reported that it had carefully reviewed the work being carried on by the representative of the executive council in Los Angeles and agreed that everything

possible had been done to bring about a victory. The committee had been in conference with Mr. Arthur Hay, special representative of the International Typographical Union and with the delegates from Los Angeles and San Francisco, and was assured by these representatives that the fight was being pushed vigorously.

In view of the facts ascertained during its investigations, the committee recommended to the convention the following:

FIRST. That the executive council be instructed to furnish such finances from the defense fund as in its wisdom may be necessary for the continuance of the contest.

SECOND. That in order to further the interests of the International Typographical Union, President Lynch be instructed to visit Los Angeles at his earliest convenience, to the end that the contest with the Times may, if possible, be made more effective.

THIRD. That the following proposition, numbered 111, by Delegate Mitchell, of San Francisco, be adopted:

"Resolved, That it is the sentiment of this union (San Francisco No. 21) that the fight against the Los Angeles Times should be prosecuted with renewed vigor."

FOURTH. That the secretary-treasurer be instructed to write a letter of thanks to Hon. William R. Hearst for the establishment by him of the Los Angeles Examiner.

The report of the committee was concurred in by the convention.

The convention adjourned to meet in Toronto, Canada, in August, 1905.

CONVENTION AT TORONTO

[1905]— The fifty-first convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order in the Labor Temple, Toronto, Canada, August 14, 1905, by Chairman Stevenson of the arrangements committee, who invited the following gentlemen to take seats on the platform: Rev. Bernard Bryan, an ex-printer; Hon. J. P. Whitney,

premier of the Province of Ontario; Thomas Urquhart, mayor of Toronto; Alderman J. J. Graham, chairman of the civic reception committee; Prof. Goldwin Smith; Robert Glockling, president International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Edward Randall, first vice-president International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; John McVicar, Detroit, ex-president International Typographical Union; John Armstrong, ex-president International Typographical Union and president of ex-delegates' association of Toronto; Edward Meehan, president Toronto Typographical Union.

Mr. Stevenson welcomed the delegates in behalf of the local organization and felicitated the International Union upon wiping out all geographical lines in the trade union movement.

President Meehan took the chair and invited Reverend Bryan to offer the invocation. All of the speakers who had been invited to the platform addressed the convention in words of welcome and encouragement. President Meehan then presented a handsome gavel to President Lynch, who took the chair and responded briefly to the words of welcome.

Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood reported that the credentials of 252 delegates had been filed with him, of which number three were irregularly elected and one came from a delegate whose union was in arrears. The credentials of the irregularly elected delegates were referred to the credentials committee and the president then administered the obligation to those regularly elected. The number of delegates in attendance was later increased to 260.

THE PHILADELPHIA CASE

Delegate Smith (Philadelphia) asked unanimous consent for the consideration of a resolution granting the privilege of the floor to officers, ex-officers and organizers

but objection was made and the president ruled the resolution was out of order until permanent organization was effected by the appointment of officers and committees. The chair then announced the appointment of the convention officers and of committees. The president explained that the several delegates from Philadelphia had been excused from committee duty at their own request.

Delegate Smith (Philadelphia) again asked unanimous consent for the consideration of a resolution granting the privilege of the floor to officers, ex-officers and organizers, but objection was made. The delegate then introduced a proposition to amend the by-laws so as to grant said officers the privilege of the floor. The proposition was referred to the committee on laws.

The Philadelphia delegation then submitted the following proposition:

WHEREAS Philadelphia Typographical Union No. 2 has for over fifteen months been engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Philadelphia Inquirer; and

WHEREAS the success of the eight-hour day in a competitive district comprising over 60 per cent of the total membership of the International Typographical Union is dependent, to a great degree, on maintaining the integrity of Philadelphia Union No. 2, which can be accomplished only by sustaining the fight which Philadelphia Union is now carrying on.

Resolved (by the International Typographical Union, in fifty-first annual convention assembled), That we emphatically endorse the fight now being waged by Philadelphia Typographical Union No. 2 against the Philadelphia Inquirer, and

Be it further resolved, That the executive council be and the same is hereby instructed to place at the disposal of the Philadelphia Union, immediately, after return to headquarters, the sum of $7,800, this sum being due Philadelphia Union under a fair and equitable construction of both the Washington and St. Louis agreements between the executive council and Philadelphia Union; *provided,* that Philadelphia Union, out of this sum, shall reimburse those of its sister unions who have contributed financial support; and

Be it further resolved, That the executive council be and the same is hereby instructed to continue financial assistance to Philadelphia Union at the rate of $200 per week until the Inquirer fight is won, or until the next convention; *provided,* that Philadelphia Union contribute at least an equal amount and that the fight be conducted under the supervision and direction of the executive council, itemized vouchers being furnished that body by the local union for all moneys expended, and the work to be in charge of an International representative to be selected under the terms of the Washington agreement; and

Be it further resolved, That the executive council be and the same is hereby instructed, in case the eight-hour fight or any other circumstances drain the International Typographical Union treasury to such an extent as to en-

danger the continuation of the Philadelphia campaign or the regular work of organization, to submit to a vote of the referendum a proposition for an extra assessment in such amount and for such length of time as may be deemed necessary by the executive council to meet the contingency.

The foregoing was referred by President Lynch to the committee on appeals.

Delegate Kreft (Philadelphia) submitted a resolution that the committee on appeals be directed to report the above proposition back to the convention not later than Tuesday, 2 P. M. Chairman Draper (Ottawa) of the committee asked for an extension of time, and, after some discussion, the resolution of Delegate Kreft was lost.

President Lynch then called Vice-President Hays to the chair and took the floor as the representative of the executive council. He stated that the executive council had been charged with "stabbing No. 2 in the back"; "rendering aid and succor to the rats in their fight against the union"; with being "in league with the rat employers and rat printers of Philadelphia", etc. If the charges were true, as made, the executive council was not fit to carry on the eight-hour movement, nor fit to conduct the business of the union; there was no middle course; they were either union or non-union; and if not union, they had no business in the chairs. The papers in this case were in the hands of the delegates and embraced in proposition No. 1, an appeal by the council. On behalf of the council, he earnestly requested an early disposition of the appeal presented.

Delegate Johnson (Washington, D. C.) moved that the committee on appeals be instructed to take up proposition No. 1, the appeal of the executive council, and report Tuesday morning if possible.

Proposition No. 1, above referred to, was the appeal taken by the executive council from the action of Philadelphia Union No. 2 in relation to the enforcement of section 81 of the general laws, in an instance of violation

of the law called to the attention of Philadelphia Union by the council. It related to the Shelby Smith case (so-called). The proposition was before the delegates in printed form.

After some discussion by Delegates Smith (Philadelphia), Steele (Washington) and Faries (Philadelphia), Delegate Faries (Philadelphia) moved to amend that the Philadelphia case be taken up prior to proposition No. 1 (the council's appeal).

Delegate Kreft (Philadelphia) argued in favor of considering the Philadelphia matter first and the Smith matter afterward. A rising vote was taken and the amendment was lost by a vote of 74 ayes to 135 noes.

The original motion that the committee on appeals report on proposition No. 1 on Tuesday, or as early as possible, was then placed before the convention, and the motion prevailed.

The committee on appeals submitted its report on the fourth day of the convention and it developed that proposition No. 1 was an appeal of the executive council from the action taken by Philadelphia Union No. 2 in relation to the enforcement of section 81, general laws of the International Typographical Union, in an instance of violation of the law called to the attention of No. 2 by the executive council. This law is as follows:

SECTION 81. Any member or members of any subordinate union circulating or causing to be circulated in any way malicious or untrue statements reflecting upon the standing or character, private or public, of any officer or member of the International Typographical Union, or impugning the motives or reflecting upon the honesty of any officer or member of the International Typographical Union, shall be deemed guilty of ununionlike conduct, and upon conviction before a trial board shall be suspended or expelled, as two-thirds of the members may determine. It shall be the duty of the executive committee of each subordinate union to investigate and prosecute all

violations of this law occurring within its jurisdiction. It shall also be the duty, and it is hereby imperatively ordered, that any subordinate union, or any member of a subordinate union, shall prefer charges before the proper authorities against all violators of this section.

Under the provisions of the foregoing section, Shelby Smith, a member of Philadelphia Union and editor of the Trades Union News of that city, was charged with publishing derogatory statements regarding the members of the executive council of the International Typographical Union individually and collectively, the most violent of which was as follows:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION AGAIN STABS NO. 2 IN THE BACK — RENDERS AID AND SUCCOR TO THE RATS IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST THE UNION

Had anything been lacking to convince the membership of the International Typographical Union of the deliberate intention of the executive council to destroy Typographical Union No. 2, it is supplied by the "open letter" of the council printed below.

Had anything been necessary to prove the interest of the executive council in neutralizing the effective fight of No. 2 against the scab Inquirer it is here supplied.

Had any evidence of the criminal refusal of the council to obey the plain letter of the law, supposed to govern its action, been missing, that evidence is here.

Had there been any proof needed that the executive council is in league with the rat employers and rat printers of Philadelphia against Typographical Union No. 2, that proof is found in their "open letter" of February 7.

John McNeal, president of the International Boilermakers' Union, was expelled for offenses less infamous than that committed by the executive council of the I. T. U. in the issuance of this "open letter."

So dastardly an attemptt to injure a local union by the officers of a national organization charged with its protection and support has never been known. It is inconceivable that it can ever be repeated.

The above article appeared in the Trades Union News of February 1, 1905. On February 25, 1905, the executive council of the International Typographical Union, in a letter to the president and executive committee of Philadelphia Union, called attention to the provisions of section 81 of the general laws, reciting the charges and derogatory statements that were particularly offensive and calling upon the union through its president and executive committee to comply with the provisions of the section in

question, which specifically applied to cases of this character.

The question was subsequently brought to the attention of a meeting of Philadelphia Union and a trial committee was appointed.

The members of the executive council were summoned to appear before the local trial board at Philadelphia but declined to do so, pointing out that under the law Philadelphia Typographical Union was required to act, the council having pointed out the violations of the law and asserted that under the law the member who made the charges must prove them or take the consequences. At a later date the secretary of Philadelphia Typographical Union transmitted to the executive council the report of the trial board in the case. Mr. Smith's main defense was that the article written by him and published in the Trades Union News was justified by reason of the action of the council in declining to extend Philadelphia Union all the financial aid it had requested in its fight with the Inquirer.

The case of the executive council was fully stated by Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood, and Mr. Smith submitted his defense to the convention committee, with the result that the following findings of the committee were submitted to the delegates:

In the minds of your committee, this is one of the most important questions that has ever been brought before an international convention. The laws of the International Typographical Union prescribe the duties of the executive council. Among these duties is the disposition of the defense fund. Certain rules are laid down as to its disposition by the laws of the organization, while its administration is placed in the hands of the executive council. The council, in exercising its rights and prerogatives under the law, as construed by the council, decided upon a certain course of action in the Philadelphia case. Its adherence to that plan is claimed by Mr. Smith and the

trial board of the Philadelphia Union—and, in fact, by the union itself, through its adoption of the report of the trial board—to have been sufficient ground for the charge of being "in league with the rat employers and rat printers of Philadelphia against Typographical Union No. 2," of "rendering aid and succor to the rats in their fight against the union," and other statements of like character. We submit that this is an unjustifiable assumption on the part of any member or local union connected with this organization. If the unionism of the officers of the International Union, charged with the performance of certain duties, is to be thus grossly attacked and besmirched because official action may not meet with the approval of certain members or officers of a local union, or the local union itself, and the provisions of existing law are not strong enough to cope with such cases, it is high time that a law was enacted that will end, for all time, such flagrant procedure by those who wish to remain enrolled under the banner of the International Typographical Union. But your committee believes that section 81, properly enforced, is ample to cover the case in question. Its provisions are exceedingly plain, and the course of procedure is mandatory. We agree with the members of the executive council that the charges as outlined above, "if founded on fact, mean that the officers of the International Typographical Union, constituting the executive council, are not worthy to fill the positions they occupy; if not founded on fact, or if malicious or untrue, the provisions of section 81 apply." And those provisions set forth in a mandatory manner the punishment that shall be administered to one violating its provisions. In the case at issue not one scintilla of evidence—direct, documentary or oral—was produced before your committee tending to substantiate the charges made by Mr. Shelby Smith. The only defense put in by Mr. Smith is the one which he made before the trial board of Philadelphia Union, which we submit, is not evidence at all. On the other side, the appellants (the members of the executive council) in the case defy the production of any such testimony, and they emphatically state, collectively and individually, that no such testimony existed. Your committee, therefore, believes that it is warranted by the facts as disclosed by both sides in coming to the decision that section 81 was deliberately violated by Shelby Smith, and that the trial board of Philadelphia Typo-

graphical Union purposely evaded the provisions of section 81 in handling this case, and rendered a verdict that had no evidence to sustain it. We therefore recommend as follows:

FIRST. That Shelby Smith, who is now seated as delegate from Philadelphia Typographical Union, be expelled from the convention and his seat be declared vacant.

SECOND. That Philadelphia Typographical Union be instructed by this convention to immediately expel Shelby Smith from membership in that organization, and it is the verdict of this convention that such expulsion shall remain in effect until such time as Shelby Smith shall make a full and ample public apology to the members of the executive council of the International Typographical Union, such apology to be published in the Typographical Journal and Trades Union News of Philadelphia, and given such other publicity as may be deemed necessary. By the term "full and ample apology," we mean one that will be acceptable to the members of the executive council, whose personal and official characters have been thus wantonly assailed. If No. 2 fails to enforce this verdict within thirty days its charter to be revoked by the executive council.

In concluding its report, your committee desires to say that the problem before it was not one of sentiment, but one of rendering justice under our laws and according to facts. A question of the character covered in this report—involving the integrity of its chosen representatives—should not be passed lightly by. It is necessary for the International Typographical Union to take its place among the labor organizations which protect their officers and members from gross and malicious attacks of this nature. We further believe that a concurrence in the recommendations of this committee will show conclusively that the laws of the International Union are enacted for the guidance of its members and officers, and will be enforced without fear or favor.

The discussion following the report of the committee occupied a large portion of the day's session, when the report was adopted by a vote of 209 ayes against 34 noes.

Just before the vote was taken on the question of concurring in the recommendations of the appeals committee, Mr. Smith read the following statement:

I confess that I am not able to produce evidence to substan-

tiate the statements made in the Trades Union News of February 9 concerning the executive council of the International Typographical Union in the construction placed upon them by the council and the committee on appeals—a construction never intended to be conveyed. I deeply regret their publication, and shall request the publication of this statement in the Trades Union News regardless of the action of this convention.

BRIEF REVIEW OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

The reports of the officers for the fiscal year were the most voluminous of any documents of that character previously submitted to a convention.

Aside from the eight-hour day, the Philadelphia case, the revocation of St. Louis' charter, which are treated under separate headings, the report of President Lynch contained an account of the arbitration proceedings had with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association during the year. The relations of the International Union with those newspapers holding arbitration contracts were reported to have been both pleasant and profitable. Several scales of prices had been arbitrated and numerous matters had been adjusted by the commissioner representing the publishers' association and the president of the International Union. As a matter of fact, much of the value of the arbitration agreement was in the opportunity afforded for the settlement of minor contentions which caused endless trouble, often leading to costly and useless strikes.

In connection with the subject of arbitration, a list of newspapers holding arbitration agreements was published and a review of the national board of arbitration awards was given. The liberty of the press as involved in the proposed boycott of a union paper because of its published opinions was discussed by President Lynch and such action was condemned by him.

Under the heading "Organization," the International

president presented a letter that had been sent to organizers which showed that gains in membership and strength had been made even though the union through its eight-hour movement was under fire. It was asserted that despite the increased International per capita tax, the eight-hour assessment, supplemented in many instances by local assessments, and the feeling of uneasiness natural to a campaign for shorter hours, the union had not only retained its membership but had actually made gains. An active organizing effort had been initiated by local unions, acting on suggestions from the headquarters office, and the reports received indicated that the venture, notwithstanding the expense attached, had been justified by results.

The various vice-presidents submitted brief reports covering their activities during the year.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Miller, for the Typographia, reported his organization as being in the best of shape, the only German printing office of any consequence in the country outside the German union being the Philadelphia Demokrat. The amount in the general treasury had been increased from $22,790 to $25,095, or a little more than $25 per capita. Second Vice-President Miller discussed the injustice which he thought had been put upon the German members by the St. Louis convention in passing an amendment to the old law governing foreign language composition, which placed the German members of the Typographia in the position of working on German composition in English offices for a lower scale than provided by the local Typographia.

Mailers — Third Vice-President Mulcahy, for the mailers, announced that that branch of the trade had made wonderful improvement during the year. Seven new unions had been organized and increases in wages

were gained in several instances. A steady, consistent increase in membership was reported.

Newswriters — Fourth Vice-President Bracken of the newspaper writers reported that matters were moving along in a quiet way. He said that the writers would be found in the front ranks in the eight-hour movement and offered a suggestion to the membership advocating the purchase of printing machinery and all necessary stock to equip a large plant, the material and stock to be put in use wherever members were on strike, or locked out, in order that the public might not suffer through a cessation of the printing business. This, Mr. Bracken argued, would remove a source of criticism of strikes.

Typefounders — Fifth Vice-President Nuernberger of the typefounders reported that nothing of importance had transpired in his branch during the year. He said that it might interest members of the International Union to know that the cost of manufacturing type had been reduced somewhat, while the price of type had been increased, or the weight of fonts had been reduced, thus increasing the price per pound and giving the employing typefounders a greater profit than before.

Secretary's Report — Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood opened his annual report with a table giving the complete record of the receipts and expenditures of the International body for the fiscal year. The total receipts had been $286,187.35, expenditures, $205,822.41, leaving a cash balance of $80,364.94.

Under the heading "Our Membership," the secretary said that the continued success of the International Typographical Union and its steady increase in membership despite the opposition of various employers' associations, citizens' alliances, etc., was both encouraging and gratifying. Although the progress had not been startling or sensational, an increment was shown by a tabulated

statement based upon the per capita tax payments for the twelve months ended May 31, 1905. From this statement it was apparent that the average paying membership for the fiscal year had been 46,734, the largest in the history of the organization. The list of charters issued and suspended showed forty-three new unions formed, thirty-three charters surrendered and twelve suspended, still there had been a net gain in membership.

A slight decrease was noted in the number of burial claims. During the twelve months benefits to the number of 578 were paid. The receipts of the fund were $42,060.85, the expenditures $39,690, leaving a balance of $2,370.85, which, together with the balance carried over from the previous year, amounted to $19,927.78.

The death rate for the year was 1.213 per cent of the average membership, or a little more than 12 per 1,000. The average death rate since the establishment of the fund had been 1.219, about 12 per 1,000.

The receipts of the Typographical Journal fund for the fiscal year were $31,312.70. The expenditures from the fund were $29,426.77.

Nineteen strikes, involving sixteen local unions, had taken place during the year, seven of which were successful, six lost, one arbitrated, four pending and one result not reported at time report was filed. The number of men who returned to work after settlement was made was 111. The number of men involved in disputes pending was seventy-three. This statement did not include the disputes in which Chicago and New York stereotypers were engaged.

Union Printers Home — The board of trustees of the Union Printers Home reported that the business transacted at its annual meeting was of a routine character. Plans for further beautifying the grounds were taken up and endorsed. Additional tents had been procured for

the use of tuberculosis patients. The superintendent had been instructed to confer with the fire department of Colorado Springs relative to more adequate fire protection and the recommendations of the fire chief had been carried out.

The total receipts for the year were $69,202.62, and expenditures $60,732.69, leaving a balance of $8,469.93 in the Home fund. The cost of improvements during the fiscal year were $6,157.50 and an additional $1,000 had been expended in purchasing another cemetery plot. The total cost, per resident, of conducting the Home during the year was $453.22 and the average number of residents was 134. The total number of meals served at the Home during the year was 178,203. The library of the Home was reported as growing rapidly. Nineteen deaths occurred during the year, fifteen of which were caused by tuberculosis. The tents which had been erected for the use of this class of patients proved of great benefit. In concluding his report, the superintendent said that the conduct of the Home residents was up to the usual high standard.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Only four amendments to the constitution were approved by the convention and referred to the referendum. All of the propositions were carried with the exception of one to increase the salaries of the president and secretary-treasurer. The majority against this proposition was 2,392. The total number of unions entitled to vote was 706; the total number voting was 455. The propositions submitted, with amendments appearing in italics, together with the result of the vote, follows:

First proposition—Amend section 4, article I, of the constitution, so as to read as follows:

Section 4. The distinctive names of the several subordinate branches shall be: Of the printers, typographical union; *of the mailers, mailers' union; of the writers, newspaper writers' union; of the typefounders, typefounders'*

union; and of all other allied crafts or trades, if such there be, the distinctive name of each branch.

Result of vote—For, 20,330; against, 1,600; majority for, 18,730.

Second proposition—Amend section 7, article vi, of the constitution, to read as follows:

Section 7. It shall be the duty of the agent, in the event of the Union Printers Home corporation neglecting or refusing to comply with the provisions of the deed under which the land on which the Home is situated was transferred, or disobeying any of the orders of the International Typographical Union, to enter upon and take full possession of the property as the custodian of the International Typographical Union; *provided, that it shall be the duty of the agent to attend at least one meeting of the board of trustees during his term of office.*

Result of vote—For, 20,366; against, 1,740; majority for, 18,626.

Third proposition—Amend section 1, article viii, of the constitution—"Salaries and Expenses"—as follows:

Section 1. The salary of * * *.

For the president, $2,100 per annum * * *

Secretary-treasurer, $2,100 per annum.

Result of vote—For, 9,970; against, 12,362; majority against, 2,392.

Fourth proposition—Amend section 3, article viii, of the constitution, to read as follows:

Section 3. When any officer or member is required to perform service away from his home, he shall be allowed, in addition to the amounts set forth above, first-class railroad fare by the shortest route to and from destination, and *actual hotel expenses; provided, that an itemized bill shall in all cases be rendered.*

Result of vote—For, 13,264; against, 8,866; majority for, 4,398.

Affiliated Unions and the Joint Agreement—An amended joint agreement between the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo Engravers' Union was adopted January 14, 1905. It was reported to the convention that during the time this agreement had been in effect it had given satisfaction. Allied trades councils were working under it without friction and all differences were being adjusted under the provisions of

the new agreement. Several appeal cases had been before the joint board and unanimous decisions had been reached in each instance. The agreement had worked out splendidly during the first period of its existence and it was predicted that even better results would be forthcoming.

The committee on allied trades relations recommended that the amended agreement be approved and the convention concurred in the suggestion of the committee. While the committee's report was under consideration, an attempt was made by Delegate Donnell, of Cincinnati, to have the agreement abrogated. This attempt failed, however.

Arbitration — The committee on arbitration reported to the convention that 145 arbitration agreements were in effect in seventy-five cities, seven of which had been negotiated following the St. Louis convention. Attention was called to a part of Commissioner Driscoll's address to the convention wherein he suggested that the executive council be authorized to meet with the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publisher's Association during the coming year to formulate an agreement to be submitted to both organizations for approval at their succeeding conventions. In this connection attention was called to the president's report on this subject, under the head of "Arbitration." Instead of instructing the executive council as suggested by the commissioner representing the publishers, the convention reaffirmed its belief in arbitration, but asserted that arbitration was only possible where the parties in dispute approached the question in a fair and conciliatory manner and the executive council was instructed to proceed along the lines suggested by the president in his report.

ST. LOUIS CHARTER REVOKED

On Monday, June 5, 1905, the president of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 telephoned the headquarters

of the International Typographical Union at Indianapolis and said that at a regular meeting held on June 4, St. Louis Typographical Union had instructed its officers to sign a contract for three years with the St. Louis Typothetæ, this contract to be on a nine-hour basis for the contract period. On Tuesday, June 6, the International secretary-treasurer visited St. Louis and protested against the signing of a nine-hour contract, explaining that it was illegal and in contravention of International law. On Wednesday, June 7, the executive council considered the St. Louis situation, in Kansas City, where it was then holding a conference with the representatives of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. As a result of the consideration of the St. Louis matter, the following telegrams were sent:

BOTH PARTIES DULY WARNED

[Telegram.]

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 7, 1905.

ERNEST S. HART, *President St. Louis Typothetæ (care R. B. Studley & Co.), St. Louis, Mo.:*

Executive council International Typographical Union formally notifies you, as president St. Louis Typothetæ, that any contract made with St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, without first receiving the council's approval, will be repudiated as null and void, as provided by our laws.

JAMES M. LYNCH,
HUGO MILLER,
J. W. BRAMWOOD.

[Telegram.]

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 7, 1905.

JOSEPH A. JACKSON, *408 Burlington Bldg., 910 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo.:*

By action St. Louis convention, ratified by referendum, contracts extending beyond January 1, and not including eight-hour day to become effective on January 1, will be illegal and will be repudiated by council. Representatives of No. 8 at Indianapolis and Detroit further ratified eight-hour plan and agreed that contracts before being entered into should receive approval of executive council. Therefore executive council will not recognize any contract that has not received its approval, and has today so notified the St. Louis Typothetæ.

JAMES M. LYNCH,
HUGO MILLER,
J. W. BRAMWOOD.

The executive council attended a special meeting of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, held on the evening of Thursday, June 9, and again protested against the ratifi-

cation of a three-year contract on a nine-hour basis, and pointed out the International law, the compacts entered into by No. 8 at Indianapolis and Detroit, and the provisions of the eight-hour plan endorsed by the referendum. The council urged No. 8 to stand firmly for the eight-hour day. But despite the emphatic protest of the council, the officers of No. 8 were again instructed, in compliance with their recommendation and advice, to sign the illegal contract. The following documents explain further steps in the St. Louis case:

BOTH PARTIES AGAIN WARNED

[Telegram.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., June 9, 1905.

J. A. JACKSON, *President St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, 408 Burlington Building, St. Louis, Mo.:*

The executive council of the International Typographical Union reaffirms the decision embodied in its telegram to you as president of St. Louis Typographical Union, dated June 7, 1905.

JAMES M. LYNCH,
HUGO MILLER,
J. W. BRAMWOOD.
Executive Council International Typographical Union.

[Telegram.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., June 9, 1905.

E. S. HART, *President St. Louis Typothetæ (care R. B. Studley & Co.), St. Louis, Mo.:*

The executive council of the International Typographical Union reaffirms the decision embodied in its telegram to you as president of the St. Louis Typothetæ, dated June 7, 1905.

JAMES M. LYNCH,
HUGO MILLER,
J. W. BRAMWOOD.
Executive Council International Typographical Union.

NO. EIGHT'S CHARTER SUSPENDED

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., June 12, 1905.

At a meeting of the executive council of the International Typographical Union, at which all members were present, which convened at 9:30 A. M. on the above date, the following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted by a roll-call vote:

"*Resolved,* That the charter of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 be herewith suspended, in accordance with the provisions of section 2, article 2, of the constitution of the International Typographical Union, for failure and refusal to obey the laws and legal mandates of the International Typographical Union and executive council, and the instructions of the executive council. Said suspension to take effect immediately (9:45 A. M., June 12, 1905) and continue in effect until St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 complies with the laws and legal mandates of the International Typographical Union and execu-

tive council, and until the charter of the union has been reinstated by the executive council."

James M. Lynch,
Hugo Miller,
J. W. Bramwood.

The foregoing action was telegraphed to the officers of No. 8.

[Telegram.]

Indianapolis, Ind., June 12, 1905.

E. S. Hart, *President St. Louis Typothetæ (care R. B. Studley & Co.), St. Louis, Mo.:*

Following the telegrams sent you on June 7 and 9, the executive council of the International Typographical Union formally notifies you, as president of St. Louis Typothetæ, that the charter of St. Louis Typographical Union has been suspended for violation of International law in entering into an illegal contract with St. Louis typothetæ.

James M. Lynch,
Hugo Miller,
J. W. Bramwood.
Executive Council International Typographical Union.

The president of St. Louis Typographical Union visited headquarters on Thursday, June 15, and asked that the executive council so modify the order of suspension as to permit the issuance of traveling cards, payment of per capita, etc., the suspension of No. 8 to be nominal pending review of the case by the Toronto convention. After considering the request, the council declined to accede to it.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S POSITION

[Letter.]

Indianapolis, Ind., June 17, 1905.

Mr. Joseph A. Jackson, *1517 Benton Street, St. Louis, Mo.:*

My Dear Sir—Confirming our conversation over the long-distance telephone today, I desire to say that the executive council stands just where it did on the evening of Thursday, June 8, as to the support of the members of No. 8 who may be locked out by the book and job employers in St. Louis, or who may be compelled to engage in a strike in order to conserve the law:

Provided St. Louis Union repudiates the illegal nine-hour contract with the St. Louis typothetæ and reaffirms its allegiance to International law, the eight-hour demand and the eight-hour plan endorsed by the referendum of the International Typographical Union, and serves written notice on the St. Louis typothetæ that this action has been taken.

Immediately after the action is taken and the council is furnished with an attested record of the action of the union, together with an attested copy of the notice to the St. Louis typothetæ, No. 8 will be reinstated by the executive council.

Permit me to reiterate that if trouble should occur in St. Louis because of this action by the union, and after compliance with the International Typographical Union law, as set forth under the subdivision "Defense and Strikes" (page 66, laws of 1905), then the executive council will support the reinstated union.

Pending action by the special meeting of No. 8, which you inform me is to be held tomorrow, no further steps will be taken by the council.

Fraternally,

JAMES M. LYNCH.

Approved:

J. W. BRAMWOOD,

HUGO MILLER.

ACTION BY TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION NO. 8

[Telegram.]

ST. LOUIS, MO., June 18, 1905.

JAMES M. LYNCH, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis:*

Meeting of union today declared submission to law as declared by executive council. Rescinded nine-hour scale. Particulars by mail.

J. A. JACKSON,
J. J. EARLY.

[Letter]

ST. LOUIS, June 19, 1905.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, *International Typographical Union, Indianapolis, Ind., James M. Lynch, Chairman:*

DEAR SIR: The following resolutions were adopted at a special meeting of the St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 held on June 18:

"*Resolved,* That St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, assembled in special meeting to 'consider the suspension of the charter and the new scale,' instructs the president and the secretary-treasurer of the union to immediately notify the executive council of the International Typographical Union by telegraph, and at the earliest possible moment in writing under our official seal, that Typographical Union No. 8 hereby submits to the law as declared by the council and will observe and obey the same; and that all legislation by this union in connection with the recently enacted job scale be and is hereby rescinded. And that our officers are further instructed to request the council to notify the union as soon as may be of the revocation of the order suspending No. 8's charter.

"*Resolved,* That in the opinion of the union this action is not an action upon the scale, within the meaning of the law, but is a compliance with the law as declared by the executive council, and is necessary in the emergency now confronting the union, in order to preserve our charter rights pending an appeal to the convention of the International Typographical Union."

Respectfully,

J. A. JACKSON,
President Typographical Union No. 8.

Attest:

J. J. EARLY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

[Letter]

ST. LOUIS, June 19, 1905.

C. M. SKINNER, *Chairman Executive Committee, St. Louis Typothetæ, St. Louis:*

DEAR SIR: The following resolutions were adopted at a special meeting of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, held on June 18:

Resolved, That St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, assembled in special meeting to 'consider the suspension of the charter and the new scale,' instructs the president and the secretary-treasurer of the union to immediately notify the executive council of the International Typographical Union by telegraph, and at the earliest possible moment in writing, under our official seal, that Typographical Union No. 8 hereby submits to the law as declared by the council, and will observe and obey the same; and that all legislation by this union in connection with the recently enacted job scale be and is hereby rescinded. And that our offi-

cers are further instructed to request the council to notify the union as soon as may be of the revocation of the order suspending No. 8's charter.

"*Resolved,* That in the opinion of the union this action is not an action upon the scale, within the meaning of the law, but is a compliance with the law as declared by the executive council, and is necessary in the emergency now confronting the union in order to preserve our charter rights pending an appeal to the convention of the International Typographical Union."

Respectfully,

J. A. Jackson,
President Typographical Union No. 8.

Attest:
J. J. Early,
Secretary-Treasurer.

AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES

[Telegram]

Indianapolis, June 20, 1905.

J. A. Jackson, *408 Burlington Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.:*

Acting on the first resolution contained in the communication of June 19, addressed to the executive council, signed by J. A. Jackson, as president of Typographical Union No. 8, and J. J. Early, as secretary-treasurer, the executive council has today revoked the order suspending the charter of Typographical Union No. 8. This action is taken with the understanding on the part of the executive council that No. 8 in the first resolution declares its allegiance to International law, and that the illegal nine-hour contract recently entered into between No. 8 and the St. Louis Typothetæ has been rescinded, and that No. 8 has placed itself in position to co-operate in eight-hour campaign and fulfil its pledges made at Indianapolis and Detroit, and that no contract will be entered into without compliance with International law. Answer at once if council's understanding is correct, and then formal letter reinstating charter of No. 8 will follow, reinstatement to take effect at twelve o'clock noon today.

James M. Lynch,
J. W. Bramwood,
Hugo Miller,
Executive Council International Typographical Union.

[Telegram]

St. Louis, Mo., June 20, 1905.

James M. Lynch, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.:*

Executive council's interpretation of No. 8's action correct one.

J. A. Jackson.

NUMBER EIGHT'S CHARTER REINSTATED

[Letter]

Indianapolis, June 20, 1905.

J. A. Jackson, *President, and* J. J. Early, *Secretary, St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8:*

Gentlemen: At a meeting of the executive council held this day, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas the executive council did, on June 12, 1905, resolve 'that the charter of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 be herewith suspended, in accordance with the provisions of section 2, article x, of the constitution of the International Typographical Union for failure and refusal to obey the laws and legal mandates of the International Typographical Union and executive council, and the instructions of the executive council, said suspension to take effect immediately (9:45 a. m., June 12, 1905) and continuing in effect until St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 complies with the laws and legal mandates of the International Typographical Union and the executive council, and until the charter of the union has been reinstated by the executive council;' and

"WHEREAS the International president did on June 17, 1905, with the approval of his colleagues on the executive council, write Mr. Joseph A. Jackson as follows: 'Confirming our conversation over the long-distance telephone today, I desire to say that the executive council stands just where it did on the evening of Thursday, June 8, as to the support of the members of No. 8 who may be locked out by the book and job employers in St. Louis, or who may be compelled to engage in a strike in order to conserve the law; *provided*, St. Louis Union repudiates the illegal nine-hour contract with the St. Louis Typothetæ and reaffirms its allegiance to International law, the eight-hour demand and the eight-hour plan endorsed by the referendum of the International Typographical Union and serves written notice on the St. Louis Typothetæ that this action has been taken. Immediately after the action is taken and the council is furnished with an attested record of the action of the union, together with an attested copy of the notice to the St. Louis Typothetæ, No. 8 will be reinstated by the executive council,' and

"WHEREAS the executive council has been informed, under date of June 19, by J. A. Jackson, as president of Typographical Union No. 8, and J. J. Early, as secretary-treasurer, under seal of the union, that at a special meeting of St. Louis Typographical Union held on June 18, the following was adopted: '*Resolved*, that St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, assembled in special meeting to "consider the suspension of the charter and the scale," instructs the president and the secretary-treasurer of the union to immediately notify the executive council of the International Typographical Union by telegraph, and at the earliest possible moment in writing, under our official seal, that Typographical Union No. 8 hereby submits to the law as declared by the council, and will observe and obey the same; and that all legislation by this union in connection with the recently enacted job scale be and is hereby rescinded; and the officers above named have also submitted copy of letter to the St. Louis Typothetæ embodying the action taken by St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8.

"Now, therefore, the executive council of the International Typographical Union, acting on the first resolution contained in the communication of June 19, addressed to the executive council, signed by J. A. Jackson, as president of Typographical Union No. 8, and J. J. Early, as secretary-treasurer, has today revoked the order suspending the charter of Typographical Union No. 8, this action being taken with the understanding on the part of the executive council that No. 8 in the resolution quoted heretofore declares its allegiance to International law, and that the illegal nine-hour contract recently entered into between No. 8 and the St. Louis Typothetæ has been rescinded, and that No. 8 has placed itself in position to co-operate in the eight-hour campaign and fulfil its pledges made in Indianapolis and Detroit, and that no contract will be entered into without full compliance with International law.

"*Resolved*, That the order of suspension of the charter of Typographical Union No. 8 made by the executive council on June 12, 1905, be and is hereby revoked, the reinstatement to take effect at 12 o'clock, noon, June 20, 1905."

JAMES M. LYNCH,
J. W. HRAMWOOD,
HUGO MILLER,
Executive Council International Typographical Union.

The committee on officers' reports to which the documents in the St. Louis case were referred reported that the case was set forth so clearly that comment was scarcely necessary. That the executive council was amply justified in the steps that were taken, and that the suspension of the

St. Louis Typographical Union, so promptly made, was the only remedy, drastic though it was, that could be applied. The committee therefore recommended that the action taken by the executive council in the St. Louis case be endorsed by the convention and the council commended for its prompt action in the premises.

Delegate Hertenstein (St. Louis) desired to place St. Louis Union on record and moved that the report of the committee on officers' reports be concurred in. The motion was adopted unanimously.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

Speaking of the Los Angeles Times, President Lynch, in his annual report, said:

We are still prosecuting, as vigorously as the monetary allowance will permit, the effort to unionize the Los Angeles Times. Early in the year, the executive council, following the policy of subordinating all enterprises to the eight-hour movement, reduced to $600 per month the appropriation for financing the Times contest. It was believed that amount would permit as effective a campaign as it was desirable to conduct until the eight-hour problem was determined. We have more than held our own, and the Times has continued to lose in both advertising and subscriptions. The Los Angeles Examiner is now firmly established, and its managers assert that it has more advertising and a greater circulation than the Times. While we have expended a large sum of money in the Times affair, the Examiner has paid in wages to union men more than three times the amount we have put into Los Angeles. And the Examiner is one of the results of our movement against the Times. * * *

Your president recommends that the effort to unionize the Los Angeles Times shall be continued. Success will be cheap at any expenditure.

The convention committee appointed to investigate the fight against the Times said:

We find that the present effort to unionize the Los Angeles Times has been supported financially by the International

Typographical Union for about three years and six months. We gather from the report of the secretary-treasurer that International funds to the amount of $33,650.11 have been expended in Los Angeles in connection with the Times fight. It is further set forth in the report of the president that we are now prosecuting as vigorously as the monetary allowance will permit the effort to unionize the Times; that early in the year the executive council, following the policy of subordinating all enterprises to the eight-hour movement, reduced to $600 per month the money appropriation for financing the Times contest; that even with this reduction we have more than held our own, and that the Times has continued to lose in both advertising and subscriptions.

We gather further from the report of the president that the Cincinnati convention submitted to the referendum a proposition for a special assessment of five cents per capita to finance the Los Angeles Times contest, and this proposition was adopted; that later the additional five cents was merged into the regular per capita, and that from September 26, 1904, the executive council has financed the Times fight from the regular funds; that both the Washington convention and the St. Louis convention instructed the executive council to continue financial assistance and to press the effort to secure a victory in Los Angeles.

After diligent investigation, we find that the conditions in Los Angeles prior to the date on which the present contest was inaugurated were about as bad as they well could be. While the contests against the Times were conducted vigorously by No. 174 while they lasted, they were generally declared off at the end of a few months, and accomplished practically nothing of lasting benefit. These occasional efforts usually served only to further anger the Times and make it more pronounced in its intense opposition to trade unionism generally and the Typographical Union particularly. When the present fight was begun, Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174 faced many obstacles and met with great difficulties in inaugurating necessary reforms. The Times not only gloated editorially over what it considered a vanquished foe, but made a practice of educating in its composing room young men to operate its typesetting machines, and also aided them in gaining superficial knowledge of the compositor's art. Later these

partly instructed craftsmen were sent to other portions of the coast, and in fact throughout the entire jurisdiction, to aid unfair employers in resisting requests made by typographical unions.

As Arthur A. Hay, the International Typographical Union representative in Los Angeles, will address the convention on the Times matter, your committee does not deem it necessary to here enter into details of the contest.

We earnestly agree with the recommendation in the president's report that the efforts to unionize the Los Angeles Times should be continued, and we are one with the declaration that "success will be cheap at any expenditure."

We recommend to the convention, therefore, that it endorse and approve of the Los Angeles Times contest as at present conducted; that it express its appreciation for the progress thus far made, and that it instruct the executive council to continue financial assistance for the purpose of carrying on the effort to unionize the Los Angeles Times, the council to be the judge of the amount of money necessary for this crusade.

The convention concurred in the recommendation of the committee.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

In presenting his annual report to the convention, President Lynch said:

There is but one subject before the International Typographical Union—the establishment of the principle of not more than eight hours for all members of the organization. All other problems, all other questions, all other propositions are incident to the great economic advancement that we are attempting, and which has met with success in many instances. Achieving the eight-hour day, betterments will follow naturally. Higher wages, if we are to accept the history of other organizations enjoying the eight-hour day, are sure to succeed its general introduction. Nor is there ground for claim that the employer will be unduly burdened when he can purchase from his employe only eight hours' time. Again we can appeal to other trades for substantiation of this claim. There is more building today than at any previous period, aye, and better building. More people find a livelihood in the structural

line, both as employer and employed. Modern edifices, compared with the product of the ten-hour day, are as the wooden brigantine to the modern battleship, where again the eight-hour day has scored a recent triumph. More cigars are made and consumed today under the eight-hour rule in the cigar trade than formerly under the ten and twelve-hour requirement. In our own craft larger and better newspapers are produced, with a workday of eight hours and less, than when the endurance of the individual marked the daily limit of his toil. Wherever the eight-hour day has been introduced in the book and job trade it has proved satisfactory to employer and employe, despite recent artificial objection to it in one or two instances, created in order to bolster up the crumbling contention of the nine-hour advocates. Of the total membership of the International Typographical Union, more than twenty-five thousand work eight hours or less per day. We do not want the eight-hour day by reason of charity—or philanthropy. We do not want it in order that our physical or mental well-being may be improved. We refuse to abandon our eight-hour demand because we may under present conditions be more fortunately situated than other artisans. We want the eight-hour workday because we are convinced that it suffices for the work there is to do, the work that is to be done, the demand of society for the product of the press. We propose to sell to the employer eight hours of the twenty-four, and we will do as we please with the remaining sixteen.

The Will of the Membership—The referendum approved, by a most decisive majority, the eight-hour plan submitted by the St. Louis convention. Another and most decided step was taken toward the eight-hour day for our book and job printers. And this despite the fact that effort was made, through printing trade publications and otherwise, to influence the book and job men to vote against the St. Louis method. In one large city several employers issued a circular to their employes, intimating that direful things would happen if the printers attempted to secure an eight-hour day. But the eight-hour proposition was affirmed, nevertheless, by a majority that even its most enthusiastic supporters did not hope for. The plan became effective on January 1, 1905, and provided that an assessment of one-half of one per cent "on all moneys earned be levied upon the membership of the International Typographical Union for

the purpose of a defense fund." On January 1, 1906, "the eight-hour day shall become effective in all union establishments under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union." In each instance where the eight-hour day is refused "work shall cease." In taking favorable action, the membership also declared its "entire willingness to negotiate with the United Typothetæ for an agreement under which the eight-hour day will become operative," and so instructed its eight-hour committee. Harmony, and not war, is desired. But we must have the eight-hour day.

And We Must Organize — While the membership has declared and defined its position, and given to the eight-hour movement new life and impetus, the problem is not solved by any means. We have much work to do, and we must apply ourselves to our task with zeal and determination. Every qualified journeyman that can be reached must be brought within the union fold. Money is valuable, but thorough organization is better. We must protect the union against the unaffiliated, and the surest way is through the process of elimination. Why do we find it necessary to create a defense fund? Why are strikes prolonged and defeat met with? Because of the non-unionist. Then in every jurisdiction a movement should be carried on until every journeyman printer possesses a union card. If on January 1, 1906, we control the situation through thorough organization, there will be little need of a defense fund, and there will be only rare instances of suspension of work. It is International law that "any subordinate union may consider a place within a radius of fifty miles of its location, in which place no union exists, as within its jurisdiction, for the purpose of admitting non-unionists in such place to its membership." How many unions control the territory within a radius of fifty miles? And yet this can be accomplished. There is no reason why we should not have every printer on our membership rolls, especially so in cities in which unions are now in existence. This is a most important question. It should have consideration at every union meeting between now and January 1, 1906. Do not wait until the eleventh hour.

A Tribute to Perfect Organization — In "Official Circular No. 9" the United Typothetæ of America discusses at considerable length the campaign we are making for the eight-hour day. Figures are juggled and preposterous statements abound. For instance, it is asserted that in connection with cities in

which the eight-hour day has been arranged for or is in effect "it is also worthy of note that a great majority of these points are away from the great manufacturing centers of population, and are in most cases outside of any large competitive area." It is in the following quotation, however, that the truth is told, the tribute paid to militant unionism, and the cue given to our unions. The circular says: "Again, the local conditions and the position of these various points should be considered. It is undoubtedly a fact that the majority of the cities and towns enumerated are ones in which not only the printing trade, but every other trade in that particular point, is strongly union." Is it any wonder that we urge organization? It means the eight-hour day and peace.

So That It May Be Understood — Thousands of eight-hour circulars have been distributed throughout the jurisdiction. Hundreds of eight-hour letters are now in the possession of officers and members. The St. Louis convention said:

> We endorse without reservation the work and methods of the International eight-hour committee. We believe in this connection that the committee has thoroughly covered the ground and has put into effect every method that thus far has given promise of advancement to the eight-hour cause.

In order that the attitude of the associated employers may be understood, the eight-hour circulars should be carefully digested. On this point the convention declared:

> We regret that the eight-hour day in book and job rooms is not a question at the present time for adjudication between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America, but in view of the action taken by the United Typothetæ of America in convention assembled in St. Louis, in which it is asserted "That the United Typothetæ of America declares it is opposed to any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week" and "that the United Typothetæ of America will resist any attempt on the part of the International Typographical Union to reduce the present hours of labor," no other conclusion is possible. That an agreement on peaceful lines is not now possible is solely the fault of the associated employers, and this contention is borne out by the action of their last convention. Further, we dispute the statement of the typothetæ that a reduction in the hours of labor would be disastrous to the employe. We maintain that the eight-hour day is the logical workday, that it is sufficient for the needs of the trade, and we give emphatic endorsement to the doctrine that the introduction of labor-saving machinery is not for the benefit of the employer alone, but should also result in better working conditions for the employe in the way of reduction in the hours of toil and increased remuneration.

As the Federation of Labor Sees It — President Gompers, in his report to the American Federation of Labor convention at San Francisco, took occasion to say:

> The American Federation of Labor has been of incalculable benefit to a large number of international unions and local unions in the introduction

and enforcement of the eight-hour workday, as attested by the large number of our fellows who now work under that rule. Inasmuch as the International Typographical Union has taken the initiative of its own accord in the matter of introducing and enforcing the eight-hour workday, I submit for your consideration and recommend that this movement of the International Typographical Union receive the sincere and hearty endorsement and co-operation of this convention of the American Federation of Labor, and of every union member as well as every wage earner and those who sympathize with practical, evolutionary, economic progress.

It is not now known whether there will be any contest against the eight-hour day; whether any antagonistic action will be taken by the employers to the men. We do know, however, that at the last convention of the employing printers of the United States, organized under the name of the typothetæ, a resolution was adopted declaring against that movement. In any event, it seems clear to me that every action should be taken by this convention and by our organizations generally, not only to pledge the support of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to the International Typographical Union in its effort to enforce the eight-hour day, but that a special committee be appointed by this convention to give the subject-matter consideration; that the committee should consult with the officers and representatives of the International Typographical Union during the convention and report thereto before adjournment; that either that committee or another committee be authorized to be appointed for the purpose of co-operating with the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Typographical Union, so that the best possible aid can be rendered to our fellow workers in the great movement that they have undertaken and in which they have the hopes, wishes, prayers and co-operation of every one interested in the welfare of the human family and the progress and civilization of our people.

Of course, in the effort to help one particular organization, especially in the laudable purpose it has mapped out for itself to achieve, we are not circumscribed or limited in our effort to help any and all of our fellow workmen who are in a position to make any effort for the advancement or promotion of their interests. We shall, therefore, welcome not only the initiative of our fellow unionists to obtain improved conditions, and particularly the improved conditions that come from a shorter workday, but we shall be glad to help in the initiation of any movement that will contribute in any way toward the protection, the promotion of the conditions and interests of our fellow workmen, and to render them every assistance within our power.

The Employers Organize Opposition — Under the auspices of the United Typothetæ of America, mass meetings of employing printers have been held in St. Paul, intended to cover the northwest; Kansas City, intended to cover the southwest; Atlanta, for the southeast; Boston, for the New England states, and Philadelphia for the central states. At these meetings our eight-hour campaign is the sole topic for discussion, and resolutions are adopted pledging the attendants to oppose the introduction of the eight-hour day. As far as your president is aware, the main argument at the meetings is that the eight-hour day is impractical and that it will ruin the printing business.

We do not coincide with this view, and we believe that the eight-hour day would stimulate the printing business, and in the end would be of value to the employer as well as to the employe.

In my department in the official organ I have covered all of the employers' meetings at some length, and a full review of the proceedings is not necessary at this time. Suffice it to say that the meetings have had an effect contrary to that expected, neither overawing our membership nor weakening in any way the eight-hour sentiment, but arousing our unions to the necessity for preparation and aggressive organizing campaigns have resulted.

It is also worthy of note that in some instances the attendants at these meetings have returned to their home cities and signed eight-hour contracts with our local unions. The executive committee of the United Typothetæ of America, at a meeting in Kansas City on April 11, the day succeeding the mass meeting of employers in that city, changed the arrangements for the 1905 typothetæ convention, and in this respect nullified the action taken at the St. Louis typothetæ session last year. The 1905 convention will be held in Niagara Falls, N. Y., the week of September 4. The St. Louis selection was Atlantic City, N. J., in June. Do the employers hope, or have they been led to believe, that some action may be taken by our convention that will prevent the eight-hour day from becoming effective on January 1? The changed date for the typothetæ convention emphasizes the importance of our Toronto gathering, and it is believed that it will give small comfort to the associations of employers who have announced their opposition to our eight-hour day.

What the Small Employer Can Expect — What has the small employer to gain if he affiliates with an organization composed of capitalists who control nearly all the profitable patronage, and are reaching out for the little that remains to the printer conducting a modest business? Perhaps the following, from the letter of my correspondent, who attended the St. Paul mass meeting, may answer the question: "While the guests were assembling for the banquet and business meeting, several members of the typothetæ from South Dakota decided to hold a little business meeting of their own. There were various objections to a violation of rules by South Dakota Typothetæ

members, regarding the giving of knives, fountain pens, subscriptions to newspapers, and other presents, in order to gain the good will of county officials and thus aid in landing work. It was decided that the giving of presents must be stopped. A motion was made to have the prices of county printing of a certain kind advanced one class. A member suggested that it would be necessary to advance with considerable caution. He stated that the law requires the county officials to advertise for bids for all county printing, and, while the law was a dead letter at the present time, an incautious putting on of the screws might cause some one to squeal and the law to be revived. Another member brought up the question of furnishing supplies, and moved that no supplies, legal blanks, etc., be furnished to country printers at less than list prices, thus compelling the country printer, if he desires to handle them, to charge more for them than they are being furnished for by typothetæ members. A substitute motion prevailed, however, to the effect that no county supplies whatever be furnished to country printers. It would be a good thing if country printers were made aware of this fact, in view of the effort that is being made by the United Typothetæ of America to get the country printer to help that organization in this fight against the eight-hour day."

There Are Two Objects — The organization of the employing printers is not the only object of these mass meetings, held at central points. It is realized by those in charge of the employers' campaign that in the ranks of all unions there is an element that always looks with apprehension on every forward movement. When storm clouds appear, it is this element that begins the cry for "peace at any price." Then there is the obstructionist and the member whose activity is measured by the strength and continuity of the criticism of others that is his chief characteristic. To overawe the timid and supply the critic with fresh ammunition is the main object of these "mass meetings." Only when our membership, by a majority of more than fourteen thousand votes, gave voice to the almost unanimous demand for a shorter workday in the book and job trade did the employers realize the strength and determination behind the eight-hour movement, and only then was it decided that mass meetings were required. The further action of the federation convention in San Francisco, pledging us monetary

support if necessary, again alarmed the typothetæ. They saw that the negative position taken at their last convention was not having the expected effect, and they know that the demand of twenty-three thousand of their employes cannot be smothered with resolutions. Then was the "mass meeting" idea brought to the front. It is for the timid member and professional critic that these mass meetings are held, and behind them is the hope that our ranks may be broken and thus our object defeated. The answer rests with those who have all to gain—our members.

The Six-City Conference — In April there was a conference at International headquarters between representatives of six of the largest unions of the central west—Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit and Indianapolis—and the executive council of the International Typographical Union. This conference was for the purpose of formulating a plan of action on the eight-hour question which could be followed concertedly by the unions named, all of whose wage scales have expired or will expire prior to January 1, 1906. The following plan of procedure was outlined:

We greatly regret the hostile activity of the United Typothetæ of America and other associations of employing printers in calling meetings for the purpose of arousing opposition to and denunciation of the eight-hour workday, and we fear that if this antagonistic course is continued the friendly relations now existing between the employers' organizations and the International Typographical Union will be disrupted. We believe that the dignity and business interests of the organizations of the printing trade will be best served by conference and conciliation.

We reaffirm our belief in the justice of the position of the International Typographical Union on the eight-hour question, and we suggest the appointment of a committee by the United Typothetæ of America to meet and act with our International officers, and we believe that if such a conference is held it can adjust the points that are at present in contention.

Pending a possible meeting of the representatives of the associations referred to herein, we are convinced that it is incumbent upon the unions here represented to place present conditions before the membership of these unions, so that a course of action may be agreed to that will safeguard the common cause. We submit, therefore, the following recommendations:

That in the event of the typothetæ or other employing printer associations locking out the members of any union here represented, or taking any other action precipitating a conflict on the eight-hour question prior to January 1, 1906, and prior to the effort at International conciliation alluded to herein, we can only consider such action as a violation of contract relations, and of a character unwarranted and without basis in common fairness, and as calling for a general suspension of work in the book and job trade.

That all new agreements must be presented to the executive council for approval previous to submission to employers' associations, so that nothing contained in these agreements will jeopardize the interests represented in the shorter workday movement.

We again urge on the United Typothetæ of America the desirability of a conference with the officers of the International Typographical Union, and we express it as our opinion that if the typothetæ declines to participate in such a conference, it will be held solely responsible for any friction, suspension of work, or monetary loss which may occur on and after January 1, 1906.

The foregoing was submitted to all the unions represented at the conference, and was ratified by them.

The Detroit Conference — This conference came as a result of the six-city conference and scale negotiations in Chicago and St. Louis. Representatives of the Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Detroit Typothetæ recently met in the first-named city and agreed upon a uniform three-year contract, with the exception of the rate of wages, said form of contract specifying that the nine-hour day should prevail during the life of the agreement. The typothetæ representatives also asked that a conference be held between representatives of the unions and the typothetæ in certain cities, for the purpose of considering the points at issue—especially the shorter workday—and endeavoring to reach an amicable adjustment, it being understood that the executive officers of the International Typographical Union and United Typothetæ would be in attendance. The representatives of the unions readily agreed to this, and the conference was arranged to take place in Indianapolis on Friday and Saturday, May 26-27, the place of meeting being later changed to Detroit, owing to the disinclination of the executive officers of the United Typothetæ to meet in Indianapolis.

The meeting was attended by representatives from Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis and Detroit Typothetæ—the typothetæ of Cincinnati and Cleveland failing to attend, though invited to do so—and representatives of Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Cleveland typographical unions. The executive council of the International Typographical Union and the executive officers of the United Typothetæ attended in an advisory capacity.

The better part of two days was spent in endeavoring to arrive at an amicable adjustment of the eight-hour question, but without avail. On Saturday the joint committee of two from each local organization represented—appointed the previous day—reported its inability to agree, and its report was accepted by the conference.

The committee's report showed that the union representatives introduced and urged several conciliatory propositions, but that

they were met on each occasion by an utter refusal on the part of the typothetæ members to consider aught except absolute surrender on the part of the union so far as the shorter workday is concerned.

After some discussion the following resolution, offered by the union representatives, was adopted just prior to adjournment:

It is the sense of this body that the officers of the International Typographical Union and the officers of the United Typothetæ of America get together some time between now and January 1, 1906, in an endeavor to arrive at an amicable adjustment of this difference.

At a meeting of the union representatives after the closing of the conference the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

We, the undersigned representatives of Indianapolis Typographical Union No. 1, Cincinnati Typographical Union No. 3, St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8, Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, Detroit Typographical Union No. 18 and Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53, having met in conference in the city of Detroit with representatives of the typothetæ in our different cities, in an effort to adjust the eight (8) hour question, and having made several fair and reasonable propositions, all of which have been rejected by the typothetæ,

Now, therefore, take the first opportunity after the adjournment of the joint conference, to reaffirm our allegiance to and support for the eight (8) hour movement, and the plan outlined by the International Typographical Union for putting the eight (8) hour day into effect.

The executive council of the International Typographical Union has been, and is now, ready and willing to meet the executive officers of the United Typothetæ for the purpose of endeavoring to reach an amicable adjustment of the eight-hour question, but all overtures to that end have so far failed to elicit a favorable response from officials of the United Typothetæ.

President Ellis' Address — On the morning of the second day of the Toronto convention, President Lynch announced that George H. Ellis, president of the United Typothetæ of America, and William Green, chairman of the executive committee, were in waiting and ready to address the convention. There being no objection, the gentlemen were escorted to the platform. The president of the United Typothetæ of America then addressed the convention as follows:

I wish to thank your executive council for the invitation to

speak to you this morning on behalf of the United Typothetæ of America, to present as best I may the employer's side of the eight-hour question.

Before doing so I wish to say a personal word. In the last number of the Typographical Journal is a report of a meeting of employing printers, held a short time since in Milwaukee, at which I am credited with the following:

> Mr. Ellis said it was a crime against the constitution to make a contract with organized labor. It was detrimental to the willing non-union workers, and tended to deprive them of making a living. That he hoped they would never be under obligation to sign any agreement in the future.

This is absolutely and unequivocally false, and such meaning could not be twisted out of anything that I said. To those of you who know me I hardly need to say that I not only said no such thing, but that I hold no such views.

I wish also to correct another misstatement. It has been repeatedly stated in print and in various public meetings that the officers of the United Typothetæ of America have refused to confer with your officers on the eight-hour question. This is not true. The officers of the United Typothetæ of America have not received, directly or indirectly, any request for a conference until within the last week, since the meeting of the United Typothetæ of America in St. Louis in June of last year. At that time a conference was held, and the result of the discussion in our convention, as embodied in its preamble and resolutions, was reported to your committee. It is true that the stand taken by the United Typothetæ of America in these resolutions was so decided as to lead your president to remark that he supposed there was no use in further conference, but I think those resolutions have not been fully understood, and I would like to read them here.

> Whereas the International Typographical Union has asked the United Typothetæ of America to declare its position upon the proposed eight-hour day; and
>
> Whereas under existing conditions any attempt to reduce the hours of labor in the printing trade would be disastrous to the employer and employe alike;
>
> *Be it resolved,* That the United Typothetæ of America declares that it is opposed to any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week; and
>
> *Be it further resolved,* That the United Typothetæ of America will resist any attempt on the part of the International Typographical Union to reduce the present hours of labor.

That the typothetæ is not opposed to conferences is, I think, fully proved by the action of the local typothetæ of Chicago,

St. Louis, Indianapolis and Detroit, who themselves proposed the so-called Detroit conference, at which, beside the local committee, your executive council and the committee of the United Typothetæ of America were present.

As president of the United Typothetæ of America it has been my duty, with other members of the executive committee, to attend the meetings of employing printers held to consider this question during the past few months in different parts of the country; not, as has been frequently stated, to stir up opposition to the ultimatum of the International Typographical Union, but to learn the sentiment of the employing printers on this question, and of course to assist in organizing such opposition if it existed; and almost without exception we found the conviction expressed that it would be ruinous to undertake to put the printing offices on an eight-hour basis in the immediate future.

This is not guess work on the part of the employers, for they had an experience with the reduction from ten hours to nine. This reduction, as many of you will remember, was advocated by members of the Boston Typothetæ, to which I happened to belong, for several years before it was brought about by the Syracuse conference; and yet today, not only is every member of the Boston Typothetæ opposed to this further reduction of hours, but every man will stand out against it, and while they now have no less sympathy with their employes, and would be glad to meet their wishes if possible, they are convinced through experience that the reduction is not so simple a matter as appears on the surface; that its effects are far reaching.

The theory that about as much would be accomplished in nine hours as in ten was a delusion. Not only is no more work done per hour, but the better work which it was prophesied would result has not been forthcoming, while the reduction was not merely one hour in ten, but the actual working time on a ten-hour basis, being not more than nine and one-half hours on the average, with the shorter day the whole hour comes off the working time.

The claim that the introduction of machinery into the composing room makes the shorter workday possible is fallacious. Not only is it impossible to do a large part of the work coming to the general office today on machines, but even on

such work as can be done on them it must be remembered that the work of operatives on machines is but a part of the necessary cost of the completed composition; proofreading, make-up and general expenses are not reduced by them, while everv department of the business will be affected.

The claim that the nine-hour day is excessive on sanitary grounds is hardly worthy of consideration; the phvsical condition of our employes is sufficient answer to that.

The decrease in hours and increase in wages since 1898 amount on the average to at least an increase of 33 1-3 per cent in wages per hour, and the increased cost of a further reduction to eight hours will result in an additional increased labor cost of from 18 to 25 per cent, depending upon conditions and locality. For it should be remembered that this reduction must be followed either by increasing the size and cost of the plant, with attendant increase in rents, etc., or the work must be done on overtime and at overtime prices—elements too often overlooked in the computation.

The building trades, so often cited as on eight hours, form no basis of comparison, as the invested capital per employe is but a small percentage of that in the printing business, and their work must be done on the premises, while much printing can be done anywhere; and such an increase in cost as is contemplated, which must inevitably be borne by the customer will result in driving no inconsiderable work out of the country. This is no idle dream, it is a cold fact as stated by reputable publishers in the city of New York. The increase in cost will inevitably result in a reduction of the total amount of work to be done, for the large purchasers of printing are counting the cost as never before, and competition is not alone between men, but between methods as well, and any considerable increase in cost will change the current which has been for some years so largely in the direction of catalogue work and other printing, into other channels.

Comparison is sometimes made between the working hours in newspaper and in book and job offices. I do not need in this assembly to call attention to the difference in conditions. In the newspaper offices the demand is for the greatest possible output in the shortest possible time, and the nervous strain to which a newspaper man is subjected when compared to that of the book and job man is, I believe, even now disproportionate

to the difference in working time. Then the work must be done, not only in a specified time, but in a specified place, and is not in any sense a subject of competition.

Gentlemen, if you carry out your program and insist on eight hours or a strike next January, sorry as we shall all be (and we shall be sorry, as we always are at any differences between employers and employes), there is no alternative for us. We must meet you in a fight which will mean much to both of us, but in which we are fighting with our all at stake, and we *must* fight to win.

This is not a matter of principle, but a practical question of dollars and cents. In our convention, in the many meetings of employing printers throughout the country and during the year in constant interviews and correspondence with the employing printers of the country, I find there is an almost unanimous feeling that it is impossible for them to increase the price of their product to their customers; and under these circumstances it means, should they accept the eight-hour day, certain ruin.

By your demand, you are presenting to the employing printers of the country the two horns of a dilemma: Either to accept the eight-hour day and face certain ruin, or to fight your demand to the very limit of their resources. I recognize that both your officers and many of your rank and file honestly differ with the belief of the employing printers that the eight-hour day would bring to them ruin. Yet you must accept their honesty of mind in believing the contrary, and give due weight to their experience in the conduct of their business.

The situation then narrows itself down to the following: If you insist upon the eight-hour day, the printers of America must fight you. We have no idea that in every place we will be successful, but we are confident that in the majority of cases we will win, and that the present relationship between your union and the United Typothetæ of America will be broken up—a relationship which has been to the benefit of both parties—and that, from now on, throughout this country most of the large book and job offices will operate in disregard of your organization, if not in hostile opposition to it.

The insistence on the eight-hour day on January 1, 1906, will result in a disastrous warfare; and the object of my presence here today is to assure you, gentlemen, in spite of the

many reports to the contrary, that the employing printers of the United States are sincere in their opposition to this movement and will resist it to the last ditch.

One thing more: It has been stated that if there is a strike, we, the employers, will be held responsible. We deny this responsibility. Employing printers as a class were never more anxious for co-operation with their employes than now. Never did they realize more fully that their interests are largely identical, that prosperity for one means prosperity for both—look back over the past few years and see how fairly your demands have been met—but when their business sense and experience tell them that you are asking what cannot be granted, they must refuse at any cost.

I sincerely hope that your more mature judgment will rescind a resolution, which, if acceded to by your employers, will mean ruin to many of them and no financial advantage to yourselves.

Report of the Committee on Eight-Hour Day — Following is submitted the complete report of the convention's eight-hour day committee. The report is given in full because of its importance as an official document, containing invaluable information concerning the preliminary campaign leading up to the real eight-hour struggle:

TORONTO, ONT., August 17, 1905.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-First Session of the International Typographical Union:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—Your committee on the eight-hour day begs leave to submit the following report:

In the first instance the committee is of the opinion that, owing to the near approach of the date upon which it has been determined by our referendum that the eight-hour day shall be inaugurated, a review of the history of the eight-hour movement is desirable, in order that the delegates to this convention may thoroughly understand the steps that have been taken, and that they be familiar with all phases of the subject. The committee has been to some labor to prepare this data, and it is of the opinion that the report it herewith submits will be of value, not only to this convention, but to the membership at large.

At the forty-eighth session of the International Typographical Union, held in Cincinnati, August 11-17, 1902, the following was adopted:

"That the executive council of the International Typographical Union and the first vice-president are directed to act as a committee for the purpose of devising and putting into effect plans for the establishment of an eight-hour day throughout the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union at as early a date as practicable.

"That local unions be required to act in conjunction with the said committee in furthering its plans, and that they be enjoined from making contracts extending beyond October 1, 1905, which require their members to work more than eight hours per day.

"That the said committee bring the matter before the national typothetæ, to the end that the eight-hour day may be put into operation without friction.

"That should the committee deem it necessary to add to its numbers, it shall be empowered to do so."

The report of the president to the Cincinnati session, treating of the eight-hour day in book and job rooms, said:

"Various methods have been suggested whereby the eight-hour day can generally be put into effect in book and job rooms, and all of these have merit. One of these suggestions which particularly appeals to our members as feasible, and also just to the employers, is that the working time shall be reduced fifteen minutes each year for four years, or until the eight-hour day is an accomplished fact. * * * That the eight-hour day will eventually be established as the maximum for our entire membership goes without challenge. We trust that it may come peaceably, but in any event, come it must."

The Cincinnati convention also directed that "Local unions, in forming new scales, make an effort to secure the eight-hour day."

In circular No. 1, the International eight-hour committee made the following recommendations:

"1. That in the making of new scales or contracts local unions endeavor to incorporate the suggestion contained in the president's annual report, and made a part of this circular—that the working time in book and job rooms be reduced fifteen minutes each year for four years. This suggestion to apply in case agreements, embracing better terms, cannot be negotiated.

"2. That an eight-hour committee of not less than five members shall be appointed at once.

"3. Every movement, to be successful, must be properly financed. It is recommended, therefore, that local unions and eight-hour committees give consideration to the establishment of an eight-hour fund. If needed, it is vital that the money shall be on hand."

Circular No. 2 again made reference to the request that local eight-hour committees should be appointed, and asked for the names of members making up these committees. It was again pointed out that—

"Every movement to be successful must be properly financed. It is recommended, therefore, that local unions and eight-hour committees give consideration to the establishment of an eight-hour fund. If needed, it is vital that the money shall be on hand."

The instructions enacted by the Cincinnati convention were printed in black type at the beginning of circular No. 2:

"That the local unions be required to act in conjunction with the said committee in furthering its plans, and that they be enjoined from making contracts extending beyond October 1, 1905, which require their members to work more than eight hours per day."

Circular No. 3 informed the membership that since the eight-hour day agitation was launched many locals have provided in contracts for the gradual shortening of the hours, and the inauguration of the eight-hour day on October 1, 1905. Continuing, this circular said:

"In the making of new contracts in your jurisdiction, effort should be put forth to secure the eight-hour day at once if possible; if not, the gradual reduction of the hours, or the eight-hour day on a specified date not later than October 1, 1905. * * * Local eight-hour committees must be guided largely by local conditions. In a sense the achievement of the shorter workday is a local question. If the opportunity presents itself, make the most of it. Hold frequent committee meetings and discuss ways and means to achieve the

desired end. That which may seem an impossibility now, will become a reality through energetic, constant and intelligent effort."

Circular No. 4 asked for local data.

Circular No. 5 gave certain statistical information that was gathered as a result of the local data asked for in circular No. 4. The report of the eight-hour committee at the Washington convention, which was adopted by that gathering, is also made a part of circular No. 5. The proposition receiving the sanction of the committee was as follows:

"Whereas many unions have secured agreements with employers for the inauguration of an eight-hour workday in the book and job offices; therefore,

"*Be it resolved,* That subordinate unions, in entering into such agreements, are instructed to secure the eight-hour workday in preference to the forty-eight-hour week, or any plan that permits of the time gained being deducted from any one day, to the end that the spirit of the shorter workday movement may be observed, and more work distributed among the book and job men not regularly employed."

It was also adopted:

"That the committee on eight-hour day be instructed to notify local unions which have not already obtained the eight-hour day or made contracts binding them to its provisional institution, that it is the sense of the International Typographical Union that they make effort on January 1, 1905, to obtain the eight-hour day according to plans deemed most expedient by such local unions in their several localities."

Continuing, the committee said:

"Your committee congratulates the president and the executive council on the large number of unions that have secured, or partially secured, the eight-hour day during the past year through their efforts, and urges upon all local unions and eight-hour committees to put forth the greatest efforts during the coming year.

"From the data furnished the committee we find that a large number of local unions failed to report their status on the eight-hour day after blanks had been sent them requesting such information, and your committee respectfully urges all local unions to take a more active interest and lend greater support to the executive officers.

"Your committee recommends and urges all delegates in attendance at this convention, on return to their respective unions, to incorporate in their reports a statement of the progress of the eight-hour day during the past year, and to use their best endeavors to have their local committee 'wake up,' and those not having such committee to immediately appoint one, for it is only by persistent effort and keeping constantly at it that we can hope to achieve the desired aim."

Circular No. 6 stated that frequently a local committee wrote the International committee that the local union which it represented was situated in a jurisdiction too large or too small for an immediate attempt for the eight-hour day. Attention was called to the fact that a large union, San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21, and a small union, Paducah Typographical Union No. 134, had arranged for and enforced the eight-hour day. It was pointed out that—

"The result achieved by these two unions, and by more than eighty other typographical unions, can be brought about by every typographical union that does not at present enforce the eight-hour day in its book and job rooms."

Circular No. 7 gave that portion of the report of President Lynch to the St. Louis convention dealing with the eight-hour campaign and the progress that had been made, together with excerpts from the reports of officers to the convention of the United Typothetæ of America, previously held in the city of St. Louis, Mo.

Convention at Toronto, 1905

We quote herewith the following resolutions adopted by the United Typothetæ at its St. Louis convention, together with the letter of transmission to our representatives:

"St. Louis, June 23, 1904.

"Messrs. Lynch, Bramwood and Miller, *Committee from International Typographical Union:*

"Gentlemen—In accordance with your request, expressed in the conference yesterday, that we should obtain from the convention a statement of its attitude upon the proposed eight-hour day, we placed the matter before the convention, and also the telegram addressed to you from Indianapolis, and beg to submit in reply thereto the following resolutions, which were passed unanimously:

"Whereas the International Typographical Union has asked the United Typothetæ of America to declare its position upon the proposed eight-hour day; and

"Whereas under existing conditions any attempt to reduce the hours of labor in the printing trade would be disastrous to the employer and employe alike;

"*Be it resolved,* That the United Typothetæ of America declares that it is opposed to any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week; and

"*Be it further resolved,* That the United Typothetæ of America will resist any attempt on the part of the International Typographical Union to reduce the present hours of labor.

"Yours very truly,

"William Green,
"George H. Ellis,
"Harry P. Pears,
"Thomas E. Donnelly,
"F. C. Nunemacher."

It was pointed out in the report of the president that—

"The recently oft-repeated assertion that the eight-hour day in book and job rooms is a question for adjudication between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America was put to the test in St. Louis on June 22 and 23. The annual convention of the typothetæ was held in the Exposition City the week of the 20th. Prior to this gathering, the International president addressed a letter to the typothetæ secretary reciting the action taken by our Cincinnati convention on the eight-hour proposition, and continuing: 'It has been frequently intimated by local associations of the typothetæ that the eight-hour day was an issue that should be adjusted between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America, and that these local associations were willing to accept and put into effect any conclusion that might be arrived at by the higher bodies. So often, indeed, has this intimation been made, and in several instances accepted by our local unions that the eight-hour committee for the International Typographical Union is prepared and anxious to demonstrate the effectiveness of the suggestion. Therefore, our eight-hour committee, or a majority of that committee, will be in St. Louis during your eighteenth annual convention, which, I understand, will be held during the week commencing Monday, June 20, 1904, in the convention hall of the Century building, Ninth and Olive streets. Our committee will at that time, or at such time during the week as may be designated by your convention, be pleased to meet a committee representing your association, for the purpose of discussing the eight-hour day, and, if possible, arriving at a conclusion that may be submitted to the United Typothetæ of America and the International Typographical Union for consideration and possible ratification.'

"In accordance with our request, the typothetæ convention instructed a

committee to meet with our International representatives, and conferences were held on June 22 and 23. At the first meeting the employers asked us to make a proposition for the inauguration of the shorter workday, which they would present to their convention. This was declined, our committee requesting that before any discussion as to detail the typothetæ should declare its position on the shorter workday proposition. If this attitude was favorable, we said the two committees could then take up and endeavor to reach an agreement as to the date on which the reduction or partial reduction in hours should take place. On the other hand, if the attitude of the United Typothetæ was unfavorable to a curtailment of the present working time, then we wanted to know that, and in such a way that there would remain no room for misunderstanding. In other words, if the employer should give us a negative reply, we wanted it on the main question, and not on a proposition from us for the inauguration of the shorter workday on a certain date which might leave local associations free to assert that the United Typothetæ had not declared itself against the eight-hour day, but only against its initiation on the date which our committee had named. This was finally agreed to, and on the 23rd we were given a copy of the resolutions adopted by the typothetæ convention, squarely setting forth the position of the United Typothetæ of America on the request made by the International Typographical Union for an agreement under which the eight-hour day would become effective in book and job rooms. It was just the answer we expected, and we were in no wise disappointed. Indeed, we believed that we had reason for congratulating ourselves in that the atmosphere had been thoroughly cleared, and henceforth we would know exactly where we stood. There can be no further shifting of the problem to other shoulders by either local unions or local employers. It is a clean-cut, well-defined, pressing condition."

We continue to quote from the report of the president to the St. Louis convention, as we believe that that report, taken in connection with the resolutions adopted by the St. Louis convention of the United Typothetæ of America, makes ridiculous some recent statements by the typothetæ, and also clearly sets forth the attitude of that association toward the eight-hour day at the time our St. Louis convention met.

"Recently I made reference in my Journal notes to 'Circular No. 6,' issued from the headquarters of the United Typothetæ of America, and which contained this statement: 'The efforts of the International Typographical Union to inaugurate a shorter workday have been met by the earnest opposition of the United Typothetæ of America, and every effort possible is being made to advise cities where agitation is carried on to turn a deaf ear to any such suggestion, and, if necessary, fight it.' On this the following comment was made: 'Some of our members have inclined to the belief that conferences should be sought with the officers of the United Typothetæ of America relative to the eight-hour day, and the above quotation may bring about a change in this regard. The typothetæ intends to oppose the eight-hour day just so long as opposition is feasible. When the employing book and job printers become convinced that we are determined in our efforts to secure the shorter workday, then will it be possible to confer with prospect for success. The agitation for the nine-hour day extended over many years before it crystallized and had result. Success came when the membership was aroused.'

"Under the caption 'Some Additional Evidence,' the following was also printed in my department: 'In an address delivered at New Haven, January 19, before the Connecticut State Typothetæ, by the secretary of the United Typothetæ of America, that official is reported to have said: 'The length of the workday is not of so much importance as the returns received. We are endeavoring to suppress all agitation started by the International Typographical Union. If the hours are reduced the expenses of the business are added to by 15 per cent. There is a movement in Congress to frame an

eight-hour day, which is a dangerous one. We are opposing it because it is unwise, and we are petitioning our members to have their senators oppose the bill. We are also antagonizing the anti-injunction bill. We stand for the "open" office, although we agree that the union men are the best workmen that we can secure.' Could there be a clearer outline of the attitude of the associated employing printers toward the agitation for a shorter workday? Yet we are told to confer with the United Typothetæ of America! Yes, when we have aroused the union printers of the country, when we have imbued them with eight-hour enthusiasm, when we have solidified and crystallized the eight-hour demand, when there is no room for doubt as to our attitude, then we will confer. And then will a conference be successful. Nevertheless the agitation for the conference continued. It has been held. We have the result. And we repeat, 'When the employing book and job printers become convinced that we are determined in our efforts to secure the shorter workday, then will it be possible to confer with prospect for success.' "

The president, in referring to the Syracuse agreement, said, in his report to the St. Louis convention:

"In some localities employers insist that we are bound by the nine-hour agreement. On this point, a typothetæ circular says: 'It must not be forgotten that the United Typothetæ of America has an agreement with the International Typographical Union as well as other unions connected with the printing trades for a fifty-four-hour week, entered into at Syracuse in 1898, and that the terms of this agreement never have been changed, and must remain in force until formal notice of withdrawal of request for an alteration of its requirements have been submitted to the United Typothetæ of America.'

"A reading of the 1898 agreement referred to will demonstrate conclusively the lack of basis for the statement made in the official circular. It only specified the dates on which the nine and one-half and nine-hour day became effective."

The number of unions having the eight-hour day, those having arranged for the same, the unions then working less than nine hours but having sent in no data for the shorter workday, and unions then working less than nine hours having the eight-hour day arranged for, were given in circular No. 7.

Circular No. 8 set forth the action taken by the St. Louis convention, and which was then before the referendum for its consideration.

Circular No. 9 again touched on the St. Louis plan, which had received a majority in the referendum of 14,085.

Your committee reproduces herewith entirely the report of the eight-hour committee to the St. Louis convention, which was later submitted to the referendum, and, as has been pointed out, adopted by that body.

"Your committee on the eight-hour day has carefully considered that portion of the report of President Lynch captioned 'The Eight-Hour Day,' and which we are informed is intended as the report of the International eight-hour committee, and has also had in review the circulars thus far issued by the International eight-hour committee, seven in number. We have also had before us President Lynch, who has explained fully and in detail the various steps taken by the committee, the work performed and the general object in view.

"After a careful review of the eight-hour movement and the documents indicated, we desire to report to the convention as follows:

"First—We endorse without reservation the work and methods of the International eight-hour committee. We believe in this connection that the committee has thoroughly covered the ground and has put into effect every method that thus far has given promise of advancement to the eight-hour cause.

"Second—We believe with President Lynch that 'The eight-hour-day sub-

ject will not grow old until the inauguration of the eight-hour day is in itself an event of the past rather than something that must yet be brought about.'

"Third—We regret that the eight-hour day in book and job rooms is not a question at the present time for adjudication between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America, but in view of the action taken by the United Typothetæ of America in convention assembled at St. Louis, in which it is asserted 'That the United Typothetæ of America declares it is opposed to any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week,' and 'that the United Typothetæ of America will resist any attempt on the part of the International Typographical Union to reduce the present hours of labor,' no other conclusion is possible. That an agreement on peaceable lines is not now possible is solely the fault of the associated employers, and this contention is borne out by the action of their last convention. Further, we dispute the statement of the typothetæ that a reduction in the hours of labor would be disastrous to the employer. We maintain that the eight-hour day is the logical workday, that it is sufficient for the needs of the trade, and we give emphatic endorsement to the doctrine that the introduction of labor-saving machinery is not for the benefit of the employer alone, but should also result in better working conditions for the employe in the way of reduction in the hours of toil and increased remuneration.

"Fourth—The claim advanced by the typothetæ that it has an agreement with the International Typographical Union for a fifty-four-hour week which precludes any attempt on the part of our organization for a shorter workday or week, is not borne out by the terms of the Syracuse agreement, and we believe it is made at this time simply in furtherance of the intention to construct as many obstacles to the eight-hour day as is possible.

"Fifth—We congratulate the International eight-hour committee on the large number of unions that have thus far succeeded in inaugurating the eight-hour day, or that have made arrangements under which the eight-hour day will shortly come into effect. In view of the fact that it took more than twenty years to bring about the nine-hour day, we have especial cause for jubilation over the progress that has thus far been made toward the logical and inevitable eight-hour workday.

"Sixth—We endorse the statement made by President Lynch, and we desire to impress it on the delegates to this convention and through them on the membership at large, that when the employing book and job printers become convinced that we are determined in our efforts to secure the shorter workday, then it will be possible to confer with the United Typothetæ of America with prospect for success.

"After weighing carefully the various plans and methods that have been suggested to the convention the adoption of the following preamble and resolution, which, when referred to the referendum and adopted by it, will place the International Typographical Union squarely on record on the eight-hour-day proposition, and indicate beyond question the date on which the eight-hour day shall become effective in all union establishments:

"Whereas in the movement for an eight-hour day for the book and job members of the Typographical Union, authorized by our Cincinnati convention, the International eight-hour committee has sought an agreement with the United Typothetæ of America under which the eight-hour day could be made effective on a mutually satisfactory plan, and with the minimum embarrassment to the interest of our employers; and

"Whereas the overtures for peace thus made were refused and declined, and replied to with a threat, combined with a practical declaration of war should any effort be made to achieve the shorter workday, as witness the language of the resolution adopted by the late typothetæ convention; and

"Whereas we reaffirm and again demand the eight-hour day for our book and job members;

"Whereas your committee having carefully considered Propositions Nos. 35, 61, 62, 63, 98, 103 and 129, submit in lieu thereof, the following:

"*Resolved*, That we again declare our entire willingness to negotiate with the United Typothetæ for an agreement under which the eight-hour day will become operative, and so instruct our eight-hour committee.

"*Resolved*, That an assessment of one-half of one (1) per cent on all moneys earned be levied upon the membership of the International Typographical Union for the purpose of a defense fund. Such fund to be held and expended by the subordinate union, except in those cases where no trouble is experienced in putting in operation the eight-hour day, and in such unions one-half of the assessment to be subject to call of the International officers for use in the furtherance of the eight-hour day as deemed in their judgment necessary.

"*Resolved*, That on January 1, 1906, the eight-hour day shall become effective in all union establishments under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, where existing contracts do not prevent, and in each instance where the eight-hour day is refused, work shall cease.

"In conclusion, your committee desires to urge upon this convention, and the membership at large, the advisability and necessity of adopting the resolutions herein set forth, and preparing in every way possible for effective action if resistance to the eight-hour day develops on or prior to January 1, 1906."

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco in November, 1904, President Gompers, in his report to the gathering, took occasion to say:

"The American Federation of Labor has been of incalculable benefit to a large number of international unions and local unions in the introduction and enforcement of the eight-hour workday, as attested by the large number of our fellows who are now under that rule. Inasmuch as the International Typographical Union has taken the initiative of its own accord in the matter of introducing and enforcing the eight-hour workday, I submit for your consideration and recommend that this movement of the International Typographical Union receive the sincere and hearty endorsement and co-operation of this convention of the American Federation of Labor, and of every union member, as well as every wage earner and those who sympathize with practical, evolutionary, economic progress.

"It is not now known whether there will be any contest against the eight-hour day; whether any antagonistic action will be taken by the employers to the men. We do know, however, that at the last convention of the employing printers of the United States, organized under the name of the typothetæ, a resolution was adopted declaring against that movement. In any event, it seems clear to me that every action should be taken by this convention and by our organization generally, not only to pledge the support of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to the International Typographical Union in its effort to enforce the eight-hour day, but that a special committee be appointed by this convention to give the subject matter consideration; that the committee should consult with the officers and representatives of the International Typographical Union during the convention and report thereto before adjournment; that either that committee or another committee be authorized to be appointed for the purpose of co-operating with the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the International Typographical Union, so that the best possible aid can be rendered to our fellow workers in the great movement that they have undertaken, and in which they have the hopes, wishes, prayers and co-operation of every one interested in the welfare of the human family and the progress and civilization of our people.

"Of course, in the effort to help one particular organization, especially in

the laudable purpose it has mapped out for itself to achieve, we are not circumscribed or limited in our effort to help any and all of our fellow workmen who are in a position to make any effort for the advancement or promotion of their interests. We shall, therefore, welcome not only the initiative of our fellow unionists to obtain improved conditions, and particularly the improved conditions that come from a shorter workday, but we shall be glad to help in the initiation of any movement that will contribute in any way toward the protection, the promotion of the conditions and interests of our fellow workmen, and to render them every assistance within our power."

Your committee finds that the special committee to which was referred that part of the report of the president of the American Federation of Labor, treating of our eight-hour movement, made the following report, adopted unanimously by the convention and quoted in full in the report of the International president to this convention, and again quoted in full in this report:

"We have had before us the president of the International Typographical Union, and we find that the movement for the eight-hour day for the book and job printers of the United States and Canada was inaugurated at the Cincinnati convention of the International Typographical Unon, held in 1902, that it was further considered at the Washington convention, held in 1903, and that at the St. Louis convention, held in August of this year, it was decided that the eight-hour day should be enforced on January 1, 1906, and that for the financial support of this movement an assessment of one-half of one per cent should be levied on the earnings of all the members of the International Typographical Union.

"This plan was submitted to a referendum vote, as provided by the laws of the International Typographical Union, and President Lynch informs your committee that the proposition received a majority of more than fourteen thousand votes. Therefore the assessment will become effective on January 1, 1905, and on January 1, 1906, effort will be made to put the eight-hour day into effect.

"We are also informed that there is an association of commercial printers entitled the United Typothetæ of America, the employers' association. That the officers of the International Typographical Union have made effort to secure an agreement with the United Typothetæ under which the eight-hour day for book and job printers would become effective, and that the employers' association has thus far refused to enter into such an agreement. We are furthermore informed that the United Typothetæ of America is at present accumulating a defense fund in order that the eight-hour day enforcement may be combated. It is hoped by the employers to gather together at least $500,000. In view of the above your committee would recommend:

"First—That the American Federation of Labor approve and endorse the movement under way by the International Typographical Union for an eight-hour day for the book and job printers of the United States and Canada, and pledge to the support of this movement, both moral and financial assistance.

"Second—That if at any time after January 1, 1906, the International Typographical Union desires the financial support of the American Federation of Labor, and if, after investigation by the executive council, such financial support is found necessary in order to insure victory to the printers, the executive council shall levy the constitutional assessment on affiliated bodies, this assessment to continue for such length of time as in the judgment of the executive council may be necessary.

"Third—Your committee recommends that a committee of five members be appointed to act with the executive council in furthering the eight-hour day for the book and job printers.

"And we desire to conclude this report by extending to the International Typographical Union the hearty well wishes of the American Federation of Labor for the success of the printers' eight-hour project."

Circular No. 11 urged the necessity for organization work, and asserted that the eight-hour day could be accomplished without friction if the proper organization effort was put forth.

Circular No. 12 gave the list of eight-hour unions on May 1, 1905.

Circular No. 13 gave the list of eight-hour unions on June 1, 1905.

Circular No. 14 sets forth the correspondence and facts in the St. Louis case.

Circular No. 15 gave the eight-hour unions on July 1, 1905.

Returning now to the report of the president to this convention, containing also the report of the International eight-hour committee, and that section of the report covering the eight-hour campaign, we desire to say, in entire agreement with the president, that there is but one subject before the International Typographical Union—the establishment of the principle of not more than eight hours' work for all members of the organization. We coincide with his statement:

"All other problems, all other questions, all other propositions are incident to the great economic advancement that we are attempting, and which has met with success in many instances. Achieving the eight-hour day, betterments will follow naturally. Higher wages, if we are to accept the history of other organizations enjoying the eight-hour day are sure to succeed its general introduction."

We find from the report of the president that there were issued during the fiscal year 10,000 copies of Eight-Hour Circular No. 8, 10,000 copies of Eight-Hour Circular No. 9, 35,000 copies of Eight-Hour Circular No. 10, 20,000 copies of Eight-Hour Circular No. 11, 3,000 copies of Eight-Hour Circular No. 12, and 18,000 circulars under the following titles: "Golden Nuggets," "Boost" and "Organize!" Attached to the latter were blanks showing the plan used by Chicago Typographical Union to obtain names and addresses of non-union printers in the jurisdiction of No. 16 and the adjacent territory, and it is stated that this plan had been adopted by many locals. Total number of circulars distributed was 96,000, making 23,375 packages. One thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven boxes of eight-hour buttons, containing from 15 to 1,000 buttons, a total of 50,000, were also mailed to secretaries and presidents of local unions, eight-hour committeemen, chairmen of chapels. Ten thousand eight-hour buttons of special design were furnished to our Canadian locals.

Under the auspices of the United Typothetæ of America, mass meetings of employing printers have been held in St. Paul, intended to cover the northwest; Kansas City, intended to cover the southwest; Atlanta, for the southeast; Boston, for the New England states; Philadelphia, for the central states, and Milwaukee, for the central northwestern states. It is stated by the president that

"At these meetings our eight-hour campaign is the sole topic for discussion, and resolutions are adopted pledging the attendants to oppose the introduction of the eight-hour day. As far as your president is aware, the main argument at the meeting is that the eight-hour day is impractical, and that it will ruin the printing business."

We agree with the president that we can not coincide with this view, and we are one with him in the belief that the eight-hour day will stimulate the printing business, and in the end will be of value to the employer as well as to the employe. It is significant, as stated by the president in his report, that in some instances the attendants at these meetings have returned to their home cities and signed eight-hour contracts with our local unions.

There is another statement contained in the president's report that is of extreme importance, and its significance should be carefully sought by this convention:

"The executive committee of the United Typothetæ of America, at a meeting in Kansas City on April 11, the day succeeding the mass meeting of employers in that city, changed the arrangements for the 1905 typothetæ convention, and in this respect nullified the action taken at the St. Louis typothetæ session last year. The 1905 convention will be held in Niagara Falls, N. Y., the week of September 4. The St. Louis selection was Atlantic City, N. J., in June."

If, as the president intimates, the employers are led to believe that some action will be taken at this convention that will prevent the eight-hour day from becoming effective on January 1, then the importance of this gathering becomes at once doubly apparent. We trust with the president, that our deliberations will give small comfort to the associations of employing printers, who have announced their opposition to our eight-hour day.

Referring to the mass meetings of employing printers, we desire to quote that portion of the president's report in which he sets forth what he believes to be the objects of these meetings:

"The organization of employing printers is not the only object of these mass meetings, held at central points. It is realized by those in charge of the employers' campaign that in the ranks of all unions there is an element that always looks with apprehension on every forward movement. When storm clouds appear, it is this element that begins the cry 'peace at any price.' Then there is the obstructionist and the member whose activity is measured by the strength and continuity of the criticism of others that is his chief characteristic. To overawe the timid and supply the critic with fresh ammunition is the main object of these "mass meetings." Only when our membership, by a majority of more than fourteeen thousand votes, gave voice to the almost unanimous demand for a shorter workday in the book and job trade did the employers realize the strength and determination behind the eight-hour movement, and only then was it decided that mass meetings were required. The further action of the federation convention in San Francisco, pledging us monetary support if necessary, again alarmed the typothetæ. They saw that the negative position taken at their last convention was not having the expected effect, and they know that the demand of twenty-three thousand of their employes can not be smothered with resolutions. Then was the 'mass meeting' idea brought to the front. It is for the timid member and the professional critic that these mass meetings are held, and behind them is the hope that our ranks may be broken and thus our object defeated. The answer rests with those who have all to gain—our members."

The six-city conference, held at International headquarters in April, was timely and effective, and we endorse the conclusions reached by that conference. We note that the conference referred to the mass meetings of employers alluded to in this report, and in this connection said:

"We greatly regret the hostile activity of the United Typothetæ of America and other associations of employing printers in calling meetings for the purpose of arousing opposition to and denunciation of the eight-hour workday, and we fear that if this antagonistic course is continued the friendly relations now existing between the employers' organization and the International Typographical Union will be disrupted. We believe that the dignity and business interests of the organizations of the printing trade will be best served by conference and conciliation."

We also considered the section of the president's report covering the Detroit conference, and while that conference was without immediate result, we note that the following was adopted just prior to adjournment:

"It is the sense of this body that the officers of the International Union and the officers of the United Typothetæ of America get together some time between now and January 1, 1906, in an endeavor to arrive at an amicable adjustment of this difference."

And we especially take cognizance of the concluding statement of the president's review of the eight-hour campaign that—

"The executive council of the International Typographical Union has been, and is now, ready and willing to meet the officers of the United Typothetæ for the purpose of endeavoring to reach an amicable adjustment of the eight-hour question, but all overtures to that end have so far failed to elicit a favorable response from the officials of the United Typothetæ."

We desire to report to this convention that on August 14, 1905, your eight-hour committee held a conference with a committee representing the United Typothetæ of America, composed of President Ellis, of Boston, Secretary Macintyre, of New York, and Messrs. Green, of New York, Donnelley, of Chicago, and Nunemacher, of Louisville, members of the executive board of the United Typothetæ of America, and after a thorough discussion of the eight-hour question received the following proposition from the representatives of the United Typothetæ:

"Mr. Max Hayes, *Rossin House, City:*

"Dear Sir—As agreed at the joint committee meeting held today, I herewith send you the suggestions as outlined.

"The committee from the United Typothetæ of America suggests to the eight-hour committee from the International Typographical Union that they recommend to the International Typographical Union convention, now in session, that it vote in favor of a reconsideration of the referendum vote taken last fall on the eight-hour day, and authorize a new referendum vote to be taken with the object of rescinding the resolution to make the eight-hour day effective January 1, 1906; or if the convention is unwilling to vote affirmatively on the above, that the convention shall empower the executive council to call for such referendum vote if at any time between now and January 1, 1906, the executive council shall consider it advisable.

"Sincerely yours,

"John Macintyre, *Secretary.*

We especially endorse the idea of thoroughly organizing the so-called country printers, and we urge it on the membership so that on January 1, 1906, the jurisdiction may be thoroughly organized and our International Union in condition to meet any warfare that may be forced upon it by employers resisting the general introduction of the shorter workday.

In this matter of organization we may well take a lesson out of the book of the typothetæ. For the past year they have strenuously made effort to bring within their ranks publishers of country newspapers, whom they had previously not only studiously ignored, but into whose job printing patronage they had continuously made sad inroads. They have succeeded in some instances by reducing their admission fees, but this bait has always failed with the country editor, who fails to understand why he should lend himself to pull typothetæ chestnuts from the fire. However, it is our duty in this emergency to organize the country printers, and where they are not numerous enough in a town to obtain a charter, they can, with little persuasion and by generous inducements, be prevailed upon to assume membership in unions contiguous to their respective towns. To this end your committee would suggest that they be permitted to affiliate with the local unions of their choice nearest their towns of residence. This plan is already in successful operation in some places, and we recommend the project to all the local unions in the International jurisdiction.

From the foregoing review of the procedure and documents in the eight-hour campaign it becomes at once evident that the International Typographical

Union has, from the inception of the idea, held itself in readiness to confer with the United Typothetæ of America to the end that a peaceful settlement of the demand involved might be reached and that there might be the minimum disturbance of the conditions prevailing in the printing trade. It is also apparent that the United Typothetæ on the other hand has steadfastly opposed any reduction of the fifty-four-hour week, and has on every occasion, through its officers, circulars and public press, made known that opposition. As far as your committee is aware the typothetæ has never modified the position taken at its St. Louis convention, and while its officers have seemingly been willing to confer they have avoided acceptance of opportunities for conference, and at the employers' mass meetings they have uniformly advised aggressive resistance and warfare if necessary in order to prevent the general introduction of the eight-hour workday. If, therefore, trouble does occur, the typothetæ will be alone responsible for the rupture of present relations.

Taking into cosideration the number of unions that have obtained or have arranged for the eight-hour day, the magnificent condition of the International treasury and of local treasuries, the gradual accumulation of a large fund through the one-half of one per cent assessment, the moral and financial support accorded by the American Federation of Labor in the action taken at its San Francisco convention and quoted herein, the unanimous support of other international unions, the healthy and growing sentiment among our own membership in favor of the eight-hour day, we believe that the International Typographical Union could not be in better position nor could there be better prospect for success for the movement.

As to the action that shall be taken by this convention, your committee is of the opinion that any change in the present program would of necessity have to be referred to the referendum. The eight-hour proposition endorsed by the referendum provides:

"That on January 1, 1906, the eight-hour day shall become effective in all union establishments in the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, where existing contracts do not prevent, and in each instance where the eight-hour day is refused work shall cease."

There is no room for doubt as to the meaning of this provision. If an agreement between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America is not reached prior to January 1, 1906, and if resistance to the introduction of the shorter workday is met with on that date, it devolves on all the members of the International Typographical Union working in union establishments that decline to accede to the eight-hour day to at once cease work. In other words, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the position of the International Typographical Union, no union printer can, after January 1, work in a union office more than eight hours per day, forty-eight hours per week, except in emergency and under overtime rates.

We believe that this convention should clothe the International eight-hour committee with power to negotiate with representatives of the United Typothetæ of America if opportunity for negotiation occurs prior to January 1, and we so recommend, in order that the declaration of the referendum "that we again declare our entire willingness to negotiate with the United Typothetæ of America for an agreement under which the eight-hour day will become operative, and so instruct our eight-hour committee" may not be impaired.

We further recommend that the executive council be empowered to protect unions, where the local or national typothetæ precipitate trouble, by requesting unions in contiguous territory to order strikes whenever the council may deem necessary for the protection of the unions involved.

We find that it is the apparent intention in some localities where job offices are owned by publishers of newspapers to grant the eight-hour day in

the newspaper department but not in the job department; therefore your committee would recommend that, where a newspaper and job office is being conducted at present by the same individual, firm or corporation, on a nine-hour basis, no settlement for the eight-hour day shall be made that does not provide that it shall become effective in both departments.

We urge the delegates attending this convention on their return to their unions to at once bring this report before these bodies; to urge upon their unions the value of organization work by the appointment of special committees to forward such purpose whenever necessary, and also ask these unions to provide, if action has not already been taken, for the collection of a fund, in addition to that accruing under the one-half of one per cent, so that on January 1 every gap may be closed and ammunition gathered with which to conduct warfare, if warfare is necessary.

Your committee, after thoroughly considering all of the facts recited in this report, after carefully scrutinizing all of the documents issued in connection with the eight-hour campaign, after interviewing the International officers and delegates to this convention, after in every way familiarizing itself with the vast subject submitted to it for consideration, finds not a single flaw in the methods and policy that have thus far been pursued by the International eight-hour committee, and we recommend that the continuance of the campaign and the further steps that are to be taken in order to secure the shorter workday be again committed to the International committee, with assurances of the full confidence of the delegates to the fifty-first session of the International Typographical Union.

Your committee would also recommend that the secretary-treasurer be instructed to incorporate in the book of laws the propositions providing for the establishment of the eight-hour day on January 1, 1906.

Concluding the report, your committee desires to reiterate the declaration of the International president that—

"We do not want the eight-hour day by reason of charity or philanthropy. We do not want it in order that our physical or mental well-being may be improved. We refuse to abandon our eight-hour demand because we may under present conditions be more fortunately situated than other artisans. We want the eight-hour workday because we are convinced that it suffices for the work there is to do, the work that is to be done, the demand of society for the product of the press. We propose to sell to the employer eight hours out of twenty-four, and we will do as we please with the remaining sixteen." Yours for eight hours, fraternally,

"Max S. Hayes, *Chairman.*
"Elmer Thossell, *Secretary.*
"H. L. White.
"John P. Kennedy, Sr.
"George Crammond."

Address of Samuel Gompers — President Lynch then introduced Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Gompers congratulated the International Typographical Union on its prosperous outlook, and referred to the coming eight-hour struggle. He complimented the organization on the masterly comprehensiveness of the report of the eight-hour committee, and said if not appreciated today it would be by those

who came after us. He had watched with interest the growth of the International Typographical Union, and believed the trade should be in possession of the enjoyments of the shorter day. He referred to the address of President Ellis, of the United Typothetæ, and criticised some of the statements made therein. One of them was that the increased labor cost of introducing the nine-hour day was 33 per cent, and the increase in the eight-hour day would be 18 to 25 per cent. Mr. Ellis had asked the convention to recede from its eight-hour position because of the increased labor cost to the employer, and the threatened financial ruin, with no possible advantage to the printers. The introduction of the eight-hour day had never ruined any industry. It would be ruinous to the International Typographical Union to change its attitude on the shorter day. The principle—the thesis of shorter hours—had been justified by the results in different industries. He pledged his personal and official support. "God speed the movement—the uplifting of the fellowman to an appreciation of his rights and duties."

Address of Max Hayes — On the morning of the fifth day, President Lynch announced the report of the committee on eight-hour day as the first business in order and said the report was before the convention for consideration.

Delegate Cahill (St. Paul) moved that the report of the eight-hour committee be adopted and the secretary-treasurer be authorized to have it issued in pamphlet form and distributed to members of subordinate unions.

Delegate Hayes (Cleveland), chairman of the eight-hour committee, reviewed at length the history of the eight-hour movement and discussed the address made before the convention by President Ellis of the United Typothetæ.

Delegate Donnell (Cincinnati) moved that Delegate

Hayes prepare a synopsis of his address and that it be made part of the records in connection with the eight-hour committee's report. The motion was adopted and the address of Delegate Hayes follows:

While the delegates are undoubtedly anxious to finish the work of this convention, considerable of which remains to be transacted, yet I believe that we should give further consideration to some facts that of necessity could not be incorporated in the committee's report, especially as the address of President Ellis, of the United Typothetæ of America, has been made a part of the record and might influence unthinking and careless members and cause them to become lukewarm toward the progressive movement in which we are enlisted.

The salient features of President Ellis' address, directed against the eight-hour day, were his cries of impracticability, and calamity and general ruination for the printing business if the shorter workday is enforced. His position is that of making assertions without presenting evidence to establish the facts. Not an iota of testimony, not a scrap of data, has been furnished to substantiate the statements made. The employing printers gave expression to similar sentiments when it was proposed to reduce the working hours from ten to nine per day. Yet that reform has been accomplished, and who will charge that it has proved impractical and that devastation and ruin has been spread through the printing trade? Neither is the assumption that production will be restricted based on sound reasoning, as governmental statistics and our own knowledge of printing affairs demonstrate the fact that production was greatly stimulated when the working time was reduced from ten or more hours to nine hours per day. It is fallacious to assert that the output of printing will be reduced when avenues of employment are opened to two or three thousand idle printers, which is the mission of the International Typographical Union at present. On the contrary, those workers will become larger consumers, and thus benefit the whole of society.

This eight-hour movement is not a new one. J. Thorold Rogers tells us in his celebrated historical work, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," that the eight-hour day prevailed in the last part of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries. That period is described as the golden age, and so

prosperous had the people become that the privileged classes, fearful that their reign would be endangered, adopted coercive measures to keep the workers in subjection. The ruling class gradually lengthened the hours of toil, reduced wages and increased prices, and a long period of exploitation and suffering, darkness and chaos was the result.

It was not until 1824, that the anti-combination laws were repealed, after Robert Owens, the pioneer co-operator collectivist, had made a proposition to the British government to organize the industries of the country upon a basis that would require the labor of the men, women and children not longer than eight hours per day to provide for the well-being of all. Gradually the working time was reduced in succeeding years from sixteen to fourteen and twelve, and finally to ten per day. In 1888 the gas workers and general laborers, unskilled men, by the way, at one swoop cut the hours of toil from twelve to eight, and since that year every trade in Great Britain has been benefited by the reduction of the hours of toil.

In Australia, known universally as the eight-hour land, the movement for the shorter workday began in 1856. Although defeated in several disastrous strikes, the trade unions persevered in their efforts, and, supplemented with their political power, made steady gains. As I pointed out the other day, the Australian workingmen not only strike and boycott shops, factories and mills when necessary, but they have seceded from both old political parties and also strike at the ballot box and in the leislative halls, and it is to their everlasting credit that when their labor party obtained possession of the national government, John Christian Watson, a journeyman printer, became premier for a brief time, until both old parties combined and ousted the labor cabinet from office. The laborites are also in control of a number of Australian states, and the printers are among the most conspicuous of the lawmakers.

It is singular, indeed, that the spokesman of the so-called open shop—the National Association of Manufacturers, of which the more or less notorious David M. Parry is at the head, and with which the United Typothetæ appears to be in sympathy—are unable to furnish us with any proofs of the impracticability and unjustness of the eight-hour workday here at home, but depend upon alleged facts imported from Australia, which are now being circulated through their press and

which are intended to show that the eight-hour day and the Saturday half holiday are proving ruinous to that country. Yet all the governmental statistics, the British Board of Trade reports, as well as the accounts contained in Australian newspapers, demonstrate beyond the shadow of doubt that the claims made by certain American employers regarding industrial conditions in the antipodes are absolutely without foundation. These stories are circulated for a purpose—to discourage the workers of America from following the example of their brethren beyond the seas in combining industrially and politically.

As Mr. Gompers pointed out yesterday, the workers of continental Europe are making steady progress in reducing the working time and securing greater benefits for themselves. Perhaps you noticed in the St. Petersburg dispatches only recently that the printers of Russia were playing a leading part in the great strikes and demanding the eight-hour day. I know for a certainty that the shorter workday movement has also taken root in Japan, South Africa, and even in South America. Do the members of the typothetæ believe that we, the American workingmen—who are sometimes flattered by being told that we are more intelligent than the toilers of other countries—are going to lag at the tail-end of the procession? Certainly the printers will refuse to lock arms with the Chinese in walking for the industrial cake.

In our own country—on this North American continent—despite all obstacles, the eight-hour movement has been making steady progress since 1886, in which year the German-American Typographia (in job offices as well as newspapers), the cigarmakers and a number of smaller trades established the eight-hour workday. Subsequently the miners, carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers and other trades quite generally enforced the eight-hour day, so that now fully a million trade unionists, at the most conservative estimate, and including 25,000 printers, can sing the refrain: Eight hours for work, eight hours for sleep, and eight hours for recreation.

Why should we work any longer than bankers or lawyers or office holders or any professionals and politicians? It is true, paradoxical though it may seem, that the eight-hour day would prove beneficial to proprietors of job and book plants as well as employes, as stated in the committee's report. Quite naturally the front offices will close an hour earlier under the

new system, which means one hour less figure juggling and business worry and one hour more real life and enjoyment for the employers. We are really doing Messrs. Ellis, Green, and the other members of the typothetæ a great favor, and they ought to appreciate that fact, for, after all, life should not be a mere sordid grab for dollars. There is an ethical side to this question. Man has a social as well as a physical nature, and while he must preserve his animal existence, he must not do so at the expense of his social relations. If he becomes a mere drudge, our civilization is endangered, progress halts, retrogression begins, and slavery and chaos naturally follow.

There is one point that I desire to make clear to the more obstinate gentlemen of the typothetæ, and that is that the standard of living determines the form of our civilization. Mechanics and laborers will not work for less than that which furnishes them with subsistence, with necessities and comforts to which they have become accustomed. The prices of food products, clothing, rents, etc., have steadily increased during the past decade and the purchasing power of the dollars that we receive as wages is correspondingly lessened. Hence the claim of Mr. Ellis that wages have advanced 33 1-3 per cent is offset by the cold fact that we are also compelled to pay more tribute to the landlord, the beef trust, coal combine and other associations of capital that are squeezing the people to pay dividends on the watered stock; and therefore I deny the correctness of the logic of Mr. Donnelley, who stated in conference in so many words that we were "squeezing" the employers.

It is a truism that men are never paid according to what they earn, but according to the average cost of living. Now, as a simple matter of equity, how can the typothetæ claim that they, the buyers of labor power, are to be the sole judge of the price to be paid? The sellers of coal, meat, oil, sugar, etc., fix their price; why should not those who dispose of their labor power have the same right? They do have that right, but it can only be maintained in a degree in this capitalistic competitive system through organization, because the natural opportunities are being monopolized by a few. Without organization, the so-called liberties of the working people are becoming a delusion, for no moneyless worker stands an equal chance with the millionaire captain of industry.

Another objection that was raised in the conference between

the typothetæ representatives and your committee was that the employers of the larger cities are losing ground to their competitors in the smaller places, and one gentleman (Mr. Green, I believe) raised the point that some jobs had been sent from New York to England. I imagine no system will ever be devised that will keep a certain amount of book and job work in the same office forever, or even in the same country. The International Typographical Union is doing all in its power to abolish these alleged disadvantages, and for that reason the hours of labor will be reduced generally—printers in Chicago will be affected no more and no less than those in Podunk or any other place. As for jobs going to England, the hours of labor are being reduced in that country as well as in America and the purchasing power of the wages received is almost the same and it is doubtful whether the English printers turn out as great amount of work in a given time as do the Americans.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the fact that the International Typographical Union and other trade unions, in making the reduction of the hours of labor the paramount issue, are striving to realize one of the most far-reaching and noblest missions ever undertaken by any organization. We are endeavoring to open opportunities to all the people; not a few.

The eight-hour day means not less wages, but more wages; it means the absorption of the unemployed army of workers and the increasing demand for labor as well as minimizing of the present fierce, cut-throat competition.

The eight-hour day means the creating of new hopes, desires and aspirations among our class—a nobler manhood and a happier womanhood and childhood. The eight-hour day means that those now employed would be less exhausted after a day's toil; that mental and physical resources would be fostered and developed and life and health prolonged.

The eight-hour day means stronger family ties, pleasant homes, more time for good books, to attend lectures, to cultivate music, art and science, and for the study of all the glories lavished upon mankind by generous Mother Nature.

The eight-hour day means that poverty would be decreased, sweatshops would be wiped out, drunkenness, prostitution, crime and misery would be greatly reduced; it means that wealth would be more equitably distributed, enlightenment,

dissemination, invention and discovery stimulated, and a greater and grander progress would bless the world than mankind has yet known.

This is the glorious ideal for which the organized workers are struggling, and they deserve the sympathy and support of all true men and women.

Delegate Kreft (Philadelphia) asked if men who came out of open or unfair offices would receive benefits.

President Lynch replied that it would be the policy of the International Typographical Union to take care of all men who left work in support of the eight-hour day.

Delegate Green (Atlanta) was glad to hear of the enthusiasm and success in the eight-hour movement in different parts of the country; but there were some districts that were not as sanguine of success, and such territory naturally looked for assistance from stronger sections.

Delegate Fennessy (Los Angeles) declared that the strong districts would aid and assist the weaker ones; that San Francisco, which had already secured the eight-hour day, was pledged to assist Los Angeles and adjacent territory in the work.

Delegate Hughes (Providence) made a statement of the conditions in his vicinity, and the difficulty that might be encountered in enforcing the eight-hour day.

Delegate McCahill (Columbus) detailed the favorable conditions in his territory.

President Lynch stated that Delegate Cahill's motion to adopt the report of the eight-hour committee, and instructing the secretary-treasurer to issue the same in pamphlet form for distribution, was before the convention.

The motion was adopted unanimously by a rising vote, amid scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm.

Officers, 1906-1907 — At the election held in May,

1906, officers were selected for the two-year term beginning November 1, 1906, as follows: President, James M. Lynch, Syracuse; first vice-president, John W. Hays, Minneapolis; second vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; third vice-president, Daniel L. Corcoran, New York city; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Bramwood, Denver. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—James M. Lynch (president), Syracuse; Michael Colbert, Chicago; Frank Morrison, Chicago; Frank Foster, Boston; Hugh Stevenson, Toronto. Trustees Union Printers Home—James M. Lynch, Syracuse; J. W. Bramwood, Denver; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs; L. C. Shepard, Grand Rapids, Mich.; W. J. White, San Francisco; Thomas F. Crowley, Cincinnati; T. D. Fennessy, Los Angeles. Agent—George P. Nichols, Baltimore.

Convention at Colorado Springs

[1906]—The fifty-second session of the International Typographical Union convened in Temple Theater, Colorado Springs, Colo., August 13, 1906. The convention was called to order by Charles Deacon, superintendent Union Printers Home and chairman of the committee on arrangements of Colorado Springs Union No. 82. The Rev. Crayton S. Brooks, of the First Christian Church, offered prayer. President Snider, of Colorado Springs Union, in a few appropriate remarks, extended the hearty welcome of his union to the delegates and visitors and promised to make their visit to the Springs a memorable one. The welcome of the city of Colorado Springs was extended in a felicitous speech by Mayor Henry C. Hall. Other greetings were offered by R. L. Holland, of the board of county commissioners; O. B. Wilcox, of the chamber of commerce, and E. W. Kent, of the real estate exchange. A letter was read from Clarence P. Dodge,

representing the newspaper publishers of the city, regretting his inability to express in person his appreciation of the loyalty of the members of the Typographical Union. President Snider then presented President Lynch with a gavel made from wood grown on the grounds of the Union Printers Home. President Lynch responded to the addresses of welcome, referring to the bond of association between the city of Colorado Springs and the International Typographical Union, as represented by the Union Printers Home, and continued:

About four weeks ago it was my privilege to attend a convention held in an eastern city. There were present at that convention about three hundred attendants. The sessions of the gathering were held behind closed doors; nothing was permitted to escape. What a difference between the convention of the International Typographical Union called to order this morning and the convention of the United Typothetæ of America, held in Buffalo recently! Here we have several hundred men and women who have traveled hundreds, yes thousands, of miles to attend this meeting, notwithstanding that, in every locality, for more than six months, the members of the International Typographical Union have been paying the ten per cent assessment for the conduct of our eight-hour battle. We meet here this morning, a great, large gathering, attended by about two hundred and fifty delegates, and many hundreds of visitors, transacting our business in the open, knowing that the cause for which we fight is just, anxious for the criticism of those who watch our deliberations and of the public opinion that will follow after. It is not my intention to make a speech this morning. I will simply content myself by again expressing the thanks of the gathering—of the delegates and visitors—for the greeting that has been extended to us this morning. We can only hope that the deliberations of this convention will create a favorable opinion on the part of the citizens of Colorado Springs—citizens who are all friends of the Union Printers Home, and whom we hope, when this convention adjourns, will all be friends of the great International Typographical Union.

At the conclusion of the president's response, a large electric banner bearing the words "Eight Hours" descended slowly from the flies at the rear of the stage, while the orchestra played "America," amid great enthusiasm.

After administering the obligation to the delegates, President Lynch announced that the first business of the convention would be the report of Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood. The secretary-treasurer announced the names of delegates whose credentials were in proper form, followed by those irregularly elected and those whose unions

were in arrears, and recommended that the credentials of the irregularly elected delegates and those of the delegates from delinquent unions be referred to the credentials committee. The recommendation was concurred in and the chair then announced the convention officers and the convention committees. The president also announced that the presidents of local unions in jurisdictions where the eight-hour fight was still on would meet at the Antlers Hotel Monday evening. He expected they would go over the eight-hour situation thoroughly, together with members of the eight-hour committee.

Home Library — At the Monday afternoon session, James Monroe Kreiter, of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, was introduced, and presented to the Home trustees a number of books for the Home library. Mr. Kreiter was greeted with a warm reception and his address was listened to attentively and at the close was given applause. He spoke as follows:

Profoundly sensible of the honor accorded me on this occasion, I believe that we all feel thankful to our Heavenly Father that He has permitted us to be in beautiful Colorado Springs today. And dwelling in that thought let me say that nowhere on the pebbled margins of the sea is there another such an institution as the Union Printers Home.

In distant states and climes we refer to it with prideful boast and righteous exultation; today we behold it in all its grandeur; in all its magnificence.

This edifice, conceived in a spirit of kindred tendencies, beautiful in its architecture, colossal in its eminence, grand as to its usefulness, typifies the benefactions of the union printer, symbolizes his benevolence, indexes his sweet charity, and is at once a striking imprint of his noble generosity.

This period, then, is one of more than ordinary satisfaction to the craft in general, and it affords me much pleasure, Mr. President of the Board of Trustees of the Union Printers Home, to present through you these books for the Home library. They represent hundreds of volumes which were donated by our crafts-people throughout the International jurisdiction.

The giving conveys that good feeling which always follows in the groove of unwonted kindness and joyous consideration and I feel, Mr. President, that I do these crafts-people small justice when I say that the donations were made with that characteristic cheerfulness which has won for the union printer much applause from our friends and admiration from the enemy.

Therefore, in making the presentation in their behalf I wish to lose my identity in the matter, so that the fullness of praise may be the greater to those who not only donated a book, but who have devoted time, energy and thought that the book-giving project might reach its zenith in grand success.

The small unions, as well as the larger ones, are shelved in yonder library. The delegate and the layman, the visitor and the chapel folk, the women of

the auxiliary (God bless them), will be found side by side in keen recollection by those who in time to come will seek the library as a place of recreation and of rest.

The touch of generous appreciation on the part of eminent authors and men prominent in federal and state affairs also finds life upon the shelves. This manifest evidence of consideration on the part of these great men was gathered solely through the untiring efforts of Mr. B. Frank Swigart, one ot our St. Louis members.

That all these books will in time to come be a source of joy and interest to the residents of the Home is the sincere wish of the donors, and the selections, I am sure, were made with a view that the intellectuality of the occupants would be satisfied and perusal might gladden the hearts of the readers.

And now, my gracious crafts-people, kind, generous, benevolent, magnanimous, as you are, I want to express my estimate and the high regard I have for the union printer. How best shall I say it? Let it be: His loyalty to his obligation is steel-like in firmness; and his heart is not only ox-like in proportion, but it is beautifully womanlike in tenderness.

I thank you for your pleasing attention.

President Lynch responded for the Home trustees, and the convention ordered that Mr. Kreiter's remarks be incorporated in the minutes.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

President's Address — A convincing, buoyant, confident tone characterized the report of President Lynch to the fifty-second session of the International Typographical Union. The president said that his presentation of events covered one of the most important periods in the union's history. The fate of the International body for a time had hung in the balance, not in the sense that the organization could have been crushed out, but that defeat at any important point in the eight-hour combat would have meant a backward step, the effect of which might require years to eradicate. Plunging in a great industrial struggle without the full period of preparation that it was hoped might elapse, forced for a time to try every resource in order to gather the money with which to carry on the battle, the membership had emerged from the conflict with a shorter workday securely established and the hope for complete victory with a safe basis on which to rest. Attention was directed to the declaration in the

president's report to the Toronto convention that there was but one subject before the Typographical Union—the establishment of the principle of not more than eight hours' work for all members of the organization; that all other problems, all other questions, all other propositions, were incidental to the great economic advancement that was being attempted and which had met with success in many instances.

There appeared among the other reports a presentation from the eight-hour committee. For this the president asked a careful reading by all members of the International Union. The membership was asked to read the report adopted by the Toronto convention, then the report of the International committee submitted to the Colorado Springs convention, which would enable the reader to have a clear idea of the history of the eight-hour movement. These reports would show that every one of the important steps that had been taken in the crusade had been necessary for the preservation of the eight-hour day. It would also demonstrate that the struggle was an unavoidable one and that before it was entered into, every possible avenue that gave promise of peace was fully explored and every possible suggestion made in order to avert industrial warfare. The United Typothetæ of America was determined to have a struggle, and if it had not been over the question of shorter hours, then it would have occurred over the effort that would have undoubtedly been made by the typothetæ to establish the so-called "open" shop.

The president was thoroughly optimistic over the future of the International Union, declaring that it was a bright one. In this connection, he said:

While the ordinary affairs of the International body have been subordinated to a great extent to the eight-hour-day demand, yet we have made substantial progress nevertheless in all directions. The conditions of newspaper workers have been improved, and wages have been materially increased in

many instances. With agreements in effect with nearly all of the important newspapers of the North American continent, with forty thousand members now on an eight-hour basis, and with reasonable prospect for complete victory for the eight-hour day in all instances where strikes are now on, the outlook for the future of the International Union is exceedingly bright. No other trade union on the North American continent has received so much advertising as has our own. Its aims and objects are fully understood by practically all of the printers who are following the art for a livelihood. He must indeed be isolated who has not been approached by a representative of the United Typothetæ of America or an organizer or member of the International Typographical Union and urged to take a position on one side or the other of the great struggle through which we are passing. Naturally, when the battle is over, the work of organization will be much easier, and I confidently predict that when peace again reigns in our branch of the printing industry, shortly thereafter the International Typographical Union will number many thousands more than at any previous period. Of a surety, peace will reign in the book and job branch, for the opinion is justified that before the employers in the commercial field again deliberately seek warfare with the International Union, they will exhaust every remedy that gives promise of satisfactory adjustment without forcing the workers to resort to the strike. The contest has truly been a fight for peace. The newspaper workers struggled for years before obtaining a position that brings with it the consideration they now receive from the publishers of the great newspapers of the country. The book and job members have concentrated within a few months a struggle that for the newspaper members extended over the earlier life of the International body. With harmony in both branches, and with conditions such as our members have a right to demand and expect, we can then turn our energies into other fields and devote time and study to betterments that are not altogether associated with working conditions. In short, the opportunity will present itself to make of the International Typographical Union the model and ideal trade organization, furnishing for its members full and complete protection, both in the industrial and social field.

Acknowledgment was made of aid in the shorter workday struggle afforded by the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations. The declarations of the officers and convention of the American Federation of Labor were quoted at length. It was declared that not alone had the union received monetary aid from other unions throughout the American Federation of Labor, but it had received valuable assistance in many other ways. The success attending the eight-hour movement was largely due to the organized condition of the country and the president desired, on behalf of the organization, to formally make acknowledgment of that support.

Injunctions — The injunction feature of the eight-hour conflict was reviewed at length and the effect, or, more

properly speaking, non-effect of these writs was made clear. In spite of injunctions and injunction judges, the union had secured victories. Typothetæ misrepresentation was given a prominent place in the president's report, and specific instances were cited. The position of the allied trades was also set forth in an extensive paragraph.

General Conditions — As to the general situation, the president said:

The report of the International eight-hour committee covers the general features of the eight-hour campaign, including a statement of financial receipts and expenditures. Financial matters are also covered minutely in the report of the secretary-treasurer. Your president has made effort to keep closely in touch with each local strike, as the business at headquarters has permitted. Visits have been made by your president to localities where the resistance by employers has been most stubborn and where it was thought his presence would result in the most good. A number of local unions have been addressed at regular and special meetings, and the membership has been enlightened on every phase of the struggle. It has been the aim to dissipate dissatisfaction through a full and concise explanation of the progress and needs of the eight-hour battle. In order to accomplish this many thousands of miles have been traveled. Personal discomfort and labor have not been taken into account, and every atom of energy and strength possessed by your executive has been exerted in order to bring an eight-hour victory. The efforts of your president in this direction have been ably seconded by the officers, organizers and members of our local unions. The organizers' reports, appearing in this volume, will give much interesting eight-hour data as the reward for careful perusal. We have all worked for the eight-hour day.

British Strikebreakers — The importation of British non-unionists to Winnipeg was given the space that such a menace to the aspirations of organized workers deserved.

It has been asserted, in some cases proved, that many of the English strikebreakers were induced to cross the line into the states and act as strikebreakers in American cities. It is therefore of supreme importance that this convention, representing the printers of the United States and Canada, should give endorsement to the recommendation made by the deputy minister of labor, so that effective legislation in Great Britain may be enacted and in the future protect both Canadian and United States toilers from the misrepresentation and deceit practiced by employers in their desire to defeat strikes and prevent the realization of the aspirations of the organized wage-earners on the North American continent.

Relations With Publishers — Relations with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association were thoroughly explained by the president. As to the proposed arbitra-

tion agreement that the convention was asked to endorse, to become effective May 1, 1907, the report said:

The new contract was formulated at the headquarters of the International Typographical Union after repeated conferences between the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and our executive council. It is submitted to the convention for its approval or disapproval, but it is recommended for adoption by the executive council. Of course there is nothing to prevent the convention from amending the agreement or changing its essential features, but before this is attempted there should be most intimate knowledge of our arbitration history and familiarity with the present and new agreement. This can only be obtained by careful study on the part of the delegates. One of the objections that has been urged against our arbitration policy is to the third member, or chairman of the arbitration board. It has been pointed out, and with truth, that the third member, or chairman, is frequently taken from walks of life where there is little opportunity for the gathering of that knowledge of newspaper management and composing-room conditions that is essential to a fair adjustment of a proposed wage scale in controversy. It has been urged that a board with equal representation, say two members representing the publishers and two the union, would be much better than the present arrangement. This method of arbitration is in effect in many industries at the present time, and has given satisfaction. In accordance with the foregoing it has been the aim of the executive council of the International Typographical Union to eliminate the third member or chairman and to secure an arbitration agreement embracing equal representation on arbitration boards. We are pleased to state that we succeeded in this aim. The new agreement provides that where local arbitration is resorted to the local board shall consist of two representatives of each party to a contention. The chairman and secretary of a local board must be selected from the four members of the board. It is not necessary to have local arbitration and cases may be carried direct to the national board, and this course must be taken where the attempt at local arbitration is not completed. The National Board of Arbitration must meet on the first Tuesday of each month for the consideration and adjustment of matters referred to it. This insures a speedy settlement of all cases. The national board is to consist of the three members of the executive council of the International Typographical Union and the three members of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The chairman and secretary of the national board must be selected from among the six members constituting the board. It will be seen that the fifth member, or arbiter, is eliminated locally, and the seventh member, or arbiter, is eliminated nationally. In its general scope this is the form of arbitration that has given satisfaction in England and in all instances where resorted to in this country. It permits of the broadest form of arbitration, and thus guarantees industrial peace to the parties to such a contract. Men engaged in the industry covered by such an agreement themselves adjust their differences without the aid, advice or assistance of outside parties whose knowledge of the subject at best is but academic and theoretical. It may be asserted that these evenly-balanced tribunals may deadlock and disagree, but experience proves the contrary. The arbiters approach their task with the knowledge that industrial peace depends on their ability to weigh impartially the evidence and facts making up the case presented for their consideration, and to reach a verdict in accordance with the circumstances and conditions. There can be no shifting of responsibility, so far as the national board is concerned, to other shoulders. All in all, therefore, it is the belief of our executive council that

the new agreement presented for the consideration of the convention is an almost ideal document and one that, if ratified and entered into, can be still further perfected as time and experience bring forth its defects.

Home Affairs — Union Printers Home affairs and some attacks on the institution were given prominence by the president. The growing need of improved water service was touched upon. The president then declared the Home should be respected, and said:

Inasmuch as the convention this year will be held in the Home city, there should be ample opportunity for the delegates and visitors to thoroughly inspect the institution, and a most rigid scrutiny is desired. The Home should not be made the football of typographical politics. It is our one great business venture, aside from trade unionism per se, and in order to continue the success that has thus far attended its administration it must be separated from the assaults of the ambitious statesmen who periodically attempt to inflame the membership against the officers of the institution who may be candidates for re-election. We may not be able to conduct our International elections with freedom from the cheaper grade of politics, but we can at least guard the Home against periodical assaults that arouse suspicion in the minds of the membership and cover with opprobrium one of our most beneficial features. It is significant that the instigators of these calumnies quickly drop them once the elections are determined. The Home is a success, and it can be continued as a success if its existence is properly safeguarded.

Under date of April 6, 1906, a circular signed by the officers of the Woman's Label League of Colorado Springs, Colo., and containing certain charges against the board of trustees and management of the Union Printers Home, was mailed to the unions chartered by the International Typographical Union. Neither the president nor secretary-treasurer of the Home corporation were aware of the issuance of the circular until inquiries on the subject were made by local secretaries. It is significant that the concluding paragraph of the circular should read as follows: "We know that this matter is within the province of the board of trustees, and ask that in voting for said officers on May 16 that you elect only those who are favorable to such action."

The records of the meeting of the board of trustees, held at the Home last November, show that a communication was received from the Woman's Label League of Colorado Springs, dealing with the purchase of union goods by the Home management. Other official business prevented President Lynch and Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood from attending the meeting in question, but the communication from the league was fully considered by the board, and its reply, setting forth the facts in the case, and signed by W. J. White as secretary pro tem., bears date of November 27, 1905.

The report contained the contents of the circular in question and the reply of Thomas McCaffery, of Colorado Springs, vice-president of the Home corporation and board of trustees, and the board's local representative.

In concluding his report, the president expressed the hope that the convention would be of great benefit to the

organization and that the union would realize all the bright prospects that the future appeared to hold.

Typographia — An active and successful year on the part of the German-American Typographia was reported by Second Vice-President Miller. The Philadelphia Demokrat had been reclaimed after a five-year fight. A German union was organized at Winnipeg. St. Paul-Minneapolis Union had obtained a new scale and the German-American local at Cleveland received an increase in wages. New York, Philadelphia, Toledo and St. Louis unions had a few members involved in the eight-hour fight. Mr. Miller pointed with pride to the fact that there was only one non-union German daily in the country.

Mailers — Third Vice-President Mulcahy, speaking for the mailers, said that during the year he had been unable to do much organizing work in that craft owing to the eight-hour strike, which had seriously handicapped the mailers in the effort to extend their organization work throughout the country. He had been successful, however, in organizing unions in Elmira, N. Y.; Salt Lake City, Utah, and Memphis, Tenn. Several of the old unions had renewed their agreements with the publishers with an increase in their scale of wages, and eight hours.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — Secretary - Treasurer Bramwood's report opened with a summary of the receipts and expenditures of the International Union for the fiscal year. An accompanying table showed the financial transactions for the year to have been larger than those of any previous similar period. The total receipts were $1,119,098.78; expenditures, $984,744.54, leaving a balance of $134,354.24.

Eight-Hour Assessments — Commenting upon the expenses from the defense fund and the eight-hour contest, the secretary-treasurer had this to say:

The defense fund expenditures for 1906 exceeded all the previous ex-

penses from that fund. It must be remembered in this connection that the money spent for defensive purposes during the year practically represents the expenses of the eight-hour fight paid direct from International headquarters. The one-half of one per cent assessment, which was collected from January 1 to November 4, 1905, inclusive, was retained by local unions. Reports filed with the secretary-treasurer show that the receipts of subordinate unions from this source were $150,406.18. Unions that experienced no trouble in enforcing the eight-hour day, and those that had it, were requested by the executive council to forward the International's one-half of their collections on this assessment to headquarters. From this source the International received $35,684.81, a number of locals transmitting the entire collections. Of the balance of the assessment, $18,075.80 remains with the unions collecting it, and $96,645.57 was spent by them in the furtherance of the eight-hour movement.

Between November 6 and December 30, 1905, an assessment of 50 cents per member per week was collected by the International Union. The proposition as voted upon by the membership provided that:

"Said assessment shall not apply to unions engaged in strike during the progress of the strike, in case such unions are collecting a local assessment, for strike purposes, equal to 50 cents per week per member.

"When a strike is settled, or the local assessment discontinued or reduced to less than 50 cents per week per member, the International assessment, as above specified, shall immediately apply to the members of such unions."

Under the exemption clause in the above proposition fifty subordinate unions were not required to pay the International assessment, as they were collecting local assessments equal to that levied by the International Union. It must be remembered that the funds collected by those unions were expended in the eight-hour fight. The exemption of these locals from the International assessment of necessity reduced the revenue of the parent body, but the 50-cent assessment netted the International (including the amount paid by the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union), $132,326. It being apparent that the 50-cent assessment would not meet the demands upon the International treasury after January 1, 1906, a proposition providing for a weekly assessment of 10 per cent on the earnings of all members was submitted to the membership. Concerning the 10 per cent assessment, the report said:

This proposition was adopted by an overwhelming majority, and the ten per cent assessment went into effect on January 1, 1906. Up to May 31, 1906, the International had received therefrom (including the amount paid by the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union) a total of $381,641.66.

One clause of the assessment proposition read:

"Said assessment shall apply to all unions; *provided,* that the executive council shall have power to permit local unions in jurisdictions where strikes are in progress to retain the amount of the assessment or any portion thereof and expend the same for strike purposes, when, in the judgment of the council, such action is necessary."

Acting under the foregoing, the executive council allowed the following unions to retain all or such portion of the assessment as was needed by them, the retentions and expenditures on this account up to May 31, 1906, being:

Indianapolis, Ind.	$6,744	99	Kalamazoo, Mich.	813	62
Philadelphia, Pa.	17,082	11	Wilmington, Del.	398	45
Cincinnati, Ohio	15,677	02	Hartford, Conn.	3,544	40
New York, N. Y.	212,501	67	Duluth, Minn.	1,819	73
Pittsburgh, Pa.	12,879	10	Jacksonville, Fla.	1,165	00
St. Louis, Mo.	36,752	22	Worcester, Mass.	1,855	26
Buffalo, N. Y.	8,025	15	San Antonio, Texas	2,248	35
Louisville, Ky.	7,253	80	Dallas, Texas	4,198	50
Boston, Mass.	47,402	86	Los Angeles, Cal.	8,777	60
Rochester, N. Y.	5,263	92	Akron, Ohio	724	65
Chicago, Ill.	105,323	43	Fargo, N. D.	902	55
New Orleans, La.	3,650	60	Omaha, Neb.	5,814	20
Detroit, Mich.	11,263	73	Winnipeg, Man.	6,281	90
Mobile, Ala.	1,777	18	Springfield, Mass.	2,729	67
Galveston, Texas	2,620	75	Sioux Falls, S. D.	927	10
Peoria, Ill.	2,298	65	Norwood, Mass.	120	75
St. Paul, Minn.	6,713	89	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	195	29
Providence, R. I.	4,057	58	Altoona, Pa.	719	79
Grand Rapids, Mich.	2,228	96	Winona, Minn.	117	60
St. Joseph, Mo.	2,181	80	Fort Smith, Ark.	345	05
Minneapolis, Minn.	8,167	17	Easton, Pa.	566	62
Leavenworth, Kan.	35	47	Aurora, Ill.	308	26
New Haven, Conn.	2,858	54	Watertown, N. Y.	179	40
Atlanta, Ga.	2,884	66	Charlotte, N. C.	50	07
Cleveland, Ohio	18,031	31	El Paso, Texas	1,557	13
Syracuse, N. Y.	5,177	48	Rome, Ga.	116	75
Roanoke, Va.	442	67	Champaign, Ill.	100	00
Toledo, Ohio	3,372	78	Stamford, Conn.	117	47
Erie, Pa.	663	84	Princeton, N. J.	49	86
San Bernardino, Cal.	309	65	Greenville, Texas	178	50
St. John, N. B.	430	26	Niles, Mich.	122	95
Richmond, Va.	2,328	74	Freeport, Ill.	321	90
Little Rock, Ark.	1,159	90	Huntington, W. Va.	205	95
Jersey City, N. J.	392	70	Guthrie, Okla.	165	25
Washington, D. C.	30,799	95	Morgantown, W. Va.	185	70
Newark, N. J.	9,915	04			
Springfield, Ohio	1,264	63	Total	$651,791	73
Des Moines, Iowa	3,932	26			

It will be observed that the assessment collected and retained by these locals aggregates more than that received by the International Union. The subordinate bodies retaining the assessment expended it in paying a local strike benefit (in addition to that paid by the International), transportation of men leaving town, picket expenses, legal expenses, printing, postage and all the sundry items that go to make up the cost of a great strike. A few locals defrayed all expenses from the International assessment retained and the local funds. To get the cost of the eight-hour fight to May 31, 1906, the close of the fiscal

year, the expenditures of the International must be added to those of local unions, as reported to headquarters;

International defense fund expenditures	$815,291 80
Ten per cent assessment retained and expended by local unions	651,791 73
One-half of one per cent assessment retained and expended by local unions	96,645 57
Total	$1,563,729 10

The foregoing total includes $13,358 sent to California locals as special assistance in their hour of need, and $7,200 used by Los Angeles Union in the Times fight.

This summary does not include local funds or money derived from local assessments that have gone into this fight, as the expenditures from such funds have not been reported to the International Union. It is estimated, however that such expenditures aggregated $200,000.

Assistance from American Federation of Labor — A notable feature of the eight-hour contest was the aid furnished by the American Federation of Labor. That body levied an assessment of four cents per member for the benefit of the International Union. The secretary-treasurer's report showed that $47,715.94 was derived therefrom.

Membership — Under the heading "Our Membership," the secretary-treasurer reported the issuance of forty-three charters during the year, the surrender and suspension of ninety-one, showing that the International Union had 642 subordinate bodies on May 31, 1906, or forty-eight less than on May 31, 1905. The decrease in the average membership was commented on in part, as follows:

For the first time in several years the average paying membership for the fiscal year shows a decrease rather than an increase. The average paying membership in 1905 was 46,734, while that for the year ending May 31, 1906, was 44,980, a decrease of 1,754. There is nothing discouraging in these figures, however, when all the circumstances are considered; in fact, the International Typographical Union has good cause for congratulation over the showing in this respect. For several months the organization has been engaged in the greatest struggle in its history; a struggle that necessitated the levying of an assessment of 50 cents per member per week for a period of eight weeks, which was increased to ten per cent of the earnings of members early in January, and is still in force. Losses in membership are to be expected on such occasions, as assessments are far from popular with the average member, or, for that matter, with mankind in general. Contrary, however, to the general rule in industrial battles, the membership of the unions actively engaged in the conflict has remained intact, and still presents a united front to

the enemy. And this is the surprising feature to those who predicted at the opening of the contest that the International Typographical Union would be rent asunder if an attempt were made to enforce the eight-hour schedule.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Four constitutional amendments were submitted to the referendum by the Colorado Springs convention. Three were carried, and one, to increase the salaries of officers, was defeated. The majority against this proposition was 11,436. The total number of unions entitled to vote was 611; total number voting, 349. Each proposition with the vote thereon is given below:

First Proposition—Amend section 1, article viii, of the constitution—"Salaries and Expenses,"—by changing the figures after "For the President" from $1,800 to $2,400; and in the last line, after "Secretary-Treasurer," from $1,800 to $2,400.

Result of vote—For, 6,401; against, 17,837; majority against, 11,436.

Second Proposition—Amend section 1 and 3, article ix, of the constitution, to read as follows:

Article IX—Revenue and Funds.

Section 1. The revenue of the International Typographical Union shall be derived as follows: From dues, which shall be forty cents per month per member; from charters for subordinate unions, $5 per charter; from necessary supplies, at prices to be fixed by law. International dues for each month shall be collected by subordinate unions, and shall be transmitted to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union before the 20th of the succeeding month. Unions failing to comply with this provision shall be considered delinquent and debarred from benefits. *Provided,* That unions located so far from headquarters as to make it impossible for their dues to reach there within the prescribed time shall not be considered delinquent if their remittances bear postmark date prior to the 15th of the succeeding month.

Sec. 3. The dues of the International Union shall be apportioned to the several funds as follows: 5 cents to the general fund; 5 cents to the special defense fund; 7½ cents to the defense fund; 7½ cents to the burial fund, and 15 cents to the endowment fund of the Union Printers Home.

Result of vote—For, 15,114; against 10,030; majority for, 5,084.

The increase of per capita tax provided by the adoption of this amendment did not become effective until the eight-hour assessment was discontinued.

Third Proposition—Amend section 3, article ix, of the constitution, by adding after the words "7½ cents to the defense fund:"

Section 3. * * * *Provided,* That in all cases where an assessment is

levied for the purpose of carrying on an International strike all moneys be transmitted to the executive council and not be retained in any case by a subordinate union. * * *

Result of vote—For, 16,594; against, 7,283; majority for, 9,311.

Fourth Proposition—Amend section 1, article xii, of the constitution, to read as follows:

ARTICLE XII—OBLIGATION

SECTION 1. All subordinate unions shall have an article in their constitution which shall read as follows:

Obligation for Members—Every person admitted as a member of this union shall subscribe to the following obligation, which shall apply only to matters pertaining to the printing industry:

I (give name) hereby solemnly and sincerely swear (or affirm) that I will not reveal any business or proceedings of any meeting of this or any subordinate union to which I may hereafter be attached, unless by order of the union, except to those whom I know to be members in good standing thereof; that I will, without equivocation or evasion, and to the best of my ability, abide by the constitution, by-laws and the adopted scale of prices of any union to which I may belong; that I will at all times support the laws, regulations and decisions of the International Typographical Union, and will carefully avoid giving aid or succor to its enemies, and use all honorable means within my power to secure employment for members of the International Union in preference to others; that my fidelity to the union and my duty to the members thereof shall in no sense be interfered with by any allegiance that I may now or hereafter owe to any other organization, social, political or religious, secret or otherwise; that I will belong to no society or combination composed wholly or partly of printers, with the intent or purpose to interfere with the trade regulations or influence or control the legislation of this union; that I will not wrong a member, or see him or her wronged, if in my power to prevent. To all of which I pledge my most sacred honor.

Result of vote—For, 20,668; against, 3,073; majority for, 17,595.

THE SAN FRANCISCO DISASTER

The story of the San Francisco disaster of April 18, 1906, in so far as it concerned the Typographical Union as an organization, is told in the following report submitted to the Colorado Springs convention and in the action of the convention on the report:

On the morning of April 19 the associated press gave to the world a report of the terrible disaster in San Francisco and other Pacific coast towns. Realizing that our members in San Francisco would need assistance, the executive council wired the president of No. 21 as follows:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 19, 1906.

"GEORGE A. TRACY, *Room 19, 533 Kearney Street, San Francisco, Cal.*

"Executive council International Typographical Union extends sincere sym-

pathy to members of San Francisco Typographical Union and citizens generally, in their hour of affliction. Let us know what we can do, financially or otherwise. J. W. BRAMWOOD, *Secretary.*"

No answer was received to this message. The spread of the fire possibly prevented its delivery. On the afternoon of April 19, however, the following message was received from Organizer F. J. Bonnington:

"OAKLAND, CAL., April 19, 1906.

"JAMES M. LYNCH, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis.*

"Every printing office wiped out in San Francisco. Suffering among members inevitable. Wire authority to use International funds now on hand. Address here. F. J. BONNINGTON."

This answer was sent:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 19, 1906.

"F. J. BONNINGTON, *Oakland, Cal.*

"Union authorized to use funds on hand. International will furnish more if necessary. Council wired Tracy this morning. JAMES M. LYNCH."

On the morning of the 21st this dispatch was received from Organizer Bonnington, it being dated at Alameda, Cal., two days earlier:

"ALAMEDA, CAL., April 19, 1906.

"JAMES M. LYNCH, *Claypool Building, Indianapolis.*

"Can not reach Tracy or White, but know all moneys are in ruins of banks. Suggest council advance funds for immediate relief of our members. Endeavoring to get meeting of No. 21's officers tomorrow in Oakland. Frisco's destruction practically complete. Wire will reach me here or Oakland.

"F. J. BONNINGTON."

The council decided to place $2,000 to the credit of Mr. Bonnington in an Oakland bank for the use of our San Francisco members, and answered as follows:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 21, 1906.

"F. J. BONNINGTON, *Oakland, Cal.*

"Fletcher National Bank, this city, has wired Union National Bank, of Oakland, to pay you $2,000 account of International Typographical Union. Keep us posted. You can have more money, if necessary, on receipt of wire.

"J. W. BRAMWOOD."

Though the foregoing was duplicated to Organizer Bonnington's home address at Alameda, no answer was received, but on the 22d Arthur A. Hay wired from Los Angeles as follows:

"LOS ANGELES, CAL., April 22, 1906.

"JAMES M. LYNCH, *650 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.*

"Did you receive Bonnington's Alameda message? Tracy and Bonnington say $10,000 imperative, and requested me to send this message, as wires around San Francisco in bad condition. Drafts will not be honored, so send money in small denominations by express to Bonnington in Alameda. Have just returned from San Francisco. Job and newspaper offices all destroyed.

"ARTHUR A. HAY."

On receipt of this the council voted to send $10,000 more to San Francisco. Arrangements were made to forward the money by express, the package being made up of bills of small denominations, as requested. Mr. Hay was informed that the terms of his message had been complied with, and Organizer Bonnington was notified as follows:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., April 23, 1906.

"FRANK J. BONNINGTON, *1304 Grove Street, Alameda, Cal.*

"Ten thousand in small bills goes to you today by express in accordance with telegraphic request from Hay. Acknowledge this and previous messages.

"JAMES M. LYNCH."

"April 23, 1906.

"FRANK J. BONNINGTON, *1304 Grove Street, Alameda, Cal.*

"Look after our members of typefounders' and mailers' unions from funds forwarded. JAMES M. LYNCH."

The following was received from Organizer Bonnington:

"OAKLAND, CAL., April 25, 1906.

"JAMES M. LYNCH, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.*

"Your telegram and Bramwood's received. Oakland banks closed indefinitely. All money should be sent in small currency by express to Alameda; congestion here great. Our men being cared for best possible under circumstances. F. J. BONNINGTON."

In circular No. 44, issued by the International shorter workday committee on April 21, attention was directed to the San Francisco disaster in this manner:

"Local unions should prepare to furnish financial relief to San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21. The executive council will do all within its power, but with every printing office in San Francisco wiped out, and the city practically destroyed, the needs of our afflicted members will be many. No. 21 in its recent struggle for the continuance of the eight-hour day paid all expenses connected with its strike, and, after its cause was won and the general contest was on, did not ask the International for a dollar by way of reimbursement. On the contrary, No. 21 contributed far more than its proportion to the International treasury, so that the eight-hour day might be established generally. Now our members in San Francisco, together with the citizens generally, are in direst need.

"Let us help to the extent of our ability.

"Money may be sent to Secretary Bramwood, who will in turn forward same to officers of No. 21 as soon as possible."

Subordinate unions immediately began contributing to the relief of No. 21. Up to May 31, 1906, donations in the sum of $6,799.75 had been received by your secretary-treasurer and transmitted to the officers of San Francisco Union.

As will be seen by the report of the executive council, No. 21 was assisted from the defense fund to the extent of $12,658. The executive council also appropriated a sufficient sum to cover the per capita tax of all San Francisco unions until they should again be in position to pay the same, and authorized them to temporarily discontinue the collection of the 10 per cent assessment.

AT OTHER POINTS

Reports were received from Santa Rosa that a large portion of the business section of that city had been destroyed by the earthquake. One of our members died at his post of duty, and others were injured, though not seriously. Aid to the extent of $800 was given this union, and the burial benefit was promptly paid. The collection of the assessment was also discontinued temporarily.

San Jose also reported considerable damage, and asked for temporary relief from the assessment, which was granted.

Oakland Union requested and was granted permission to temporarily discontinue assessment collections.

Palo Alto Union reported damage by earthquake, but was able to weather the storm without financial assistance.

The committee on officers' reports to which was referred that portion of the executive council's statement regarding the San Francisco incident recommended to the convention that it emphatically endorse the action of the council in furnishing prompt financial relief to members

involved in the California disaster, it being an unusual situation and requiring unusual action. The convention concurred in this recommendation.

On the fifth day of the convention, Delegate Tracy (San Francisco) secured unanimous consent to present the following resolution, by the San Francisco delegation:

WHEREAS the city of San Francisco and vicinity, on April 18, 19 and 20, suffered calamities exceeding in magnitude any disaster recorded in modern history—calamities that rendered several hundred thousand people homeless and destitute for a time; and

WHEREAS the moment the nature of the disaster became known, our International executive council telegraphed a large sum of money to our officials for the relief of our distressed members, and this generous donation was quickly followed by liberal contributions from sister unions, chapels and individuals of all sections of the country, these contributions aggregating the magnificent sum of more than twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000); and

WHEREAS the unexampled generosity of our brethren of the International Typographical Union enabled San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21 to afford its hundreds of distressed members immediate and adequate relief—enabled it to provide for those members more liberally than probably any other organization in the city was able to do for its members, and

WHEREAS the action of the union printers under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union affords convincing evidence that the strength of the bond of fraternity that exists between trade unionists is unsurpassed in any other form of organization, and also affords a notable illustration of the character of trade unionism; therefore

Be it resolved, By San Francisco Typographical Union No. 21, that the members thereof hereby express to their brothers and sisters of the International Typographical Union, and to individual contributors, heartfelt appreciation of their noble generosity, and assure them that their conduct in our hour of trial has imbued us with a feeling of gratitude that will last while life lasts, and has excited within us a sentiment toward them that passes beyond the bonds of mere fraternity and causes us to look upon them rather as brothers bound to us by ties of blood than by the tie of common interest and association.

Resolved, That our delegation to the convention of the International Typographical Union to be held at Colorado Springs, Colo., commencing August 13, 1906, be instructed to present these resolutions to that body, expressing the sentiments that prompted them; that a copy thereof be forwarded to each of our sister unions, chapels and individuals that contributed to the relief of our distressed members, and that these resolutions be spread upon our minutes.

The following is an excerpt from the minutes of the Colorado Springs convention:

Delegate Tracy (San Francisco) spoke of conditions in his city at the time of and immediately following the earthquake. He spoke feelingly of the action of the executive council offering any assistance possible, and almost immediately following this up by sending at one time $2,000 and a few days later the sum of $10,000, even before help had been asked of them. Thanks to the generosity of the executive council and of subordinate unions and individual members of our organization, not one member of No. 21 has suf-

fered for food, clothing, or shelter. More than $25,000 had been received from these sources, and every cent of this sum will be accounted for, and not one cent will be charged up for administrative purposes. Mr. Tracy also took occasion to thank the Order of Elks for the help they had given to members of his union. The speaker said that, speaking from the bottom of his heart, he was proud to belong to the International Typographical Union, proud to be under an executive council which had offered assistance to a stricken subordinate union before assistance had been asked. The International Typographical Union had done more to alleviate suffering in San Francisco than any other labor organization in this country. Mr. Tracy closed by saying that in behalf of San Francisco Typographical Union he thanked not only the executive council, not only the local unions, but the individual members of the organization, for so nobly responding to the call of the distressed.

Delegate McCullough (Omaha) seconded the resolutions of the San Francisco delegation.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

Report of International Eight-Hour Committee — In order that the reader may follow the history of the eight-hour struggle, the report of the International eight-hour committee made to the Colorado Springs convention is reproduced herewith.

In its report the International committee refers directly to the report made at the Toronto convention by the convention's eight-hour committee and that document was included as a part of the International committee's report to the Colorado Springs convention. Inasmuch as that matter was given proper attention under the summary of the Toronto convention it will not be included here. Following is the report of the International eight-hour committee:

To the Officers and Members of the International Typographical Union.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Attached to this report is the report of the convention eight-hour committee at Toronto. Prior to a consideration of the report we herewith submit, we bespeak careful reading of the findings of the committee at the Toronto convention, so that full and complete understanding may be had of the history of our eight-hour movement. Among other things, the report of the committee adopted by the convention contained the following:

"We believe that this convention should clothe the International eight-hour committee with power to negotiate with representatives of the United Typothetæ of America if an opportunity for negotiation occurs prior to January 1, and we so recommend. In order that the declaration of the referendum, 'That we again declare our entire willingness to negotiate with the United Typothetæ of America for an agreement under which the eight-hour day will

become operative, and so instruct our eight-hour committee,' may not be impaired."

On September 7, 1905, President Lynch and Vice-President Hays, acting under instructions from the International eight-hour committee, despite lack of invitation, and pursuant to the action of the Toronto convention quoted hereinbefore, attended the convention of the United Typothetæ of America at Niagara Falls and attempted to get a hearing on the eight-hour-day proposition from the assembled employers. The reception given President Lynch and Vice-President Hays was in striking contrast to the reception and hearing given President Ellis and Chairman Green, of the typothetæ, by our Toronto convention. Instead of being at once invited to address the convention, our representatives were only allowed to meet the typothetæ executive committee, and were not informed that the convention had formally opened the way for a hearing until the typothetæ had acted negatively on the eight-hour proposition submitted by the union representatives. After conferring for some time, the executive committee informed the International Typographical Union representatives that the only proposition the committee would make or that the committee believed would be acceptable to the convention was for a three-year contract, based on a fifty-four-hour week and an open-shop provision. As a counter proposition the International representatives submitted this: "That if the convention is in a receptive mood, that is, if the convention desires to approach the question with the intention of adjusting it so as to eventually reach the eight-hour day, we are here to negotiate on that basis." The word "eventually" was used advisedly, and only after full consideration. It was believed that the proposition allowed the widest field of choice to the typothetæ, and that it also showed beyond question that the International Typographical Union was willing to go to the limit in order to preserve industrial peace. The proposal was taken before the typothetæ convention, and its position is set forth in the following letter, handed to the International president by the chairman of the typothetæ executive committee:

"Convention United Typothetae of America.

"Niagara Falls, N. Y., September 7, 1905.

"Messrs. Lynch and Hays, *Representing the Eight-Hour Committee of the International Typographical Union.*

"Gentlemen: Concerning the following proposition, presented by you this morning: 'That if the convention is in a receptive mood, that is, if the convention desires to approach the question with the intention of adjusting it so as to eventually reach the eight-hour day, we are here to negotiate on that basis.'

"The convention instructs the committee to inform you that it is unable to consider any agreement leading toward the eight-hour day.

"Very truly yours,

"William Green, Chairman."

After the above action was communicated to the International president, he was informed by the typothetæ chairman that the latter had been subjected to some criticism because the president had not been invited to address the convention. He was informed that an opportunity to address the convention, prior to its action, would have been taken advantage of. "It would have accomplished nothing," said the executive committee chairman.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ACTS.

Immediately following the burning of its bridges by the United Typothetæ of America, the executive council met and canvassed the situation in all its phases. It was realized that those in control of the destinies of the typothetæ intended to maintain the hostile attitude first announced at the St. Louis convention of the United Typothetæ, held in June, 1904, and it was believed

that the militant element in that society was spoiling for a fight, and intended to have one on some other issue if the eight-hour excuse did not suffice. Strikes had been invited by the typothetæ in San Antonio, Detroit and Chicago, and it was not deemed wise that these unions should longer bear the brunt of the eight-hour battle. Accordingly, all local unions, except where contracts were in effect, were on September 8 and 9 instructed by wire to immediately demand eight-hour agreements, effective January 1, 1906, and in each instance where refusal was met with our members to cease work. The order was complied with, and the results have been set forth in bulletins issued from headquarters.

THE SPIRIT OF THE NIAGARA FALLS GATHERING.

The Niagara Falls Cataract-Journal of September 7 had the following: "Secrecy marked the executive sessions of the United Typothetæ meeting in the Cataract Hotel today. The officers of the association had tightened their buckles, as it were, to meet the eight-hour law proposed to them by the International Typographical Union in Toronto some time ago, when there was a convention of the printers' representatives in the Canadian city. President Lynch and Vice-President Hays, of the International Typographical Union, and President Higgins, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, attended a conference of the typothetæ today to discuss the question of an eight-hour day. The employing printers seemed determined to hold out against the movement instituted at the Toronto convention of the typos last month. Even on the street, when delegates of the typothetæ met today they greeted each other with 'Open shop, friend, open shop. Come and have an open drink with me from an open-faced bartender. Come.' Determination was written in their faces, as they firmly believed that should the hours of labor be reduced, and the pay remain the same, the cost of production would be considerably greater. The meetings of the typothetæ were all of an executive nature, and it was seen that no unauthorized person gained admittance, not excepting delegates who were not deemed sufficiently close-mouthed to keep a secret. The latter sought and found refuge in the large convention hall, where the committee on distribution of topics were holding a semi-open session." The Niagara Falls Gazette of September 8 added this testimony: "A 'fight to the finish' is the slogan of the employing printers. This stand was taken yesterday in reference to the attitude of the International Typographical Union on the eight-hour question. President Lynch and Vice-President Hays, of the International Typographical Union, were in the city yesterday. An invitation had been extended them to appear before the typothetæ and address the delegates on the eight-hour question. They did not appear before the convention, for the reason that they received no formal invitation. They were, however, closeted with the members of the executive committee for a short time yesterday. Following the conference President Lynch informed the Gazette reporter that they had asked for a consideration of the eight-hour proposition, the members of the committee being asked, if they would not stand for the eight-hour system at the present time, when would they stand for it? The executive committee absolutely refused to stand for the eight hours at any time. Upon receiving this ultimatum President Lynch and Vice-President Hays retired from the conference." Both the Cataract-Journal and the Gazette were members of the United Typothetæ at the time the convention was in session, and it is fair to presume their quoted utterances are authoritative. Both papers are now fighting the eight-hour issue, and, as their appearance well demonstrates, are the product of non-unionists.

DETROIT, SAN ANTONIO, CHICAGO

On Wednesday, August 10, non-unionists were put to work in several offices in Detroit, and as a result the members of Typographical Union No.

18 employed in twenty-five offices were called out, and the eight-hour fight was on in Detroit.

On Tuesday, August 15, non-unionists were employed in three offices in San Antonio, and the members of No. 172 employed in these offices declined to remain at work, and the eight-hour contest was on in San Antonio.

On Saturday, August 26, non-unionists were put to work in R. R. Donnelley & Sons', Rand, McNally & Co.'s, and several other offices in Chicago, and the members of No. 16 employed in these offices promptly accepted the gage of battle. The eight-hour fight was on in Chicago.

In each instance the issue was made by the proprietors, and the steps taken by them were with the deliberate intention of bringing on a conflict. Inasmuch as the International Typographical Union provided that the eight-hour day should become effective on January 1, 1906, the International officers, in every instance where a local union desired to enforce the eight-hour day by strike prior to the date set for its general introduction, had declined sanction and assistance, and prevailed on the union to forego its intention. It was the idea of the International officers that if peace could be maintained opportunity might be afforded for a satisfactory adjustment of the eight-hour contention. After the action taken by the United Typothetæ at Niagara Falls, set forth above, it was realized that immediate action was necessary if our unions in San Antonio, Detroit and Chicago were to be preserved, and the eight-hour movement continued. It was apparent that if the unfair employers in the three cities, with the active assistance of members of the typothetæ in other localities, could win—and the chances favored victory for them, if they had only the three unions to contend with—that with the advantage thus gained other unions could and would be opposed, and overwhelming and crushing defeat would be our portion. Therefore, the general strike was immediately ordered, and nearly four months in advance of the date originally set—January 1.

AID FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, in considering the eight-hour movement of the International Typographical Union, adopted the report of a special committee on the subject, which, among other things, contained the following:

"That if at any time after January 1, 1906, the International Typographical Union desires the financial support of the American Federation of Labor, and if after investigation by the executive council such financial support is found necessary in order to insure victory to the printers, the executive council shall levy the constitutional assessment on affiliated bodies, this assessment to continue for such length of time as in the judgment of the executive council may be necessary."

Knowing that the funds on hand would not suffice to finance the eight-hour movement until such time as the referendum could act on an assessment proposition, the executive council determined to appeal to the American Federation of Labor to accord the financial aid promised by the San Francisco convention prior to the date set in the foregoing quotation. The following correspondence explains further:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., October 19, 1905.

"MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

"DEAR MR. GOMPERS: We desire at this time to draw to your attention the action taken by the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, relative to the movement for the eight-hour day by the book and job printers of the United States and Canada. The federation adopted the following provisions:

"'First. That the American Federation of Labor approve and endorse the movement under way by the International Typographical Union for an eight-hour day for the book and job printers of the United States and Canada, and pledge to the support of this movement both moral and financial assistance.

"'Second. That if at any time after January 1, 1906, the International Typographical Union desires the financial support of the American Federation of Labor, and if after investigation by the executive council such financial support is found necessary in order to insure victory to the printers, the executive council shall levy the constitutional assessment on affiliated bodies, this assessment to continue for such length of time as in the judgment of the executive council may be necessary.

"'Third. Your committee recommends that a committee of five members be appointed to act with the executive council in furthering the eight-hour day for the book and job printers.'

"You are somewhat familiar with the campaign the Interantional Typographical Union has conducted thus far, and we will, therefore, be as brief as possible in covering recent events leading to the general strike that we now have on.

"At our Toronto convention, held in August, and before which you appeared at our invitation in advocacy of the eight-hour movement, there was present a committee representing the United Typothetæ of America. This committee met the convention eight-hour committee, and, notwithstanding that effort was made to reach an agreement by our committee, the typothetæ absolutely refused to concede anything. Later the president of the United Typothetæ appeared before our convention and, in effect, reiterated the position taken by the committee representing his association.

"A few days prior to our convention the Detroit Typothetæ precipitated an eight-hour conflict by employing non-union men, and a general strike occurred in the typothetæ offices in that city.

"Immediately following our convention the Chicago Typothetæ precipitated the conflict in that city. In San Antonio, Texas, the same tactics were followed. Notwithstanding these hostile measures on the part of the employers, our executive council decided to make one more effort to secure a settlement, and, accordingly, the president and vice-president of the International Typographical Union attended the convention of the United Typothetæ of America, held in Niagara Falls early in September. We enclose herewith circular containing facsimile of letter handed to our International representatives by the chairman of the executive committee of the United Typothetæ of America, and setting forth the action taken by the Niagara Falls convention.

"Realizing that if the eight-hour movement was to be preserved and the eight-hour day made effective in our branch of the printing trade, immediate action was necessary, and, further, for the protection of our unions in Detroit, San Antonio and Chicago, the executive council on September 8, 9, and thereafter, ordered the eight-hour demand to be made in jurisdictions where contracts did not prevent, and, where refusal was met with, work to cease. You were notified of this policy by wire on September 11.

"Since the general strike was ordered we have secured eight-hour contracts in many cities, and we also have eight-hour contracts with firms in cities in which strikes are now on. Since the inception of the difficulty we have had and now have out upwards of 3,000 men, and this has been a great drain on the resources of the International Typographical Union.

"While, for more than a year, we have been collecting an assessment with which to finance the eight-hour fight, yet, in view of the apparent intention of the typothetæ to resist the enforcement of the eight-hour day in all cities where the typothetæ is organized, and the consequent encouragement and inducement to resist to employers in other cities, we have been able to realize

on but a small portion of this assessment, as our unions require it for their local use.

"We are now appealing to our membership, and we are proposing an assessment of 50 cents per member per week. We have no doubt but that this assessment will be voted by the membership.

"We, of course, need money, and we need it badly, and assistance from the federation, to be effective, must come now. While the San Francisco convention provided that 'If at any time after January 1, 1906,' we desired financial support, the subject would be taken up by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, yet the action of the United Typothetæ of America in precipitating the contest prior to January 1 makes action by the federation necessary at this time; and our request, therefore, is not in violation of the spirit and intent of the action of the San Francisco convention.

"We have spent many thousands of dollars in this struggle, and we are preparing to spend additional thousands. We are not seeking aid from other unions without also ourselves furnishing the major portion of the money that is necessary to finance the contest. We are met with the opposition of the manufacturers' associations and citizens' alliances, and we are convinced that these associations are supplying the main portion of the money with which the United Typothetæ of America is opposing our eight-hour demand.

"We believe, therefore, taking into consideration the facts recited heretofore, that we are entirely within both the law and good ethics in requesting financial support from the American Federation of Labor at this time.

"Asking that you bring this matter to the attention of the executive council at once, and that you also appoint the committee provided for in the third proposition adopted by the last American Federation of Labor convention, we beg to remain, Fraternally,

"James M. Lynch,
"Hugo Miller,
"J. W. Bramwood,
"Executive Council International Typographical Union."

To the above the following reply was received:

[Telegram]

"Washington, D. C., October 21, 1905.

"James M. Lynch, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind*

"Letter and telegram received. Is it not possible for you to come to Washington for conference? It is of utmost importance. Were it possible I would not hesitate a moment to come to Indianapolis. Please wire answer.

"Samuel Gompers."

[Telegram]

"October 21, 1905.

"Samuel Gompers, *423–425 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.*

"Will leave Monday afternoon for Washington. Must be here Monday to keep in touch with Philadelphia. Answer if satisfactory.

"James M. Lynch."

[Telegram]

"Washington, D. C., October 22, 1905.

"James M. Lynch, *Indianapolis, Ind.*

"Just received your telegram. That time will do. In fact any time conforming to your early convenience will be agreeable. My only purpose is to be helpful. Wire in advance. Samuel Gompers."

[Telegram]

"October 24, 1905.

"Samuel Gompers, *423–425 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.*

"Leave here this afternoon. Will arrive tomorrow afternoon 1 o'clock via

Pennsylvania and go direct to federation headquarters. Want to leave 7 o'clock tomorrow evening for Indianapolis. JAMES M. LYNCH."

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Conference was had in Washington with President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, and these gentlemen said a proposition would at once be placed before the American Federation of Labor executive council for an assessment, the proceeds to be used to aid the International Typographical Union in establishing the eight-hour day. Some anxiety was experienced by your officers, caused by the unavoidable delay in gathering the votes of the Federation officials, and the appended telegrams explain:

[Telegram]

"November 2, 1905.

"FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary American Federation of Labor, 423–425 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.*

"Waiting to hear result of council's action. Most important that proposition shall be endorsed so we can proceed this week.

"JAMES M. LYNCH."

[Telegram]

"WASHINGTON, D. C., November 2, 1905.

"JAMES M. LYNCH, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.*

"Secretary Morrison showed me your telegram to him; replying would say in all likelihood I shall be in position to give you definite answer tomorrow. "GOMPERS."

[Telegram]

"WASHINGTON, D. C., November 3, 1905.

"JAMES M. LYNCH, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis.*

"Application for financial assistance in support of International Typographical Union eight-hour strike approved by executive council. An assessment of 1 cent per member for four weeks has been levied.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS."

The assessment circular issued by the president and secretary of the American Federation of Labor is also reproduced:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., November 3, 1905.

"To all National and International Unions Affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

"DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: The International Typographical Union has been compelled to make its fight for the establishment of the eight-hour day fully four months in advance of the time contemplated. This was due to the plan of the employing printers' association, which undertook to make war upon several local unions, hoping to defeat the International Typographical Union by these tactics. A large number of establishments have already yielded the eight-hour day, but there are thousands of printers still on strike, and it may be necessary for them to continue so for a considerable period of time. An assessment has been levied upon its membership by the International Typographical Union, and another in addition has just been enforced. The strike involves an immense expenditure of money, because of the continent-wide contest and the large number involved.

"At the San Francisco convention the American Federation of Labor, true to its policy, pledged full sympathy and assistance, both moral and financial, to the International Typographical Union in its effort to enforce the eight-hour workday. The executive council, conscious of the unanimous sentiment of the men of our movement, has decided to carry into effect the expressed, as well as the unexpressed, wish of our fellow unionists, to render the International Typographical Union every support within its power.

"Therefore, the executive council, in compliance with article x of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, has decided and hereby notifies you that it has levied an assessment upon all affiliated organizations of 1 cent per member for four consecutive weeks, or in all 4 cents per member.

"The International Typographical Union is doing its full share, not only in making the contest for the eight-hour day, but in the assessment of its members, so that success may come to them in the movement. Its officers feel, however, that the members of the trade union movement desire and intend something more than mere expressions of sympathy, and have therefore applied to the American Federation of Labor for such financial assistance, which we all propose to render as already stated herein.

"It is urged that all organizations which are in a position to do so will forward at once the assessment levied. Those which may not be in so fortunate a position will do so at the earliest possible moment. If it be inconvenient to transmit the assessment at once, it might be found convenient to send it in two installments, one following as closely as possible upon the other.

"It might not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the 3-cent assessment levied by the San Francisco convention secured for the textile workers of Fall River not only an honorable adjustment of their last strike, but an increase of 9 per cent in their wages just now, and we feel that as prompt compliance as possible in the payment of this present assessment levied will materially help the International Typographical Union to victoriously enforce the eight-hour day.

"Forward all payments to Secretary Frank Morrison, 423-425 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

"With fraternal greetings,

"By order of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor,
"Attest: SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

"FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*"

"ARTICLE X

"SECTION 1. The executive council shall have power to declare a levy of 1 cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated organization engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

"SEC. 2. Any union, international, national, or local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in city central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

On the strength of the receipts that were assured by the American Federation of Labor assessment, and also acting on the belief that the 50-cent assessment proposition, then before the referendum, would be endorsed by the membership, the president and secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, on a note signed by these officials as such, borrowed $20,000 from the Fletcher National Bank, of Indianapolis. This money, together with the amount in the treasury, assured the proper financing of the eight-hour contest until other resources were available. The committee desires to say here that the aid guaranteed by the American Federation of Labor was of great assistance, and the money was forthcoming at a time when it accomplished the greatest amount of good. At no time since has there been occasion for anxiety as to the financial outlook.

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS

On Sunday, November 12, a meeting of presidents and other representatives of unions on strike was held at International headquarters. Those pres-

ent were: W. C. Hewitt, Springfield, Ohio; G. W. Dickson, Detroit, Mich.; W. B. Wilson, Grand Rapids, Mich.; K. S. Fisher, Omaha, Neb.; A. D. Calvert, Philadelphia, Pa.; James J. Hoban, Cleveland, Ohio; William D. Williams, New Haven, Conn.; Wade P. Harding, Atlanta, Ga.; M. R. Pace, Richmond, Va.; F. N. Gould, Minneapolis, Minn.; T. F. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.; C. E. Kinskey, Buffalo, N. Y.; Joseph A. Jackson, St. Louis, Mo.; Bert H. Bates, Rochester, N. Y.; E. H. Ashton, Newark, N. J.; E. M. Stewart, Toledo, Ohio; James Taylor, Syracuse, N. Y.; Edgar A. Perkins and E. P. Barry, Indianapolis, Ind.; E. R. Wright, Chicago, Ill.; B. E. Burnham, St. Joseph, Mo.; James M. Lynch, Hugo Miller and J. W. Bramwood, comprising the executive council.

The gathering was for the purpose of an interchange of ideas, and it developed into a sort of "experience" meeting. Great good was accomplished through a comparison of methods in the conduct of the fight. Close as the International officers were to the situation in the various towns, the statements of the representatives at the meeting were a pleasing revelation to them. Not one discordant note was struck in the course of the meeting, which lasted for eight hours. As one after another arose and described the conditions in his locality, the conviction grew that there could be no such word as "fail." Every union represented had the local situation well in hand.

The International officers offered suggestions as to the conduct of the struggle in various jurisdictions, submitted statistics relative to the number on strike, benefits thus far paid, etc., and announced that the American Federation of Labor had levied an assessment for the typographical union that would net $60,000. They also informed the meeting that the passage of the 50-cent assessment proposition would assure a steady income for the payment of strike expenses.

THE EIGHT-HOUR ASSESSMENTS

Acting in accordance with our laws, the executive council of the International Typographical Union, on October 17, submitted to the referendum the following proposition:

"Shall an assessment of fifty (50) cents per week per member, payable each week, be levied on the membership of the International Typographical Union, for the purpose of financing the eight-hour contest until its termination, under the following terms and conditions:

"Said assessment shall not apply to unions engaged in strike during the progress of the strike, in case such unions are collecting a local assessment, for strike purposes, equal to 50 cents per week per member.

"When a strike is settled or the local assessment discontinued or reduced to less than 50 cents per week per member, the International assessment, as above specified, shall immediately apply to the members of such unions.

"The assessment shall take effect with the week beginning Monday, November 6, 1905, and shall continue in the discretion of the executive council of the International Typographical Union, it being understood that the assessment shall be promptly discontinued when conditions warrant such a course.

"It shall be the duty of local officials to collect this assessment at the end of each week and transmit the same, without delay, to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union."

Circulars dealing with this subject were mailed to all members of the organization whose names appear on the Journal mailing list.

The proposition was adopted by the overwhelming vote of 23,949 for to 6,333 against. If anything were needed to show the earnestness and determination of our members to fight the shorter workday battle to a successful termination, the result of this vote demonstrated it. There was never any doubt about the outcome of the vote—it was simply a question of how large

the majority in its favor would be. The assessment took effect with the week beginning Monday, November 6.

THE TEN PER CENT PROPOSITION

As January 1, 1906, approached it became more and more apparent that the opposing employers, under the leadership of the officers of the United Typothetæ of America, intended to test to the limit the resources and fighting capacity of the International Typographical Union. Accordingly, our executive council prepared for the battle. It was seen that the money accruing from the 50-cent assessment would not be sufficient to finance a contest of the magnitude that was promised on the first of the year, and it determined to submit to referendum vote a proposition for a 10 per cent assessment on the earnings of the entire membership. The proposition follows:

"Shall an assessment of ten (10) per cent of the earnings of all members, payable each week, be levied on the membership of the International Typographical Union, for the purpose of financing the eight-hour contest until its termination, under the following terms and conditions:

"Said assessment shall apply to all unions; Provided, That the executive council shall have power to permit local unions in jurisdictions where strikes are in progress to retain the amount of the assessment or any portion thereof and expend the same for strike purposes, when, in the judgment of the council, such action is necessary.

"The assessment shall take effect with the week beginning Monday, January 1, 1906, and shall continue in the discretion of the executive council of the International Typographical Union, it being understood that the assessment shall be promptly discontinued when conditions warrant such a course.

"It shall be the duty of local officials to collect this assessment at the end of each week and transmit the same, without delay, to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union.

"In case the foregoing is adopted, the assessment of 50 cents per member per week shall be discontinued with the week ending Saturday, December 30, 1905."

The proposition was endorsed by the referendum by a vote of 25,046 for to 6,945 against. The total vote was 31,991.

METHODS OF THE EMPLOYERS

Every scheme that has been developed in industrial warfare by employers was resorted to by the eight-hour opponents in the effort to defeat our unions in the shorter-workday campaign. As in other strikes, the injunction was the favorite weapon. Affidavits were easily obtained from non-union printers, and, armed with these instruments, the employers' attorneys resorted to the courts, and in all but a few instances succeeded in securing temporary restraining orders that were afterward made permanent. It is worthy of note that all kinds of crime and contemplated crime was charged against our members on strike, yet there has been but one single conviction for violation of the law. The only object in securing the injunctions has been to terrorize our members with threats of the application of the law under allegation of violation of injunction writs. But public sentiment has been against the injunction mill in our struggle, and the employers have not dared to put their cases to the test of trial. Only in Chicago was a conviction secured, and the proceedings in that injunction case excited so much indignation that the employers were glad to rid themselves of the opprobrium heaped upon them by failing to press the alleged victory that was secured and insist on the officers of No. 16 serving their sentences in jail. The injunctions have had the contrary effect to that expected. In almost every instance they have nerved our mem-

bers to renewed effort, and they have demonstrated the desperate plight in which the employers have found themselves.

FAILED TO STARVE US

At the Niagara Falls convention of the United Typothetæ it was the universal belief of the assembled delegates that the members of the International Typographical Union could be starved into submission. It was not thought for a moment that money could be secured by us with which to finance a general strike. The strike was expected to last for not more than six weeks. In fact, typothetæ bulletins issued subsequent to the strike endeavored to assure typothetæ members that the rank and file of the International Typographical Union would not for many weeks consent to the payment of assessments. This was especially true after the passage of the 50-cent assessment, but when the 10 per cent assessment was endorsed by an overwhelming majority the hope on the part of the employers that money would not be forthcoming was abandoned. Our members have not been starved. There has not been a case of destitution reported to the International officers, nor, so far as we are aware, to the local officers. Every call for funds that was well founded has, after investigation, been met. In short, neither the injunction nor starvation have had the hoped-for disastrous effect in this eight-hour strike.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S WORK

The executive council of the International Typographical Union has met daily since the first of the year. All applications for special monetary assistance, and the situation in the various jurisdictions where strikes are on, were carefully considered, and such action taken as the council deemed necessary. It has been the aim of the council to conserve the funds of the International Typographical Union, but at no time has the council been niggardly in acting on requests from local unions for monetary or other aid. The effort has been to properly finance each strike. The council has also given continued consideration to the general situation, and has tried to take advantage of every opportunity that promised betterment. The eight-hour committee has issued circulars from time to time and has endeavored in every way, through these circulars and through the Typographical Journal, to keep the membership thoroughly informed as to the events in the strike. In short, the business of each local union, and of the International union, as concerned the strike and otherwise, has been given careful attention by your officers.

THE EIGHT-HOUR CIRCULARS

The eight-hour battle opened almost without warning to the membership. After it was on it was necessary to get to the members promptly information in relation to the conflict. This was accomplished through the medium of the Typographical Journal and eight-hour circulars.

Circular No. 15 contained list of eight-hour unions, No. 16 the same, and No. 17 the report of the eight-hour committee at the Toronto convention.

The first circular issued after the battle opened was No. 18, on September 14, 1905, and gave a résumé of the proceedings of the typothetæ convention as these proceedings affected our interests, together with a facsimile of the letter to "Messrs. Lynch and Hays, representing the eight-hour committee of the International Typographical Union," from the chairman of the typothetæ executive committee. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 19 was issued on September 15, 1905, and gave the results achieved in the battle up to that date. It contained the admonition to "Stand by your union and victory is absolutely certain." Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 20 was issued on September 18, 1905, and continued the data as to victories secured. Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 21 was issued on September 20, 1905, continuing reports of progress, stating that "We are winning because our members are loyal and true." Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 22 bears date of September 23, 1905, and in addition to the continued progress reported there is explanation of the situation in each strike jurisdiction. Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 23 was issued on September 30, 1905, and contained list of eight-hour unions and unions conducting strikes. Explanation of conditions in strike jurisdictions was also given. Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 24, October 4, 1905, gave report of continued progress. Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 25, October 7, 1905, explained the abandonment by the typothetæ of open opposition to the eight-hour day and the substitution of the cry for the "open shop." Conditions where strikes were on were also given in this circular. Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 26, October 12, 1905, warned our members of the typothetæ injunction tactics. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 27, October 14, 1905, had the following: "The associated employers abandoned opposition to the eight-hour day and raised the cry, 'Open shop,' hoping that would lead them to the promised land of low wages, long hours and huge profits. Now the 'open shop' has forsaken its progenitors, and in hysterical desperation they turn to the courts. Injunctions are the remaining and only hope of the opposition, and we will beat them on that issue also. Stand firm, no matter from which avenue comes the attack." The circular contained list of eight-hour unions, list of strike jurisdictions and further explanation of conditions in these jurisdictions. Five thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 28, October 21, 1905, was devoted mainly to the conditions in strike centers. Six thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 29, October 25, 1905: "The injunction mills continue to grind, and our courts of justice are now the tail of the employers' kite. But our members are not going back to the nine-hour composing rooms. That's what counts." Also contained reports of progress in various centers. Six thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 30, October 28, 1905, predicted the passage of the fifty-cent assessment and gave the speech of the president of the American Federation of Labor before our Toronto convention. This circular also contained a list of eight-hour unions and strike jurisdictions. Six thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 31, November 1, 1905: "Notwithstanding, on two different occasions, we have exposed the falsehood and misrepresentation that go to make up the bulletins issued from the New York headquarters of the United Typothetæ, the deception continues." Examples of this deception were given. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 32, November 4, 1905, devoted to conditions in strike jurisdictions. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 33, November 15, 1905, list of eight-hour unions and strike jurisdictions and extract from the report of the president of the American Federation of Labor to the Pittsburgh convention of the federation. Vote on the 50-cent assessment was also announced—25,948 for, 6,334 against. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 34, November 25, 1905, result of label campaign. Also contained the report of the committee on president's report to the Pittsburgh con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 35, December 14, 1905, analyzes typothetæ statements and shows their absurdity. This circular set forth at some length conditions in various strike jurisdictions. The circular contained fourteen pages, including list of eight-hour unions and strike jurisdictions. Thirty thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 36, December 20, 1905, contained facsimile of circular letters issued by the National Manufacturers' Association in support of the United Typothetæ. It also exposed a scheme on the part of the employers which was floated through the medium of a letter presumed to come from a member of one of our unions affected by the strike. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 37, December 30, 1905, predicted the passage of the ten per cent assessment, gave a list of the eight-hour unions and strike jurisdictions and gave verbatim endorsements from various sources for our eight-hour campaign. Typothetæ misrepresentation was further exposed. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

TYPOTHETAE ATTACKS NEWSPAPERS

Circular No. 38, January 8, 1906, gave a review of the general situation, exposed the typothetæ misrepresentation and contained an attack by the United Typothetæ on newspapers supposed to be friendly to our eight-hour struggle. There was also given a list of eight-hour unions, strike jurisdictions, together with an editorial from the Chicago American, Sunday, December 31. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 39, January 15, 1906, reproduced circular issued by the president of the National Manufacturers' Association, and also gave conditions in various strike jurisdictions, together with list of eight-hour unions and strike centers. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 40, January 24, 1906, general situation, conditions in strike centers and an answer by the president of the International Typographical Union to a statement appearing in the Boston Post and emanating from the president of the United Typothetæ of America. Also list of eight-hour unions and strike jurisdictions. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 41, February 2, 1906, information as to Chicago injunction proceedings, half page reproduced from the Chicago Sunday American, January 28, list of eight-hour unions and strike jurisdictions. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 42, March 8, 1906: "Thirty-nine thousand members in the eight-hour division." Excerpt from the Los Angeles Examiner as to important victory in that city and general situation and conditions in Winnipeg. Information as to the ten per cent assessment and list of eight-hour unions and strike jurisdictions. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 43, April 14, 1906: General review of the situation, especially in New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, Pittsburgh and Akron. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 44, April 21, 1906, news of the San Francisco disaster, conditions in Detroit, Philadelphia, Indianapolis and New York. "The label frightens them. The officers of the United Typothetæ of America have issued a special bulletin calling attention to our general label campaign and urging unfair employers to do everything possible to minimize the effect of label agitation." Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 45, April 28, 1906: Further information as to San Francisco; conditions in St. Louis and the general situation. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 46, May 5, 1906: Sixteen pages, exhaustive review of conditions in strike jurisdictions. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 47, May 12, 1906: Conditions in Duluth, Sioux Falls, Chicago and Winnipeg. A complete report of the deputy minister of labor for Canada on the investigation of alleged fraudulent practices in England to induce printers to come to Canada. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 48, May 26, 1906: Conditions in Peoria, Indianapolis, Chicago and Cumberland (Md.) and International Typographical Union unfair list. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

Circular No. 49, June 23, 1906: Conditions in Leavenworth, Davenport, Cincinnati and Wilmington (Del.) and International Typographical Union unfair list. This circular contained reference to the Buffalo convention of the United Typothetæ of America to convene on July 16, and extract from the convention call issued over the signature of the president of the United Typothetæ. Ten thousand copies of this circular were issued.

The foregoing includes circulars issued up to the time of the report of the eight-hour committee going to the delegates. It was the intention to issue additional circulars as circumstances warranted.

WORK OF THE ORGANIZERS.

The International eight-hour committee feels that its report would not be complete without special mention of the work performed during the struggle by the organizers for the International Typographical Union. Many of these organizers have been devoting their entire time to eight-hour supervision, together with the adjustment of scale contentions and other difficulties. The general eight-hour scheme of the International officers included proper supervision of local contests. There have been many requests for the services of the organizers, and these requests have been complied with in nearly every instance. In some localities members of local unions have been appointed as representatives of the International Union, so that there would be direct supervision by the International Union through a paid representative. The duty devolving on these members, difficult and arduous at all times, has been cheerfully performed, and ready acquiescence of organizers to all instructions issued from the International headquarters has contributed in no small degree to the success that we have achieved in our campaign for the shorter workday. It is true that the International has paid its representatives for services rendered, but the value of these services to the organization and the eight-hour cause can not be measured in dollars and cents. Loyalty, intelligence and industry have a higher standard of measurement. A perusal of the reports of the organizers is recommended to those who desire intimate acquaintance with the details of our shorter workday movement.

WORK AT HEADQUARTERS

The shorter workday campaign more than trebled the routine work at headquarters, and in order to promptly and properly dispose of correspondence, bookkeeping, correction of records, issuance of circulars, etc., it was necessary to largely increase the office force. The added work, taken in connection with the increase in the office force, also required additional room. For a time in the earlier part of the eight-hour struggle, our offices were disconnected and scattered. We have now succeeded in rearranging this. The offices are well connected and commodious, and the arrangement of office rooms and working force guarantee the proper handling of the tremendous amount of work that is transacted daily at the International headquarters. Aside from this, we are now in a position, when the shorter-workday campaign is ended, to undertake the work of reconstruction that will be necessary. Facilities are at hand, and,

so far as they are concerned, the International's field of action can be properly attended to.

FINANCING THE STRIKE

The manner in which the membership of the International Typographical Union has financed the eight-hour struggle has been at once the wonder and the admiration of the trade-union world. On June 1 upward of one million five hundred thousand dollars had been expended in the effort to make the eight-hour day general. As the result of this vast expenditure, about forty thousand members of the International Typographical Union are safely on an eight-hour basis. The council has acted, however, on the conviction that the fight should not be ended until the shorter workday was secured for all of the members who were compelled to relinquish their situations. It must not be forgotten that the men on strike secured the eight-hour day for those who now enjoy it.

LOYALTY OF THE MEMBERSHIP

More so, we believe, than in any other industrial struggle, has the membership of the International Typographical Union been loyal to the obligation to the organization. Upward of twelve thousand members have at one time or another been on strike, and the percentage of defection has been very small indeed. We made the great progress that has been a feature of our eight-hour movement because of the loyalty of the general membership.

FINANCES

Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood's report contains an itemized statement of the receipts and expenditures of the executive council or joint defense fund. From this fund the expenses of the eight-hour fight have been defrayed. By reference to the report mentioned it will be found that the International Union received a total of $35,684.81 from the one-half of one per cent assessment, $132,326 from the 50-cent assessment and $581,641.66 from the 10 per cent assessment. The American Federation of Labor levied an assessment on behalf of the International Union which netted $47,715.94. The executive council transferred $47,000 from the special to the regular defense fund. The major portion of this money, together with the receipts of the defense fund from per capita tax and other sources, was used in the eight-hour fight. To get the cost of the eight-hour fight up to May 31, the close of the fiscal year, the expenditures of local unions must be added to those from the International defense fund. A summary of these expenditures is as follows:

International defense fund expenditures	$815,291 80
Ten per cent assessment retained and expended by local unions	651,791 73
One-half of one per cent assessment retained and expended by local unions	96,645 57
Total	$1,563,729 10

The expenditures from the defense fund, as given above, include $13,358 assistance rendered our California unions which suffered through the earthquake disaster, and $7,200 used by Los Angeles Union in its fight against the Times. The above summary does not include local union funds or money derived from local assessments that have gone into the eight-hour fight, for the reason that the expenditures from such funds have not been reported to the International Union. It is estimated, however, that local unions have expended at least $200,000 of their own money in the furtherance of the eight-hour movement. If this be added to the total given above the cost of the eight-hour fight to the close of the fiscal year is increased to $1,763,729.10.

In connection with the assistance rendered California unions it must be remembered that San Francisco Union No. 21 defrayed all of the expenses of its fight for the eight-hour day without calling upon the International Union.

In the statement of the executive council, given in the secretary-treasurer's report, appears an item of $12,137.61 representing the expenses of this committee. This sum includes the following:

Circulars and cards	$2,494 85
Buttons	198 74
Clerical and stenographic work	4,951 93
Stamped envelopes	2,733 70
Postage stamps	959 90
Traveling expenses of committee	213 70
Secret work	31 50
Expressage	53 29
Interest	100 00
Special organization work	400 00
Total	$12,137 61

In taking into account the expenditures in the eight-hour crusade, it must be remembered that the executive council disbursed only the amount appropriated from the defense fund ($815,291.80), and local unions the balance.

A detailed statement of the financial features of the eight-hour contest is given under the head of "The Executive Council or Joint Defense Fund," in the secretary-treasurer's report.

Respectfully submitted,
James M. Lynch,
John W. Hays,
Hugo Miller,
J. W. Bramwood,
International Eight-Hour Committee.

Report of Convention's Eight-Hour Committee — The convention's eight-hour committee, to which the foregoing report was referred, reported that it had carefully weighed the information submitted to it from various sources and recommended the following:

A. That the time for enforcing the eight-hour day in Montreal, where the contract expires in October, 1906, be extended to June, 1907, the date when the Toronto contract expires, the committee believing that the conditions in Montreal warrant such a course, and that an International Typographical Union organizer be assigned to Montreal for purpose of strengthening that city, particularly the English-speaking union, No. 176.

B. Your committee further recommends, that on and after October 1, all assessments collected under authority of the International Typographical Union be sent to that body intact, the purpose being to give the executive council full control of all strike moneys and disbursing the same.

C. That the sum allowed members on the strike roll be not in excess of $7 for single men and $10 for married men, and that the constitutional benefit as it appears on the books at present, of $5 and $7, be adhered to as closely as possible, localities and contingencies arising, in the judgment of the executive council, being the sole cause for an increase over the latter amount.

Where unions desire to increase the amounts named it must be done by still further increasing the local dues, or assessments, such dues or assessments not being subject to the control of the executive council, but wholly under the direction of the local body collecting the same.

D. That where men refuse to work because the amount earned does not

equal the strike benefit, that they be cut off from the benefit list entirely, it being evident that the disposition thus shown is not in accordance with the true spirit of unionism and a desire to advance the out-of-work settlement.

E. Your committee has carefully considered the assessment problem in all its phases presented. It believes that in some localities money is expended economically and equitably. In others, without due regard to the sacrifices made by the membership who have financed this strike.

Your committee is firmly convinced that in the event of the assessment being forwarded intact to the executive council and disbursed under its direction, as above recommended, that the assessment can be cut to 8 per cent and to continue at that figure until the executive council considers it advisable to make a still further reduction.

F. Your committee further recommends that in cities where 90 per cent of the membership are employed that those cities be declared eight-hour cities, the benefits cut off, the executive council rendering special assistance where deemed advisable, and that the assessment be continued as in other cities.

It is fair to presume that in ordinary times fully 10 per cent of most unions are out of work and your committee does not believe it is assuming an unwarranted position when it takes the stand that a union that has 90 per cent of its membership working today under the eight-hour day is not worse off than in ordinary times, when no great question is at stake.

Your committee believes that the executive council should open communication with English, Irish and Scotch typographical societies, with a view to becoming more closely connected in the matter of importation of strike-breaking printers.

A heart-to-heart correspondence would undoubtedly result in our foreign brothers interesting themselves in this subject and giving us important relief from what is commonly called the English invasion.

Your committee would further recommend that the battle cry of the membership of the International Typographical Union, which has been so full of hope and good cheer the past year—

"We propose to sell to the employer eight hours out of twenty-four, and we will do as we please with the remaining sixteen," be officially amended as follows:

"We are selling to the employer eight hours out of twenty-four, and we are doing as we please with the remaining sixteen."

George J. Knott, *Chairman.*
John E. Pendergast, *Secretary.*
F. W. Smith.
Will Daly.
T. J. Quinn.

The various suggestions of the convention's eight-hour committee were considered seriatum and after prolonged discussion the recommendations and the entire report were concurred in unanimously.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Delegate Coughlin (Chicago) submitted the following proposition, which was referred to the committee on resolutions:

Resolved, That owing to the constantly increasing demand

for young and active men in composing rooms and the gradual discarding of the older members of our craft, the urgent necessity for the establishment of a pension system for our superannuated and incapacitated members should be apparent to every one; therefore, the president of the International Typographical Union is hereby respectfully requested to appoint a committee of three to draw up a plan and report same to the next convention of the International Typographical Union.

The committee reported the resolution to the convention with a favorable recommendation and the same was concurred in.

Hot Springs, Ark., was selected as the convention city for the year 1907.

Convention at Hot Springs

[1907] — The fifty-third convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order in the Eastman Hotel, Hot Springs, Ark., Monday, August 12, 1907, by Charles M. Millar, chairman of the local committee of arrangements, who called on the Rev. C. H. Kues to offer prayer. President Bumpass, of Hot Springs Union, welcomed the delegates and visitors on behalf of the local organization, while the welcome of the city of Hot Springs was extended by Mayor Jodd, who granted the freedom of the city to the members of the International Union. Ex-Mayor Belding, president of the business men's league, addressed the convention and extended the greetings of the business men of Hot Springs. Mrs. A. W. Bowen, of Washington, D. C., president of the Woman's International Auxiliary, delivered a brief address. President Lynch responded to the addresses of welcome and declared the convention ready for business.

The secretary read the list of delegates entitled to seats in the convention, together with the names of several delegates irregularly elected. The latter were referred to

the committee on credentials. The regularly elected delegates were seated and the chair named the various convention officers and committees.

Old Age Pensions — After several minor matters had been disposed of, J. D. Coughlin, chairman of the old age pension committee, presented the following:

To the Officers and Delegates, Fifty-Third Session, International Typographical Union.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: At the fifty-second convention of the International Typographical Union, held at Colorado Springs, August 13–18, 1906, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Resolved,* That, owing to the constantly increasing demand for young and active men in composing rooms and the gradual discarding of the older members of our craft, the urgent necessity for the establishment of a pension system for our superannuated and incapacitated members should be apparent to every one; therefore the president of the International Typographical Union is hereby respectfully requested to appoint a committee of three to draw up a plan and report same to the next convention of the International Typographical Union."

In pursuance of the above resolution, your committee appointed by President Lynch for the purpose of submitting a plan for the establishment of an old age pension system to the fifty-third convention of the International Typographical Union at Hot Springs, respectfully reports as follows:

The committee has held sessions for the past several days, and has carefully considered propositions and communications submitted to it by members of the International Typographical Union, as well as such other data as has been gathered together by the committee.

The committee will continue to hold daily sessions from 9:30 A. M. to 6 P. M. at room D, Eastman hotel, and cordially invites delegates and members who may have propositions or suggestions to offer to appear before said committee.

We ask that this report be accepted as progress.

Respectfully submitted,
J. D. COUGHLIN,
EDWARD F. DRACKERT,
R. M. MCCULLOUGH.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

The report of President Lynch was a comprehensive document and reviewed, under appropriate headings, the various matters that had occupied the attention of the International Union for the period following the Colorado Springs convention.

The president opened his report by calling attention to a statement made the previous year "that while the ordinary affairs of the International Typographical Union

had been subordinated to a great extent to the eight-hour day, we had made substantial progress in other directions." The president declared this was also true of the period covered by his report, and then continued:

We have put forth constant, and we hope consistent, effort to bring the eight-hour campaign to a successful close. That we have succeeded to a large degree, the results that have been placed before the membership each month in the official organ must be the standard by which our work will be gauged. The strike roll has been reduced to comparatively inconsequential proportions in all but a few cities. In these centers of agitation and trouble, such as Philadelphia, Buffalo, Detroit, St. Paul and Louisville, we are still stubbornly opposed by employers conducting what are to us unfair offices, and we are just as stubbornly contesting for the recognition of the eight-hour day. We have not abandoned the contest at any point, and vim and aggressiveness keep pace with the varying conditions that confront us in localities where the shorter workday is not as yet the general rule. As to progress in other directions alluded to in the opening sentence in this report, the files of the official organ will again bear mute but none the less emphatic testimony. Prior to and during the eight-hour agitation and contest, it had been repeatedly asserted by your president that the only substantial basis for the improvement of the condition of the book and job members was to be secured through the enforcement of the eight-hour day. We have had abundant proof of the soundness of this statement in the betterments that have been gained during the past year in jurisdictions where the eight-hour day has been effective for a year or more. These unions abandoned for the time being their desire for increased compensation and rested their cause solely on the request for the eight-hour day. They now experience little difficulty in obtaining additional remuneration, with the eight-hour day securely established. And there will be continued improvement.

It is not out of the bounds of reason to assert as a principle, and as an ultimate object, that the book and job branch of our craft must be eventually placed in as good a condition, both as to hours and wages, as is enjoyed by our newspaper workers. There never has been brought forward an adequate and indisputable reason why our book and job members, highly skilled in their branch of the trade, should not be adequately paid and enjoy reasonable hours. Of course, there has been a reason why our book and job members have not enjoyed adequate remuneration, and have been compelled to work a greater number of hours than obtain in the newspaper composing rooms, and this reason can be traced largely and irrefutably to the apathy and neglect of self-interest that have characterized the book and job printers. We believe that all this is changed now, and that at last we have aroused the book and job men and women to a realization of what they can accomplish, and what they are entitled to if they only will. The enforcing of the shorter working day in the commercial offices in the International jurisdiction will place the commercial printing business on a higher plane, will bring fair reward to our members who follow the commercial line for a livelihood, and will eventually stamp out and make impossible the cheap, huckstering and unscrupulous employer competing unjustly and piratically with the fair employer.

As to lack of co-operation, it is, of course, regrettable that the employers as a whole did not join with our International body in bringing about a shorter workday, and thus make possible a subsequent effort to jointly improve the book and job business. We realized from the outset that a contest with the book and job employers would most seriously cripple and in many instances ruin the business of these employers, and at the same time would be vastly hurtful to

a considerable portion of our membership. As has been repeatedly asserted, and as we will continue to assert to the end of the chapter—submitting proof in substantiation of the statement—we made every possible effort to adjust the eight-hour difficulty without friction between employer and employe, but every proposition that we advanced in pursuance of this most laudable purpose was met and contemptuously thrown back at us by the association of book and job printers terming itself the United Typothetæ of America. We now trust that with the passing of time, that great healer of all social and industrial wounds, a better feeling will be established between the International Typographical Union and the few offices that are yet contesting us on the eight-hour battlefield, and that as a result of this better feeling there will come mutual co-operation and good will, and we will both find a way to labor together so that the field of our common endeavor, the source from which we draw our sustenance, may be tilled with a common purpose, to the end that it may furnish for all of us a most bountiful harvest.

Publicity Campaign — The president then referred to the "publicity" campaign which had been inaugurated early in the year, in order that the aims and methods of the union might have a larger audience and a wider hearing and consideration. In connection with this publicity campaign, the aid of the newspaper press had been enlisted. It was pointed out that the printers had helped to make the newspapers possible. Their loyalty and their industry helped to make profitable business ventures of the newspapers to a great extent. Why, then, should the union not ask for some recognition for the organization that had placed the compositors' craft on a high plane and that had spent millions of dollars in order to maintain that high standing and superior skill? The reliance placed on the gratitude of the daily press had been entirely justified by results. Hundreds of newspapers, many of them of large circulation, all of them of great influence, had accorded space in their columns and it was thought that hundreds of thousands of people not particularly interested in the trade union movement had become acquainted with the International Typographical Union and of many of its accomplishments. The president then said:

If it meets with the approval of the convention, the publicity campaign will be continued, and the testimony to the need and efficiency of an organization like ours, not only in our craft but in all crafts, will be multiplied until every

person whom it is possible to reach through the public prints will have a fair knowledge of the objects and aims of a great trade union.

Label — The label campaign and the necessity for label advertising was gone over extensively in the president's report and a full history of the steps taken was set forth. In connection with the vast field for label exploitation open to the International Union the president said a great sum of money was expended annually for printed matter of all descriptions, the percentage going to non-union offices being of large proportions. A way should be found to diminish this percentage and to divert as much as possible the flow of money to the union employer from the non-union factory and printing office. The success attending the label campaign had secured opportunities for employment of the union's members and yet the results accomplished in this direction were trivial in comparison with what might be achieved by determined and intelligent label agitation.

One-Man Shop — The small shop policy also occupied a portion of the president's report, it being asserted that much interest had been aroused in the economic standing of the one-man shop. It was asserted that the critics of the one-man institution appeared to have been misunderstood; that they did not desire to eliminate the one-man shop but did insist that the proprietor shall observe union rules in the conduct of his business. Continuing, the president said:

One of the strongest objections the bona fide employer has to the union label is its use by the small proprietor. It is claimed, and in many cases the evidence is at hand, that by reason of his opportunity to work any number of hours soliciting and executing work, and with one or two platen presses, a few cases of type and the union label, the small proprietor can cut the life out of prices for the work that his mechanical facilities will permit him to take. On the other hand, the bona fide employer is compelled to pay his solicitor, and of necessity the latter's work is confined to the business day. The real employer is also expected to pay the union scale, which carries with it union hours. Unless there is radical reform in the method of supervision of the small shop with the label, under which the proprietor will be compelled to confine his soliciting and mechanical execution, together with all other work necessary to the conduct of his business, to an eight-hour day, then there must be a reversal of our present attitude toward the small shop.

Sanitary Composing Rooms — One of the most important propositions touched upon by the International president in his report appertained to the sanitary conditions of composing rooms. "While we have been conservative in the adjustment of disputes over wages and hours, we can afford to be intensely radical in insisting that employers give earnest consideration to the preservation of the health of their employes." The president said that in establishing the eight-hour day in the printing trade, the International Typographical Union had taken a long step toward the elimination of tuberculosis among the members of the organization. With the awakening that had taken place in the book and job branch of the International Union, coupled with the reduction in hours, and the rapidly increasing wage scales, there would undoubtedly be a vast improvement from a health standpoint in the followers of that branch. The president then continued:

Few wage-earners are more vitally and none more nearly interested in the anti-tuberculosis crusade than the printer. For many reasons tuberculosis has been prevalent among the followers of the art preservative. It is believed that one of the principal causes can be traced to the unsanitary and crowded condition of the composing rooms in which our members labor. In this respect the newspapers are the chief offenders. Preaching the doctrine of good health and effective agencies in the crusade against tuberculosis, the newspapers rarely heed the injunction to put their own houses in order. Their composing rooms are poorly lighted and badly ventilated and crowded with machinery and the appurtenaces that are necessary to the production of a daily paper. The machines pollute the air with the fumes from the molten metal. In many instances floors are not properly cleaned and the walls rarely receive any attention in this connection. Your president has often asserted that wages and hours are not the only subjects that should challenge the attention of the trade union. With the typographical unions it is believed that good results would follow a determined crusade for better working conditions in and more scientifically arranged composing rooms. That newspaper which erects a magnificent building, then rents the desirable portions for business offices and stows the composing room away in the basement or in the garret, incidentally entering into a campaign for reform in the administration of the local health board, is dangerously near the inconsistent. In an address to the convention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, delivered several years ago, your president called attention to the bad conditions in many of the composing rooms of the country. Since that time there has been considerable improvement. Vast betterment will follow a crusade as outlined on the part of local unions. Fair wages and decreased number of hours are of value, but the value speedily vanishes if the recipient is compelled to labor under conditions which eventually bring on the

white plague. The pace is terrific and, with ideal surroundings, not conducive to health. It is well enough to grind wood into pulp and turn it out in the form of a newspaper, but when flesh and blood are added, then should the protest be most emphatic.

Los Angeles Times — Referring to the Los Angeles Times contest, the president said that it had cost many thousands of dollars but that it was one of the contests that the International Typographical Union could not afford to abandon. It was one of the contests that the International Union must insist should receive the active and generous moral and financial support of the entire labor movement. The Los Angeles Examiner, established because of the fight against the Times and through direct request of the officers of the International and one of the conventions, was still in the field and prospering. This paper had paid in wages to the union's members at least five times as much money as had been expended in the Times fight. There were several union newspapers in the Los Angeles field, employing a considerable number of the organization's members, and the president held that it was the duty of the union to safeguard those interests in the southern California city and to do so would require persistent effort and a liberal expenditure of funds.

Union Printers Home — In the opening paragraph of the section of the report devoted to the Union Printers Home, the International president said that largely because of the firm stand taken by the Colorado Springs convention and during the succeeding week by the board of trustees of the Home, that institution had enjoyed a year of peace and progress uninterrupted by petty squabbles and unfounded criticism. It was earnestly recommended that this policy of protection for the Home be continued. If there was good ground for criticism, then that criticism should be made, and if a wrong condition was unearthed, that condition should be promptly remedied.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Miller reported having been uniformly successful in obtaining better conditions for members of the German branch during the year. No strikes of importance had occurred and increases in scales had been secured in Philadelphia, New York, Newark, Chicago, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Louisville and Belleville, Ill. The German Express, of Toledo, Ohio, had been reclaimed and a new union was formed at Davenport, Iowa, and shortly afterward the eight-hour day and an advance in scale was granted.

Secretary Bramwood's Report — A summary of receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year was given in the first table of Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood's report. The financial transactions for the fiscal year showed total receipts, $1,939,304.91; expenditures, $1,642,441.94, leaving a balance of $296,862.97. Following this was a table showing the amounts paid to the various subordinate unions for strike benefits and special assistance in establishing the eight-hour day, also the amounts paid to various organizers engaged during the eight-hour struggle.

Burial Fund — The claims on the burial fund had increased perceptibly during the year, the number of benefits claimed being 561 and the expenditures $39,270, an excess over receipts of $1,149.24. The death rate for the year was 1.32 of the average membership, or a little more than 13 per 1,000, slightly above the average since the establishment of the fund. The average age at death during the year was 46.7 years.

Home Fund — At the Colorado Springs convention of the International Union a proposition was unanimously adopted increasing the per capita tax from 35 cents to 40 cents per month, exclusive of the Journal subscription, and the dues were reapportioned to the several funds in a manner so as to increase the amount credited to the Union

Printers Home from 10 cents to 15 cents per member, per month. This action was taken because the delegates were convinced from the official reports that the resources of the Home were inadequate. The amendment further provided that the increase in dues "shall not become effective until after the 10 per cent assessment has been discontinued." At a subsequent date the proposition was enacted into law by referendum vote.

Realizing that some means should be immediately provided to meet the increased expenditures of the institution, the Colorado Springs convention also adopted a resolution authorizing the executive council to transfer to the credit of the Union Printers Home from any available funds, such amounts as might be needed to meet the deficiency until the increased apportionment was available. During the fiscal year the executive council had found it necessary to transfer $10,654.55 to the Home fund, this sum being taken from the regular defense fund. The report of the Home trustees contained a complete statement of the financial transactions connected with that institution.

During the year charters of 108 unions were surrendered or suspended, with a total membership of 1,234. During the same period, forty-two unions were chartered or reinstated, with a membership of 621, leaving a net decrease from this source of sixty-six unions, or a membership of 613. On June 1, 1907, there were 576 local unions, divided thus: English, typographical, 534; German, 22; mailers, 17; newswriters, 3.

Membership — Under the heading "Our Membership," Secretary Bramwood said:

> For the second time in recent years the average paying membership has decreased instead of increased. In 1905 the average paying membership reached its highest point (46,734), and my report for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1906, showed a decrease of 1,754, the average paying membership being 44,980. During the fiscal year ending May 31, 1907, there was a decrease of 2,623, the average paying membership, according to the per capita tax payments, being 42,357.

In this connection, however, it is well to remember that for twenty months the organization has been battling for a universal eight-hour day in all branches of the printing trade. For all thinking men recognized at the outset that the future working hours of the other printing crafts depended mainly upon the results attained by the International Typographical Union. In conducting this battle it has been necessary to levy large assessments, and the decrease in membership is due to the cancellation and surrender of charters and the suspension or expulsion of members for failure to meet their financial obligations. Furthermore, no member is considered in good standing with the International Typographical Union unless in possession of a current working card, showing all dues and assessments paid to date.

The loss entailed through the cancellation and surrender of charters is not a serious one. The members of these locals were anxious to remain in the organization if they could be relieved of the assessment, and a thorough reorganization could be readily effected at the present time if the executive council would cancel the indebtedness that has accrued in each instance. The foregoing is also true with regard to members disciplined by local unions. In the belief, however, that the adoption of any other policy would be a gross injustice to those who have been loyal to the cause and promptly met all financial obligations, the executive body has so far held that all indebtedness up to the date of reorganization must be met before a new charter can be issued or a union reinstated. The same decision has also been repeatedly rendered in the cases of members suspended or expelled by local bodies on account of indebtedness. Moreover, little attention has been given to the organization of new unions during the past year, though reports presented herewith show that twenty-eight charters have been issued and fourteen unions reinstated. Since the reduction of the assessment to 2 per cent, all new locals have been required to begin paying the assessment immediately, and it must be apparent to all that organization work will be greatly hampered until normal financial conditions again prevail. The foregoing statements are entitled to consideration in connection with the reduction in the average paying membership during this fiscal year.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The Hot Springs convention adopted six constitutional amendments, which were submitted to the referendum. All received a majority favorable to adoption. The highest vote cast was for the amendment to the constitution providing for an additional one-half of one per cent assessment on earnings of members for an old age pension fund.

A complete summary of the six propositions, together with the vote cast for and against each, follows:

First proposition—Amend section 1 article I, constitution, by striking out the words, in lines 9 and 10, "editors (other than managing editors), reporters," so as to read as follows:

Article I—Jurisdiction

Section 1. This body shall be known as the International Typographical Union of North America. Its jurisdiction shall include all branches of the printing and kindred trades, other than those over which jurisdiction has been

conceded by agreement. In it alone is vested power to establish subordinate unions of printers (printers, proofreaders who are practical printers, machine tenders, and all other skilled employes not otherwise herein excepted), mailers, typefounders and kindred trades, and its mandates must be obeyed at all times and under all circumstances. To the International Typographical Union of North America is reserved the right to fix, regulate and determine all matters pertaining to fellowship in its branches of the printing and kindred trades; while to subordinate unions is conceded the right to make all necessary laws for local government which do not conflict with the laws of the International Union. In cases where allied trades have formed district unions the powers hereinafter specified shall be delegated to said trade district unions.

Amend section 4, article i, constitution, by striking out the words, in lines 3 and 4, "of the writers, newspaper writers' unions," the section to read as follows:

SECTION 4. The distinctive names of the several subordinate branches shall be: Of the printers, typographical union; of the mailers, mailers' union; of the typefounders, typefounders' union, and of other allied crafts or trades, if such there be, the distinctive name of each branch.

Result of vote—For, 19,856; against, 5,694; majority for, 14,162.

Second proposition—Strike out figures "$20,000" in section 5, article vi, constitution, and insert "$50,000," the section to read as follows:

SEC. 5. The secretary-treasurer shall attend all conventions of the International Union, and shall devote his entire time to the business of this union; he shall, in connection with the president, establish an office in the city of Indianapolis, which shall be the official headquarters of the International Union, and where all books, records, etc., shall be kept; he shall be the custodian of the funds of the International Union, and shall, under the direction of the president, deposit all funds in some responsible banks in said city; he shall give bond to the president, from a solvent guarantee company, in the sum of $50,000, previous to assuming office, which bond shall be paid for by this union and shall be approved by the president; he shall also be secretary of the executive council, and perform such other duties as may be required by law. He shall be ex officio the nominee of the International Typographical Union for the office of secretary of the Union Printers Home.

Result of vote—For, 22,714; against, 3,354; majority for, 19,160.

Third proposition—Amend section 1, article viii, constitution, "Salaries and Expenses," page 8, by changing figures after "for the president," from $1,800 to $2,000.

Result of vote—For, 13,240; against, 13,134; majority for, 106.

Fourth proposition—Amend section 1, article viii, constitution, "Salaries and Expenses," page 8, by changing figures in the last line, after "secretary-treasurer," from $1,800 to $2,000.

Result of vote—For, 13,961; against, 12,763; majority for, 928.

Fifth proposition—Amend section 7, article ix, constitution, by striking out "$70" in the last line and inserting in lieu thereof, "$75" so said section, when amended, will read as follows:

SEC. 7. The burial fund shall be used to pay the burial expenses of members in good standing at time of death, and the amount of benefit in each case shall be $75.

Result of vote—For, 24,391; against, 2,144; majority for, 22,247.

Sixth proposition—The following are the amendments to the constitution and by-laws for the establishment of an old age pension:

Add to third line, article ix, page 9, section 1, constitution, "and an additional one-half of 1 per cent assessment on earnings of members for old age pension fund," the section to read as follows:

SECTION 1. The revenue of the International Typographical Union shall be derived as follows: From dues, which shall be 40 cents per month per member, and an additional one-half of 1 per cent assessment on earnings of members for old age pension fund; from charters for subordinate unions, $5 per charter; from necessary supplies, at prices to be fixed by law. International dues for each month to be collected by subordinate unions, and shall be transmitted to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union before the 20th of the succeeding month. Unions failing to comply with this provision shall be considered delinquent and debarred from benefits; *provided*, that unions located so far from headquarters as to make it impossible for their dues to reach there within the prescribed time shall not be considered delinquent if their remittances bear postmark date prior to the 15th of the succeeding month.

Add the following new section to the same article:

SEC. 9. The old age pension fund shall be used for the purpose of maintaining and disbursing pensions to aged and superannuated members.

Renumber present section 9 to 10.

Add subhead, page 32, by-laws, "Old Age Pension Fund."

SEC. 6. Any member of the International Typographical Union (including members of the typographia at the time of the consolidation with the International Typographical Union) who has reached the age of 60 years and who has been in continuous good standing for a period of twenty years, and who finds it impossible to secure sustaining employment, and who has no other adequate means of support, may receive the sum of $4 per week, subject to the provisions hereinafter set forth.

SEC. 7. Applications for pensions shall be made on blank forms prepared and furnished from International headquarters. Applicants shall set forth all the facts and answer fully all the questions contained in said form, which shall be certified to by the executive officers of the local union of which applicant is a member. Said application to be published in the Typographical Journal, and should no objection be made within thirty days from the date of said publication the member shall then be placed on pension roll. Should objection be raised, the case shall be investigated by the executive council.

SEC. 8. Any member earning $4 or over in any one week shall not be entitled to pension for that week.

SEC. 9. Secretaries of subordinate unions shall forward weekly to the International secretary-treasurer a true and correct list of applicants entitled to pensions. On receipt of such list the International secretary-treasurer shall transmit the amount due to the local secretary for distribution.

SEC. 10. Any beneficiary who has knowingly testified falsely concerning

his or her qualifications as a worthy applicant for said pension shall be debarred from receiving pension for such time as the executive council may deem fit.

SEC. 11. The executive council shall have the power at all times to review any pension case, and if in their opinion circumstances warrant it the beneficiary may be debarred from further participation in the pension fund.

SEC. 12. In order to meet exigencies that may arise, the executive council is authorized and empowered to make such changes in administering the old age pension fund as they may deem wise after said plan has been established.

SEC. 13. The assessment for the old age pension fund shall begin January 1, 1908; *provided,* the present 2 per cent assessment for the eight-hour strike has been taken off on or before that date. In no event is this section to become operative until the strike assessment is discontinued. The disbursement of said pension to begin five months from date of levying first assessment for old age pension fund.

SEC. 14. For the purpose of securing necessary data the International secretary-treasurer shall furnish local secretaries with blanks to be filled out by each member, setting forth his or her record as a member of the International Typographical Union. Said blanks to be returned to International secretary-treasurer for future reference.

Result of vote—For, 17,177; against, 9,194; majority for, 7,983.

THE EIGHT-HOUR CAMPAIGN

The International eight-hour committee submitted a brief report to the Hot Springs convention, but it had been mutually agreed by members of the committee that the president, in his annual report, should cover the work of the committee for the period following the adjournment of the Colorado Springs convention. For that reason, in order that the history may contain a complete synopsis of the eight-hour struggle, that portion of President Lynch's report is herewith reproduced and the formal report of the International eight-hour committee is omitted. President Lynch said:

Previous reports, submitted to the Toronto and Colorado Springs conventions, fully covered the eight-hour campaign and the progress made up to the assembling of those gatherings. Additional history begins with the adjournment of the fifty-second session of last year, and, in order to refresh the memories of the delegates and the membership generally, it will be well to briefly summarize the eight-hour action of the last session. It unanimously adopted the report of the convention eight-hour committee "by a rising vote amid great enthusiasm." This committee, in its report, reviewed the progress of the eight-hour movement from its inception in 1902 to the Colorado Springs meeting, and paid especial attention to the work of the International eight-hour committee and the conduct of the strike by the executive council. It conferred with the presidents of the striking unions who were in attendance at the convention, and compiled data concerning conditions as reported by the delegates.

In short, the committee made an "exhaustive search for facts" and presented a most excellent report.

This report was not presented or considered behind closed doors. It was unanimously adopted in open session, and by its ratification the International Typographical Union, with 85 per cent of its members on an eight-hour basis, officially announced the successful inauguration of the shorter workday among the book and job printers under its banner.

By resolution the convention decided that the provisions and recommendations in the report shall become effective October 1, 1906, unless otherwise provided.

The conclusions and recommendations, embraced in the committee report, together with the subsequent action of the executive council, are coupled and given below:

CONVENTION AND COUNCIL ACTION

The circular issued by the executive council in relation to the convention's action, the council's position, the reduction in the assessment and the conduct of the eight-hour strike after October 1, 1906, are reproduced herewith:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., September 11, 1906.

"To the Membership.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The executive council submits herewith the conclusions and recommendations embraced in the report of the convention eight-hour committee at Colorado Springs (the report was unanimously adopted), together with the council's policy as to the future conduct of the eight-hour campaign:

"Excerpt No. 1—There are at present about 4,700 strikers, or members who are directly affected by the strike, who must be taken care of until conditions are such that they can be given work. The International Typographical Union owes that debt to the men who have stood the full force of the onslaught. It would be a contemptible act to throw those men to the mercy of charity, the typothetæ or the poor-house. There may be isolated cases where it would seem some unworthy have been the recipients of benefits, but your committee is of the opinion that they are not numerous enough to outweigh the grand work so far accomplished in caring for the worthy. An organization that can command the commendation of President Ellis, of the typothetæ, through its steadfast purpose in caring for its striking or out-of-work membership, certainly will continue in the work it inaugurated. It is the opinion of your committee that this convention should in no uncertain manner, but decidedly and emphatically, declare a unanimous endorsement and full concurrence in the advisability of the continuance of an adequate assessment.

"Council's Position—Under the foregoing, the assessment will be continued at a sufficient percentage to furnish money to carry out the spirit of the convention's recommendation. It is believed, however, that a material reduction is possible.

"Excerpt No. 2—Your committee has entered into an exhaustive search for facts as to conditions in the widely-extended jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union. It finds that the benefits paid range from the constitutional amount to a sum that might be best described as out of proportion to the commonly accepted idea of what a strike benefit should be. Some cities are paying an excessive strike benefit. The inequalities of the strike benefits throughout the jurisdiction are so apparent as to cause comment.

"At the conference of presidents called by President Lynch the situation in their several jurisdictions was carefully gone over, and the testimony offered bears out the above assertions.

"The conference of presidents resulted in the submission of the following to your committee:

"'*Resolved,* That the chairman and secretary of the meeting of presidents and representatives of the presidents of unions on strike convey to the eight-hour committee of the International Typographical Union convention the judgment of the struck city representatives that there shall be no cessation of the vigorous prosecution of the eight-hour strike until the shorter workday is established in every city under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

"'KEMPTON MCKIM,
"'*Chairman Presidents' Meeting.*
"'T. J. DONNELLY,
"'*Secretary Presidents' Meeting.*'"

"One of the questions that has been considered is the excessive amount of overtime worked in some localities while there are members on strike, which, under an effort to more fully equalize the conditions, would afford relief to both the overtime worker and the out-of-work member. Your committee believes that if the overtime could be distributed in these centers it would materially decrease strike rolls.

"In one city there is an accumulation of 800 hours' overtime standing against members, while the strikers in that town are on the benefit roll, and in another town there has accumulated 400 days' overtime, principally through inability to secure subs or extras in that city.

"One of the peculiarities of the situation where the 400 days' overtime has accumulated is that when subs are available the overtime is charged, and when subs are not available the overtime account goes by default and is forgotten.

"Your committee acknowledges that all the strikers could not fill the positions where the enormous quantities of overtime accumulate, but we certainly believe that in the event of some effort being made to move some of the strikers, the unmarried members particularly, to the districts congested with overtime, the situation can be materially relieved and the work throughout the country be more equally distributed.

"Your committee has had several propositions referred to it covering changes in the laws, but does not believe it should be the object of this committee to recommend any changes in any laws.

"It does, however, believe it is within its province to suggest emergency changes covering the time of this strike, but not to change any strike laws on the books which were made to cover ordinary strikes and not the problems which have arisen the past year.

"Your committee has carefully weighed the information submitted to it from the various sources, including presidents, delegates and officers of the International Typographical Union, and would respectfully recommend the following:

"A. That the time for enforcing the eight-hour day in Montreal, where the contract expires in October, 1906, be extended to June, 1907, the date when the Toronto contract expires, the committee believing that the conditions in Montreal warrant such a course, and that an International Typographical Union organizer be assigned to Montreal for the purpose of strengthening that city, particularly the English-speaking union, No. 176.

"B. Your committee further recommends that on and after October 1 all assessments collected under authority of the International Typographical Union be sent to that body intact, the purpose being to give the executive council full control of all strike money and disbursing the same.

"*Council's Position*—Beginning with the week of Monday, October 1, 1906, all moneys accruing from the eight-hour assessment, in all local jurisdictions, must be forwarded to the International secretary-treasurer.

"Excerpt No. 3. C. That the sums allowed members on the strike roll be not in excess of $7 for single men and $10 for married men, and that the constitutional benefit, as it appears on the books at present, of $5 and $7, be adhered to as closely as possible, localities and contingencies arising, in the judgment of the executive council, being the sole cause for an increase over the latter amount.

"Where unions desire to increase the amounts named, it must be done by still further increasing the local dues or assessments, such dues or assessments not being subject to the control of the executive council, but wholly under the direction of the local body collecting the same.

"Council's Position. The constitutional benefit of $5 and $7 will apply beginning with the week of October 1, 1906. Local unions conducting strikes, believing that "localities and contingencies" justify additions to the constitutional benefits, should communicate with the executive council at once. In no instance will the executive council sanction benefits in excess of $7 and $10, and only in excess of $5 and $7 in those instances where strong reason and argument are presented.

"Excerpt No. 4. D. That where men refuse to work because the amount earned does not equal the strike benefit, that they be cut off from the benefit list entirely, it being evident that the disposition thus shown is not in accordance with the true spirit of unionism and a desire to advance the out-of-work settlement.

"Council's Position. No interpretation is necessary. The recommendation is plain.

"Excerpt No. 5. E. Your committee has carefully considered the assessment problem in all its phases presented. It believes that in some localities money is expended economically and equitably. In others, without due regard to the sacrifices made by the membership who have financed this strike.

"Your committee is firmly convinced that in the event of the assessment being forwarded intact to the executive council and disbursed under its direction, as above recommended, that the assessment can be cut to 8 per cent, and to continue at that figure until the executive council considers it advisable to make a still further reduction.

"Council's Position. Beginning with the week of October 1, and thereafter until further notice, the assessment will be 7 per cent of all moneys earned. Further reduction will be made as the situation warrants. It is the intention of the executive council to maintain a balance in the International treasury of not less than $100,000, as, in the opinion of the council, this amount is necessary to safeguard the general situation.

"Excerpt No. 6. F. Your committee further recommends that in cities where 90 per cent of the membership are employed that those cities be declared eight-hour cities, the benefits cut off, the executive council rendering special assistance where deemed advisable, and that the assessment be continued as in other cities.

"It is fair to presume that in ordinary times fully 10 per cent of most unions are out of work, and your committee does not believe it is assuming an unwarranted position when it takes the stand that a union that has 90 per cent of its membership working today under the eight-hour day is no worse off than in ordinary times, when no great question is at stake.

"Council's Position. The recommendation is plain and needs no explanation. It will be enforced.

"Excerpt No. 7. Your committee would further recommend that the battle cry of the membership of the International Typographical Union, which has been so full of hope and good cheer the past year—

"'We propose to sell the employer eight hours out of twenty-four, and

we will do as we please with the remaining sixteen,' be officially amended as follows:

" 'We are selling to the employer eight hours out of twenty-four, and we are doing as we please with the remaining sixteen.'

"The foregoing is respectfully submitted.

"JAMES M. LYNCH,
"J. W. BRAMWOOD,
"HUGO MILLER,
"Executive Council, International Typographical Union."

The recommendation contained in section A was made effective by the International president. An organizer was placed in Montreal at what was deemed to be the most opportune time, and, as a product of the organizer's work and the settlement secured in Toronto, the eight-hour day became effective in Montreal on June 1.

FURTHER ASSESSMENT REDUCTION

Money is the lifeblood of the strike. Without money it is rarely successful. Present financial needs may well be accepted as the standard by which to measure the success attending our eight-hour movement since the Colorado Springs convention passed into history. If the situation had not warranted the action the executive council would not have made the first reduction in the assessment from 10 per cent to 7 per cent. It has never been the council's policy to in any way jeopardize the success of the shorter workday movement by ill-considered or hasty action. Had the 10 per cent assessment been necessary, then, as far as the council was concerned, the 10 per cent assessment would have been maintained. But its continuance was not necessary by reason of continuous success in the campaign to establish the eight-hour day, and the council was thus enabled to make the first material reduction in the assessment, the 7 per cent becoming effective on October 1, 1906.

On November 12, 1906, the executive council ordered the eight-hour assessment reduced from 7 to 5 per cent, beginning with the week of November 19, 1906.

On January 29, 1907, the executive council ordered the eight-hour assessment reduced from 5 to 3 per cent, beginning with the week of February 3, 1907.

On March 1, 1907, the executive council ordered the eight-hour assessment reduced from 3 to 2 per cent, beginning with the week of March 3, 1907.

The assessment has since March 3, 1907, remained at 2 per cent.

TORONTO, MONTREAL, MILWAUKEE

At a special meeting of Toronto Typographical Union, held on Saturday night, June 1, the agreement which had been previously entered into by Vice-President Hays, representing the International Typographical Union, and the Toronto Employing Printers and Bookbinders' Association, was ratified. This was a signal triumph for the allied printing trades, as all of them, including the printers, bookbinders, pressmen, press feeders, stereotypers, electrotypers, mailers and bindery women, are parties to the new contract, and this makes Toronto a straight eight-hour city for the next five years. While the scale carries with it no immediate increase in printers' wages, a substantial advance will begin January 1, 1909, followed by a further increase on January 1, 1910. Toronto, Montreal and Milwaukee were three of the few remaining cities where the printers were still working nine hours a day under unexpired contracts, and the complete success in the two Canadian cities, and the gratifying progress made in Milwaukee, is further evidence of the conviction

that the eight-hour day is logical, and that it will soon be introduced in all printing plants throughout our jurisdiction without much opposition.

When the Master Printers' Association of Montreal was informed of the peaceable arrangement at Toronto, no trouble was experienced in negotiating a like agreement in that city. At a joint meeting of the French and English typographical unions, Nos. 145 and 176, the offer made by the employing printers was accepted. The scale is to run for five years, and all disputes are to be settled by a board of arbitration. In the Montreal negotiations Organizer Charles S. Brown, of Toledo, Ohio, rendered valiant service to the two unions. Some months ago he took up the work there under exceedingly unfavorable circumstances, and the great victory for the shorter workday is highly appreciated by the membership. This puts practically every typographical union in Canada on an eight-hour basis.

At the expiration of nine-hour contracts between employing book and job printers of Milwaukee, Wis., and Typographical Union No. 23, on June 3, it was necessary to call a strike in the offices of the members of the Milwaukee Master Printers' Association, and Organizer Colbert was placed in charge of affairs. On the day of the strike 110 men responded, and 100 succeeded in having the shorter workday granted. The first week two large firms capitulated, and at the end of the second week—June 17—only sixty-six were on strike, with thirty shops signed up and twenty still holding out. The contest had reached the injunction stage by June 23, when one firm secured a temporary order from the United States court restraining members of the union from picketing, intimidating, interfering, and almost everything else except breathing. Of those still resisting the union's demands, the majority are small concerns. There are 314 members of No. 23 now enjoying the eight-hour day.

TWO CITIES ONLY REMAIN

With the establishment of the eight-hour day on June 1 of this year in the great cities of Toronto and Montreal, and with the success that has attended the effort to establish the shorter workday in the Milwaukee jurisdiction, the nine-hour territory is materially curtailed. Only two of the larger cities remain, and it is believed that little opposition will be experienced when the time arrives to make the eight-hour day effective in Kansas City and Nashville. In Kansas City we have had an organizer at work for several months, and we hope that on October 1 that jurisdiction will be so thoroughly organized that even the most radical employer will see the futility of opposing the introduction of the eight-hour day. As to Nashville, the nine-hour contract will run for a considerable period of time. This contract was entered into by the typographical union in Nashville over the objection and protest of the International president. There was not at that time, however, an International law or resolution that prevented the Nashville Union from agreeing to the five-year contract on a nine-hour basis. In justice to our Nashville members it must be said that they have for some time seen clearly the error that was made in the ratification of the five-year agreement. When this contract expires the eight-hour day will be in general effect, and certainly there is no reason to apprehend that the employers will at that late day make a serious objection to the peaceable inauguration of the eight-hour day. Another tribute that must be paid to our Nashville members is, that notwithstanding they were bound for years by a nine-hour agreement they cheerfully contributed their assessments toward the magnificent fund that made possible the success of the International eight-hour campaign.

THE GOAL HAS BEEN REACHED

Even the contentious employer will acknowledge the truth of the assertion that the eight-hour day is won. It may take a few additional months

or years to regain all the offices lost to the union by reason of the eight-hour strike that was necessary because of the unfortunate position taken by the employers' organization, but these offices will gradually come back to the fold. In this history will only repeat itself. The union embraces the competent printers, and in order to do business at a profit competent printers must be employed. As the non-unionists at present working gain ability and confidence they will seek union membership. The tendency of the wage-earner is to combine. This tendency is becoming more pronounced as business rapacity and greed develop. Given sufficient opportunity, unrestrained by union regulations and combinations of workingmen, and the employer as a class is the best union evangelist. The non-union printer, aside from the pronounced blackleg whose principle is revenue only, will gravitate to the union because he must.

WHAT HAVE WE GAINED

If it is true that we have established the eight-hour day in our branch of the printing industry, then what have we gained? If the shorter workday were universal, the condition of the country generally would be on an upward trend much more pronounced than now evident. The producer, not driven from his bed to his work and from his work to his bed, to use the expression recently given birth by one of the foremost of American citizens, would have time to think, time to formulate his policy as a unit in the general community, and time to put that policy into effect. With time to think would come the desire for greater knowledge, and with that knowledge would come ambition in other directions, the desire for education for the children, beautifying of the home, and a better home life. That man who works while daylight permits for a mere existence may be industrious, but as far as he himself is concerned that is all he is. He may be a useful citizen to the community, but to himself and his own he is merely a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. Our children may, with honor and profit, be the carpenters, bricklayers, painters, pressmen, printers, etc., of the future, but we want them to work under better conditions and surroundings, and with better wages and hours, than their fathers enjoyed. If the eight-hour day will accomplish this, then it is the duty of all good citizens to work for the reform. On the well-being and intelligence of the masses depend the progress and security of the republic.

BOOKBINDERS AND PRESSMEN DECLARE FOR EIGHT HOURS

In June, 1906, in Washington and Pittsburgh respectively, the bookbinders and pressmen assembled in convention. Both organizations declared emphatically for the eight-hour day, and that they would move together for this reform last May. The conventions were enthusiastic eight-hour assemblages, not the slightest opposition appearing to the proposed hour reduction. Your president was before both gatherings, and set forth the progress made by the International Typographical Union in its eight-hour crusade. The San Francisco convention of the pressmen, held in 1905, adopted the following: "We recommend that the board of directors be instructed to secure a conference with a committee of the national typothetæ, with a view of arranging, if possible, a workday of eight hours." This was presented to the typothetæ at the Niagara Falls convention of 1905, and as to the result the pressmen's international president said in his report to the 1906 convention: "At the close of the interview we were informed that an answer to our eight-hour resolution would be sent us by letter as to the exact position of the typothetæ on the subject." This was in September, but the request of the pressmen for an eight-hour day was not considered until the following April, at a meeting in Chicago of the typothetæ executive committee. Then the typothetæ secretary wrote: "I am instructed by our national executive committee to state that

the committee decline to take up the consideration of an eight-hour workday." It did seem, in view of the action taken at the Pittsburgh convention, that the pressmen were at last convinced that the typothetæ was not in a "receptive mood," was not conciliatory, and would concede the eight-hour day only when forced to do so.

THEN THE PRESSMEN RECEDED

Then on the eighth day of January, 1907, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, acting through its board of directors, signed a five-year agreement with the United Typothetæ of America. As far as the union was concerned the agreement was final, but as to the typothetæ the agreement was subject to ratification by a special convention. The agreement was practically a renewal of the open-shop compact negotiated some years ago, and which expired on May 1 of this year. It was this agreement, it will be recalled, that was rejected by the executive council of the International Typographical Union. The open-shop clause, which is now clearly understood as such, reads: "The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union shall not engage in any strike, sympathetic or otherwise, or boycott, unless the employer fails to live up to this contract, it being understood that the employer fulfils all the terms of this contract by paying the scale of wages and living up to the shop practices as settled by the committee, regardless of his employes' union affiliations;" * * * The shorter workday is disposed of thusly: "It is expressly agreed that until January 1, 1909, fifty-four hours shall constitute a week's work, and that thereafter, during the life of this contract, forty-eight hours, or eight hours a day, shall constitute a week's work; arrangements, however, can be made locally to bring the forty-eight hours so that a Saturday half-holiday can be enjoyed without overtime cost to the employer, it being distinctly understood that the employer is entitled to the forty-eight-hour week fifty-two weeks in the year, except where legal holidays intervene."

PRESSMEN REPUDIATE THE OPEN SHOP

The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union was in convention at Brighton Beach June 17 to 23, and the session will for all time be marked as one of the most important ever held by a labor organization. Open shopism was repudiated. The officers who negotiated the open-shop agreement with the United Typothetæ of America were also repudiated. With one exception these officers failed of re-election, notwithstanding that they were avowed candidiates and were earnestly supported by their friends. The exception escaped defeat only because of dissension in the delegation representing the union in which his opponent held membership, several delegates from this union voting for the one successful administration candidate. Then for two days the convention discussed the typothetæ agreement. It was considered from all viewpoints, many of the delegates who advocated its ratification as a whole doing so only because of the danger of placing the union in a position to be charged with contract breaking should the agreement be repudiated. The opposition to the agreement, backed by the new administration, was successful, and by a close vote—102 to 92—the convention refused to ratify the open-shop clause in the contract. The new board of directors was instructed accordingly, and also to demand nine hours' pay for an eight-hour day. In event the United Typothetæ refuse to agree to the document as amended, then the proposition to put the eight-hour day into effect is to be placed before the referendum. The resolution adopted reads: "That said agreement is hereby ratified and approved, provided the 'open-shop' clause is stricken out and an amendment is inserted providing for nine hours' pay for the eight-hour day. And that in event the United Typothetæ of America rejects these amendments our board of directors is instructed to submit the question of the immediate inauguration of the eight-hour day to the referen-

dum, said referendum to be taken thirty days after such rejection." The president of the International Typographical Union was in attendance upon the convention on invitation from the pressmen's international president.

WHAT THE BOOKBINDER THINKS

In the March number of the International Bookbinder the president of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders speaks for this organization. It should be remembered that the pressmen and bookbinders were to "co-operate" in the movement for the eight-hour day, and that at the last moment the pressmen's officers threw the bookbinders over and signed the open-shop pact. We quote: "The proposed co-operative action decided upon by both conventions does not seem to have received serious consideration from him; the alliance was of secondary importance; his goal seems to have been a settlement with the typothetæ at any price. He has succeeded. We do not begrudge him the victory. So far as the bookbinders are concerned, the price is not suitable; we decline the bargain." As to the struggle that the printers have made for the eight-hour day without assistance from the allies, we again quote from the bookbinders' president: "As to the utility of the principle of joint issue within the printing trades for the eight-hour day, or any other general advantage, I fully agree with him and have often so expressed, but that the struggle of the International Typographical Union for the shorter workday during the last year and a half has made it more difficult for the other trades within the alliance 'to secure instead of easier accomplishment' I take issue, and can not for the life of me understand what process of logic would lead to such a conclusion. On the other hand, I feel, and have no hesitancy in saying, that the printer has cleared the way. And let me say further to friend Higgins, distasteful as the thought may be to him, that I am of the opinion that this clearing of the path by the printer is the prime factor in the evolving of the consideration accorded him by the United Typothetæ of America, without which the eight-hour day would not have formed a part of their renewed agreement."

The bookbinders, by referendum vote, determined to continue their eight-hour agitation, and make their demand on October 1. We wish them the fullest measure of success.

Report of Convention's Eight-Hour Committee — The convention's eight-hour committee, after giving full consideration to the report submitted by the International president and also to several propositions offered by delegates, presented the following report:

Your committee has carefully reviewed those portions of the report of President Lynch referring to the progress made in the eight-hour campaign since the Colorado Springs convention of last year, and also the report of the International eight-hour committee, and your committee expresses the opinion that great headway has been made during the past year in the enforcement of the eight-hour day in the offices that joined with the United Typothetæ of America, in opposing, or were members of the United Typothetæ of America, and opposed the establishment of the shorter workday.

We agree with the statement made by the International president in his report that there never has been brought forward an adequate and indisputable reason why our book and job members who are skilled in their branch of the trade should not be adequately paid and enjoy reasonable hours. We also believe that the apathy and neglect of self-interest that have characterized the book and job printers in the past is now changed, and that we have at least aroused these members to a realization of what they can accomplish and

what they are entitled to if they only will. We reproduce herewith and endorse the following declaration by the International president:

"The enforcing of the shorter working day in the commercial offices in the International jurisdiction will place the commercial printing business on a higher plane, will bring a fair reward to our members who follow the commercial line for a livelihood, and will eventually stamp out and make impossible the cheap, huckstering and unscrupulous employer competing unjustly and piratically with the fair employer."

Exhaustive reports were presented by the convention eight-hour committees to the gathering in Toronto and Colorado Springs, and it is not necessary that your committee should in detail allude to the incidents of the campaign prior to the convention of last year. We can say, however, that the battle for the eight-hour day, as conducted by the International eight-hour committee, has been along consistent lines since its inception, and that the main object—the establishment of the shorter workday—has always been kept in view. This, the most stupendous contest that has engaged the attention of organized labor since the formation of trade unions, has brought luster to the name of the International Typographical Union. No method has been pursued or act committed which the organization can not endorse and for which it may not accept the full responsibility. We have come through a great industrial battle with inestimable benefit to the membership of the International Typographical Union, and we believe that the victorious issue in this mighty conflict will advance the universal eight-hour cause and will aid millions of toilers to eventually secure the eight-hour day.

Your committee heartily and unequivocally endorses the assertion of the International eight-hour committee made a part of its report, and which we quote herewith:

"We assumed control of a great economic movement at a time when the International Typographical Union was at the height of its power and strength, both numerically and financially. We relinquish our task with the eight-hour day firmly established, and with a membership united and militant, and an organization, from a trade-union standpoint, immeasurably stronger than when the battle opened. Henceforth, that employer, or association of employers, seeking a contest with the International Typographical Union, will count well the cost."

In accordance with the recommendation contained in the report of the International eight-hour committee your committee advises that the International committee be discharged, and that the work of winding up the affairs of the eight-hour movement and the necessary campaign for the regaining of the offices that have been lost during the struggle be referred to the executive council. We desire to especially impress on the council the necessity of giving attention to the preliminary work necessary in order to enforce the eight-hour day in Kansas City and Nashville. While we trust that we may have no difficulty in those cities, yet we should be prepared for difficulty if it is forced upon us. The eight-hour day must be enforced in the cities named and in all localities where it is not now effective.

For the pressmen and the bookbinders in their struggle for the eight-hour day we have the greatest sympathy and the keenest interest. We believe the executive council should be instructed to render all possible moral aid to the allies if they experience difficulty in enforcing the shorter workday. This is especially true as to the pressmen, who, we understand, are endeavoring to shake off an odious open-shop contract and to also secure the modification of the clause in that contract relating to the date for the enforcement of the eight-hour day.

As the International president points out, the United Typothetæ of America will undoubtedly put forth every effort to the end that the pressmen may be induced to defeat the eight-hour legislation proposed by their recent con-

vention. Intimidation, falsification and secret methods will be the weapons and instruments used, and our executive council should stand ready to accord all possible aid to the officers of the pressmen in their efforts to secure an expression by their membership, uninfluenced by the dictation or efforts of the employers who are opposing the eight-hour day. If the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders or the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union should desire financial assistance from the International Typographical Union, the executive council is hereby empowered to take such action as the council may deem wise and necessary, in view of the conditions which may then exist. And finally, to the bookbinders and pressmen we wish the greatest amount of success in their efforts to secure for their members the great boon of the shorter workday.

As to the present assessment, your committee feels that it would not be safe at this time to declare it off, but we recommend that the executive council, at the very earliest opportunity consistent with the safeguarding of our interests, make such further reduction as shall be possible.

Respectfully submitted,

James Tole,
W. B. Atchison,
Joseph Maiden,
Harry L. Young,
William G. Murphy.

Delegate McCullough (Omaha) moved to amend the report as follows:

In recommending the discharge of the International eight-hour committee something more fitting than a mere vote of thanks is due to the officers who, in season and out of season, early and late, constantly and unflinchingly have labored for the success of the great eight-hour cause. Resolutions of thanks are at the best but a passing expression of opinion. It is not proper for this convention in a monetary sense to in any way express its approval of the work of the International committee, but we do believe that a memento or token of appreciation, in substantial and lasting form, and a perpetual reminder of the gratitude of the entire membership of the International Typographical Union should be devised and presented to each member of the International committee. To this end a committee of two members of the committee on eight-hour day, one of whom shall be the chairman, shall be charged with the task of devising a suitable tribute to be presented to each member of the International committee, this tribute to be coupled with suitable resolutions, to be drawn up by the committee, framed and presented to each member of the International committee, and that the cost of this token and the framed resolutions be borne by the International Typographical Union.

The amendment was adopted. The report of the committee was then adopted as a whole and the recommendations therein were concurred in. The International eight-hour committee was then discharged.

LOS ANGELES TIMES AND PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

The story of the progress of the fight against the Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer can best be told

by reproducing the report of the convention's committee, which follows:

HOT SPRINGS, ARK., August 16, 1907.

To the Officers and Members of the International Typographical Union.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Your committee on Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer respectfully presents the following for your consideration:

Your committee has carefully considered the Los Angeles Times contest in all its phases and details, and was unanimous in its determination to get at the facts and diligent in putting that determination into effect. To this end we called before us Delegates Fisk, of Seattle; Young, of Portland; Sawyer and Scott, of San Francisco; Ryan, of Oakland; Morse, of Pasadena, and Hickman, of Los Angeles. These gentlemen were questioned exhaustively as to their views on the Los Angeles situation. Your committee also had before it for several hours the International Typographical Union representative in Los Angeles, Arthur A. Hay. Preliminary to his examination Mr. Hay was asked if he would answer any questions put to him, and promptly responded that he would be pleased to do so. He was then questioned at length by the committee and the members of the coast delegation. After carefully considering all the evidence presented to it your committee is unanimous in the opinion that Mr. Hay has put into effect and vigorously forwarded every method that could possibly be devised in the prosecution of the campaign against the unfair Los Angeles Times. This opinion is substantiated by the sentiments expressed by the members of the Pacific coast delegation, each of whom stated that Mr. Hay had rendered excellent service. Delegate Hickman, of Los Angeles, coincided with this sentiment, and also testified that the honesty and integrity of Mr. Hay could not be brought into question, and, furthermore, Mr. Hay had accomplished all that any man could accomplish.

Your committee commends Mr. Hay for his exhaustive, painstaking and intelligent conduct of the battle against the most notorious, most persistent and most unfair enemy of trade unionism on the North American continent.

As to the Los Angeles Times contest, your committee is unanimous in the belief that that contest should be carried on. Without question the Los Angeles Times is a hard proposition to proceed against. Firmly entrenched in its position, enjoying a remarkable advertising patronage, reaching a clientele that is peculiarly susceptible to the anti trade-union views that it expresses, it can be easily seen that the movement to curtail its advertising patronage and limit its circulation is one that must proceed slowly, and in order to be successful requires persistence of endeavor and undaunted courage in execution. The International Typographical Union is in this fight, and the organization must win its fight. Your committee believes that Arthur A. Hay should be continued in charge of this work, and that the fullest monetary support and executive assistance that the International officers can accord should be given him in his effort to bring success to the task under his direction. In this connection the officers and members of our local unions on the North American continent can be of the greatest assistance. The Los Angeles Times enjoys a large foreign advertising patronage. These patrons can be reached if the membership will take up the battle and make of it their battle.

Your committee also endorses and recommends to the convention for adoption the following resolution introduced by Delegate White, of Los Angeles, and endorsed by Typographical Union No. 174:

WHEREAS the Los Angeles Times, having secured the unlimited financial backing of the National Manufacturers' Association and other kindred organizations of capital, is today not only the leading exponent of the so-called "open shop," but is the most unfair, unscrupulous and malignant enemy of organized labor in America; and,

WHEREAS the Times has succeeded in practically disrupting many of the

unions of Los Angeles, and, unless strenuously opposed, will eventually make that city thoroughly non-union, thereby creating a breeding place for strike-breakers of all crafts and trades; and,

WHEREAS if unionism is crushed in Los Angeles it will be but a short time before the same methods are applied to other cities; and,

WHEREAS the International Typographical Union, having spent more than $50,000 in an effort to unionize the Times, believes the struggle in Los Angeles has become national in its scope, vitally affecting all organized labor, and should therefore be financed and prosecuted by the great American labor movement through its recognized head, the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS we believe that if this course is pursued it will mean not only the unionizing of the Los Angeles Times, but the winning of a victory that will be of incalculable benefit to the cause of unionism; therefore,

Resolved, That the executive council be instructed to prepare resolutions to be presented to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that a per capita tax of 1 cent per month be levied on all members of the federation, the money raised thereby to be expended by a representative appointed by, and under the immediate supervision of, the president of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

Resolved, That the executive council be instructed to appoint one or more representatives to attend the conventions of national and international organizations and endeavor to get similar resolutions adopted and in every way to further this movement.

As to the contest against the Philadelphia Inquirer your committee has interviewed the Philadelphia delegation, and endorses the request of this delegation that the fight be continued along lines that promise the maximum degree of success. Your committee can readily see that the eight-hour contest in Philadelphia has for the time being dwarfed the movement against the Philadelphia Inquirer. Your committee believes, however, that when eight-hour affairs in Philadelphia are in better condition and our interests have assumed their normal state, that the movement against the Inquirer can be again taken up and vigorously prosecuted to a successful conclusion. As with the Los Angeles Times contest, we are in the Inquirer fight, and we must stay in until a victory is secured.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. RYAN,
CHARLES R. WHITE,
JAMES P. BOWEN,
GEORGE WILBY,
J. J. PADDEN,

Delegates Riggins (Tacoma), Sawyer (San Francisco) and Scott (San Francisco) spoke on the report.

Delegates Hickman (Los Angeles) and Young (Multnomah) claimed that the committee had partially misrepresented them in its report.

Delegate Tracy (San Francisco) said that Los Angeles Typographical Union was rent assunder by factions, the condition of the organization being very deplorable, and moved to amend the committee's report by striking out

that part referring to factions and factional differences. The motion to strike out was adopted. The report of the committee as amended was adopted without division.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

In accordance with the suggestion contained in a resolution adopted by the Colorado Springs convention, the president appointed a committee to devise ways and means for the establishment of a pension system for superannuated and incapacitated members, this committee of three being charged by the resolution referred to with the task of drawing up a plan and reporting it to the Hot Springs convention. Referring to this matter, the president said:

Now that a great eight-hour contest is rapidly drawing to a close, we can give attention to some methods and features that have hitherto been almost entirely neglected. It is true that the pension and insurance propositions have been before two conventions, but both these gatherings—that at Washington and in the succeeding year at St. Louis—were occupied fully with the consideration of the shorter workday movement, and were not in a position to give the necessary consideration and attention to the suggestion for the establishment of relief measures. This relief program might well start with pensions for the incapacitated and superannuated. It should not, however, be permitted to rest with the establishment of such a pension. It has long been the opinion of your president that the International Typographical Union is great enough, experienced enough, and in the possession of the necessary machinery to establish and successfully carry on out-of-work benefits, a pension system, and last and greatest of the three, an insurance system. The present burial fund feature has demonstrated that an organization such as we have can supply insurance at a very much less cost than insurance can now be had by our membership in purely insurance ventures. If we can succeed in ultimately establishing this insurance feature, coupled with the pension and out-of-work funds, we will have made membership in the International Typographical Union so valuable that in case of industrial disturbance the member who might otherwise be weak will hesitate, for purely selfish reasons, foreign entirely to any idea of obligation to his fellow man, before he will violate his union obligation. This suggestion as to an insurance feature is entirely feasible, and not only is it possible, but it is believed that the time is near at hand when it will be imperatively necessary. The method of producing printed matter has changed radically within a score of years, and there is reliable testimony at hand to warrant the statement that the method of producing printed matter may change radically within the next score of years. Regardless of the process under which the world's printing will be produced, one fact will always remain, and that is that a certain number of wage-earners will gain a livelihood through the production of the printed word. Why not now, through the establishment of the three funds alluded to, initiate a movement which will cement together the present and future followers of the compositors' craft, and in this way make of our union an instrument that will always be in a

position to control the printing industry, no matter what new avenue it may explore and follow.

A SUCCESSFUL INSURANCE INSTANCE

To those who favor the insurance idea, the plan put in effect by one of our typographical unions will be of interest: To each six-months member of the union in good standing there is issued by the financial secretary a beneficiary certificate, entitling the beneficiary therein named to an amount equaling $1 per capita for each six-months member at the time of the death of the holder of the certificate. A warrant for this amount is drawn on the mortuary fund, by the board of trustees, as soon as proof of death is established. It is provided that there shall be collected from each six-months member of the union the sum of 25 cents each week for four weeks, or until the amount collected shall equal $1 per capita, which amount shall be set apart for the payment of death benefits, and shall be separate from all other funds. If the amount of money in the mortuary fund at the death of a member, or members, is not sufficient to pay all benefits, there shall be a pro rata assessment levied on all six-months members. In case a member dies and the beneficiary named in the certificate be deceased, and no other beneficiary be known to the union, the union shall bury the deceased member, and all funeral expenses shall be deducted from the amount called for in the certificate, and if a balance should remain it shall be placed to the credit of the mortuary fund. In order that the fund may meet all ordinary demands, enough money is kept in the fund to pay the next demand upon it. Members of the union who have had continuous membership for three years may retain their membership in the mortuary fund, although they leave the city, if they send their assessments of $1 to the secretary. Members on the retired list may retain their membership in the mortuary fund. This plan was put into effect in 1892. Previous to that benefits amounting to about $75 in each case were paid out of the general fund. Under the present plan, the benefits received from the local are in addition to the benefits received from the International. The average number of deaths in the local union has been four a year—the highest being five a year and the lowest three a year. The average amount paid out by the local on each death was $375, though, of course, the amount paid depends on the number of members in the local. The present membership of this local is about 425. There were four deaths among the members last year.

For the information of the delegates to the Hot Springs convention and especially for the information of the old age pension committee, the president in his report included the report of a committee appointed at the forty-eighth convention of the International Union held in Cincinnati, which had investigated the pension question. This report was submitted to the Washington convention the following year, but was rejected by that convention on the ground that the time was not opportune for favorable action.

The committee on benefit features to which the report

of the old age pension committee had been submitted, offered a report to the convention, in part as follows:

HOT SPRINGS, ARK., August 16, 1907.

To the Officers and Members of the International Typographical Union.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The committee on benefit features, after carefully considering all propositions intrusted to its care presented by the delegates and members of the International Typographical Union, respectfully submits the enclosed reports and recommends that the special committee of three appointed by President Lynch be given the privilege of the floor.

GEORGE BOEHLER,
EUGENE S. NORDHAUS,
W. H. STANLEY,
H. P. BERKSHIRE,
H. D. WALLACE.

There being no objection, Messrs. Coughlin, Drackert and McCullough, of the old age pension committee, were granted the privilege of the floor to speak on this report and each addressed the convention at length.

Proposition No. 143—By International old age pension committee:

To the Officers and Delegates Fifty-Third Session of the International Typographical Union:

Your committee on old age pension plan, appointed pursuant to resolution introduced at the Colorado Springs convention, respectfully submits the following:

From the expressed sentiment of the membership at large, gathered through correspondence and through the Journal, a pension for the old members of the craft seems to meet with general approval.

It is therefore incumbent upon the International Typographical Union to devise some method for caring for our old and infirm members who, through their steadfast loyalty and many sacrifices to the International Typographical Union, have made our present organization possible—a plan that will insure them against abject poverty and public or private charity; a pension suitable to their needs.

Such a system is in keeping with the dignity and policy of the organization, and we confidently believe that the referendum will heartily support a proposition that will ultimately bring about the desired results.

The recent eight-hour struggle has left many old men who gave up the last position they would ever have for the principle and honor involved, and for these benefits lasting and positive to the young men, the old men have sacrificed their all, thus placing the International Union under a heavy mortgage to them, since, without their aid, the eight-hour struggle would not have been so successful.

Considered from a purely sentimental standpoint, there is every reason why the members who have carried the burdens and fought the battles of the International Typographical Union in past years should be provided for in some manner by the organization they have supported and preserved, when their failing powers make it impossible for them to earn a competence.

The membership must be cognizant of the fact that there are many aged and incapacitated members who are unable to avail themselves of the benefits of the Union Printers Home at Colorado Springs, because of family ties and long associations in their respective localities. The committee, mindful of this condition, believes that an old age pension is a solution of the question that confronts the International Typographical Union in discharging its obligation to such members as can not take advantage of the Home and its blessings.

Aside from the sentimental features involved there are at least two other points in the old age pension plan that should appeal to every member:

First. As an organizing factor its value to the International would be inestimable. To the printer outside the ranks it is sure to be so attractive, once it is established, that, instead of remaining outside, a constant menace, he is sure to identify himself with the union.

Second. Because, as its basic feature, it has a provision for twenty years' continuous membership, lapses for any cause are sure to be reduced to a minimum. The fact that the International will reward the loyalty of its members by providing for their declining years will cause many to consider well before severing their connection with the organization for any of the trivial reasons which now influence them.

The committee has gathered data from many sources, both in this country and abroad, together with propositions and communications from various members, and, after carefully considering the same, has evolved the following plan and the necessary amendments and additions to the laws to govern same.

It is apparent to your committee that an old age pension, no matter how carefully wrought, or painstakingly considered, is sure to be an experiment, yet we submit this plan for your earnest consideration, confident that experience will point the way to needed changes, until it will finally rest on a satisfactory working basis.

To summarize, the plan embraces the following:

Age of eligible applicants—60 years.

Continuous membership in the International Typographical Union—twenty years.

Number of eligible applicants in the jurisdiction (estimated)—500.

Amount of weekly pension—$4.

Source of revenue for fund—one-half of 1 per cent weekly assessment on earnings of membership (estimated)—$168,000.

Amount disbursed yearly (estimated)—$104,000.

Balance for sinking fund, administering and incidental expenses—$64,000.

Qualifications of applicants are based on twenty years' continuous membership for members 60 years of age, who earn less than $4 per week, in any one week, and who have no other income or means of support.

The report of the committee was adopted and referred to the committee on laws. The laws committee presented to the convention the constitutional amendments necessary to make the old age pension system effective and the referendum enacted these laws by a large majority. The amended laws will be found in the synopsis of this convention under the heading "Constitutional Amendments."

TRADE AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

The attention of the Colorado Springs convention was directed to trade and technical schools in the annual report of the president. It was apparent that the demand for these schools had increased during the year following

that convention. Unquestionably the attention of the public was being centered on the proposition to teach trades in much the same way that common school education is secured, and it was believed that the trade unions would be compelled to give attention to this new movement which, it was admitted, if properly directed, would be of great benefit to all crafts, but if ignored and frowned upon could be made an instrument for the disruption of conditions that the trade unions had established after years of effort and the tearing down of the wage scales that had been so patiently built up. If the boy or the young man could master a trade in a two- or three-year course in a trade school, was it reasonable to suppose that this boy or young man would consent to serve an apprenticeship of four or five years in a mill or factory? This was a question asked by the president in his report, which also said that when the wage earners considered the trade school idea it should be done with minds free from prejudice, lack of selfish interests and from a purely judicial standpoint. The concluding paragraph on this subject is taken from the president's report, as follows:

> The trade school is here. Is it not better to encourage it, and if the time is not at hand when this is possible, at least not combat the trade school idea, but make effort to influence its course of instruction so that its graduates will be competent and skilled mechanics, and not, as is the case with many of these alleged schools today, turned forth with only a knowledge of the theory of the trade, to work an incalculable injury to the skilled artisans who depend on their avocations for their daily bread? In our craft trade schools are being gradually established, and this is especially true, of course, of schools that offer facilities for securing knowledge of the operation of the various makes of typesetting machines. It is urged that at least some attention be given to the idea sought to be conveyed in this portion of your president's annual report.

The Hot Springs convention, evidently impressed with the idea of supplementary trade education, authorized the creation of a commission to deal with the subject. Following the authorization given by the convention, a conference was held in Chicago on Monday and Tuesday, December 9 and 10, 1907, between James M. Lynch,

J. W. Hays, and J. W. Bramwood, representing the executive council of the International Typographical Union, and A. H. McQuilkin, of Chicago; W. B. Prescott, of Baltimore, and Frank M. Walker, of Houston, constituting the commission. Supplementary education for apprentices and journeymen was thoroughly discussed and plans approved for the furtherance of this work. Inasmuch as this history contains a special chapter on the subject of supplementary trade education by former President Prescott, further space will not be devoted to the subject, but the reader is respectfully referred to Mr. Prescott's monograph.

AFTER THE CONVENTION

In the interim between the Hot Springs and Boston conventions, under date of April 15, 1908, a circular was issued to subordinate unions, requesting a referendum vote on the repeal of section 109 of the general laws, as follows: "The competent sub oldest in continuous service is entitled to the first vacancy." The vote on this question was taken in accordance with the provisions of section 3, article xvii, constitution, which provided for the submission of any proposition or amendment to the membership when fifty subordinate unions had petitioned the executive council to that effect. The request had come from New York Typographical Union No. 6, and the requisite number of endorsements had been received for submission of the proposition. In order to facilitate matters, the vote on the repeal of this section was taken at the same time as the vote for International officers, May 20, 1908. The membership refused to repeal the section, the vote being 14,643 in favor; 17,136 against.

Officers, 1908-1909 — Officers of the International Typographical Union for the two-year period beginning November 1, 1908, were elected May 20, 1908, as follows:

President, James M. Lynch, Syracuse; first vice-president, John W. Hays, Minneapolis; second vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; third vice-president, Daniel L. Corcoran, New York; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Bramwood, Denver. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—James M. Lynch (president), Syracuse; Frank Morrison, Chicago; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland; T. W. McCullough, Omaha; Hugh Stevenson, Toronto. Trustees Union Printers Home—James M. Lynch, Syracuse; J. W. Bramwood, Denver; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs; L. C. Shepard, Grand Rapids, Mich.; W. J. White, San Francisco; Anna C. Wilson, Washington; Thomas F. Crowley, New York; T. D. Fennessy, Los Angeles. Agent—George P. Nichols, Baltimore.

Convention at Boston

[1908]—The fifty-fourth annual session of the International Typographical Union convened in Daniel Sharp Ford Hall, Boston, Mass., on Monday, August 10, 1908. Delegates to the number of 270 were in attendance and a large part of the 1,500 ex-delegates and visitors were in the galleries when Norman E. McPhail, president of Boston Typographical Union and chairman of the local arrangements committee, called the convention to order. Rev. Daniel W. Waldron, chaplain of the Massachusetts house of representatives, delivered the opening prayer. Mayor Hibbard made an address of welcome on behalf of the city of Boston, and Governor Guild, who was unable to be present on account of illness, was represented by William M. Olin, secretary of state, who spoke on behalf of the commonwealth. Hon. John N. Cole, speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives, and publisher of a union newspaper, in a pleasing address, extended a welcome to the delegates and visitors. John H. Fahey, publisher of the Boston Traveler, welcomed the delegates

and visitors on behalf of the local publishers' association. Chairman McPhail then briefly recited the relations of each of the speakers to the printing trade, and handed the gavel to President Lynch, who, after responding to the addresses of welcome, declared the convention ready for business.

Presentation to International Eight-Hour Committee — At this point, James Tole, president of New York Typographical Union No. 6, was granted the privilege of the floor, and as chairman of the presentation committee appointed at the direction of the Hot Springs convention, called attention to the action of that body, which was as follows:

In recommending the discharge of the International eight-hour committee something more fitting than a mere vote of thanks is due to the officers who, in season and out of season, early and late, constantly and unflinchingly have labored for the success of the great eight-hour cause. Resolutions of thanks are at the best but a passing expression of opinion. It is not proper for this convention in a monetary sense to in any way express its approval of the work of the International committee, but we do believe that a memento or token of appreciation, in substantial and lasting form, and a perpetual reminder of the gratitude of the entire membership of the International Typographical Union should be devised and presented to each member of the International committee. To this end a committee of two members of the committee on eight-hour day, one of whom shall be the chairman, shall be charged with the task of devising a suitable tribute to be presented to each member of the International committee, this tribute to be coupled with suitable resolutions, to be drawn up by the committee, framed and presented to each member of the International committee, and that the cost of this token and the framed resolutions be borne by the International Typographical Union.

Mr. Tole then introduced Charles M. Maxwell, secretary-treasurer of No. 6, who, in an appropriate speech, presented President Lynch with a handsome loving cup, and Secretary Bramwood, First Vice-President Hays and Second Vice-President Miller with handsome gold watches and chains and diamond studded charms. The loving cup bore the following inscription:

Presented to James M. Lynch, president International Typographical Union, by the members of the organization, as a slight token of their appreciation of his resourcefulness, steadfastness and fidelity as chairman of the eight-hour committee during that memorable contest which was unique in the history of trade unionism.

Boston, August 10, 1908.

The watches bore this inscription, the only change being in the name of the officer:

Presented to John W. Bramwood, secretary-treasurer International Typographical Union, by the members of the organization, in appreciation of the services rendered by him as a member of the eight-hour committee.
Boston, August 10, 1908.

Each of the recipients spoke feelingly in expressing thanks to the membership of the International Union for the appreciation shown the executive officers as evidenced by the tokens presented.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

President's Address — The report of President Lynch, as usual with the annual presentations made by that official, was written in an optimistic vein. The union had met with reverses, but they had been or would be remedied; there were obstacles to overcome, and they would be conquered; there were new victories to be achieved, and this would be accomplished; there were abuses to be corrected and the remedy would be applied. In presenting for the eighth time his annual report, the president said it was with considerable pleasure that he was able to again say that the year covered by the document had been one of continued progress and continued up-building. As the membership was aware, the organization was passing through another panic period, the intensity of which varied in different localities, but the general burden of which rested heavily on all. Labor organizations usually counted themselves fortunate, if, during these periods of industrial depression, they could hold their own, and in many trades even this result was not achieved. The typographical union could regard itself as peculiarly fortunate when it was remembered that the organization had not only held what had been gained, but had actually advanced. The weaker points had been strengthened and the strong unions more firmly entrenched. A spirit of

confidence and reliance pervaded the members and they had cause to believe that there was no obstacle which could present itself that the International Typographical Union could not successfully overcome. It had taken part in all great economic movements; it had supported every proposition that impressed it as for the betterment of the trades. Subordinate unions in various localities had manifested an interest in local affairs and had made themselves leaders of the labor movement in many sections. In brief, the International Typographical Union and its subordinate bodies were awake to the responsibilities and interests of the moment and the possibilities of the future, and were fulfilling their part in the measures that made for the onward march of the trade union movement. Continuing, the president said:

As to the shorter workday situation, that is now in such condition as to require only brief mention in this report. The eight-hour assessment was discontinued on March 1, 1908. In the larger cities, where contracts previously prevented the inauguration of the eight-hour day, we have, on the expiration of these agreements, been unusually successful in our efforts to secure the shorter day. Toronto and Montreal, Kansas City and Milwaukee are safely in the eight-hour column. The victory is of such importance and so complete as to justify a jubilation over the success that was achieved. In Nashville the nine-hour contract will expire the latter part of this year, and immediate steps will be taken to secure the eight-hour day.

Since our last convention was held the pressmen and bookbinders have also gained the eight-hour day. The pressmen negotiated unsuccessfully with what remained of the United Typothetæ of America for the shorter workday, and then proceeded to carry out the mandate of the 1907 convention and a number of strikes resulted. The United Typothetæ attempted to secure an injunction against the International officers of the pressmen, and succeeded in getting a temporary restraining order, which later, on the motion to make it permanent, was vacated. The pressmen have been so successful that the eight-hour day may now be said to prevail in that trade. The bookbinders, owing to lack of finances, were not as fortunate as the pressmen in the general jurisdiction, but were successful, so I am informed by their officers, in so great a degree that they consider the eight-hour day an established fact. In the other trades, the stereotypers and photo engravers have the standard workday. So that now we can say that in the printing trade the eight-hour day prevails. The goal has been reached, and the passage of time will only more firmly cement and make permanent the shorter workday. While the International Typographical Union bore the brunt of the battle, yet I believe that no member regrets that fact. We are the giant organization of the printing trades, and naturally the giant's share of the work falls to us. If we do that work well, we do not need to count the cost.

Our Hot Springs convention directed the executive council to give all pos-

sible moral aid to the pressmen and bookbinders in their struggle for the eight-hour day, and further provided: "If the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders or the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union should desire financial assistance from the International Typographical Union, the executive council is hereby empowered to take such action as the council may deem wise and necessary in view of the conditions which may then exist." In pursuance of the action quoted, the executive council loaned $15,000 to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. The International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union did not ask us for financial assistance.

IF THE PANIC SHOULD CONTINUE

The permanent effect of the present industrial and financial depression on scales of prices is problematical, but there is no question about its present effect. While seeking to instil confidence in the public mind, the newspaper employers of the country are themselves much alarmed and especially affected by the financial stringency. The volume of advertising has, without question, shrunk tremendously. The position of the publishers was strikingly set forth at the meeting of the National Board of Arbitration in December, and every attendant at that meeting was impressed by the evident sincerity of the publishers in explaining the effect on them of the financial adversity. We can not ignore this sudden development in financial circles, but we can minimize its effect on the business to which we all look for a livelihood. We must be prepared to meet it, and we should study the situation, in order that its effect on our wages may be nullified. We are not in any way responsible for the so-called panic, and we can at least maintain that our wages shall not be reduced with the panic as an excuse. We may not be able to increase wages for the time being, but we can exert every effort to the end that present conditions may be maintained. It may be of value to reproduce herewith a portion of the report of your president to the Hot Springs convention. When this report was submitted the wave of prosperity had just begun to subside, and its retreat was then almost imperceptible. The suggestions contained in the following quotation are especially important at this time, and, it is believed, may be acted upon with benefit by many of our local unions: "Whether justified or not, there appears to be a feeling of uneasiness permeating the business world as to the continuance of the prosperous times that have been uniform for the past ten years. It may be that unpropitious and almost unprecedented weather is underneath this uneasiness, and it may also eventuate that there is no good ground for this feeling of what may be termed lack of complete confidence. It is reasonable to suppose—and this supposition may be shared by the most extreme optimist—that we will not have always with us the prosperity referred to, and if there is a business slump, and a great decline in present prices, then we can not expect to continue the upward trend of wages that has been so noticeable in recent years, and especially during the past year. Nothing may be lost, and conditions may be made reasonably permanent by local unions, if they will work for long-term contracts in connection with new scales. A contract for a three-year term, or even a five-year term, may be of the utmost value in the immediate future. If a business slump does occur, then under these contracts we will have conditions nailed down, and we can only be affected through a reduction in the composing room force, which would take place irrespective of the scale. The suggestion contained in this paragraph should have the careful consideration of local unions and especially of scale committees. The condition of business has very much to do with the scale of prices."

THE WORK OF THE YEAR

The work of the past year has been mainly along the lines of effort at reclamation of those offices that were lost, temporarily at least, during the

eight-hour campaign. In this, as the files of the Typographical Journal will testify, we are meeting with results. An office secured here, and another office secured in another locality, and this continued week after week, represents a yearly total justifying all of the expense and work involved. The membership of the International Typographical Union at the present time is perhaps the best indication of results secured, and proof that the work has been effective. The membership today is but a trifle less than at the time the eight-hour difficulty occurred, when it was about 47,000. Today the membership is about 46,000. The reclamation work referred to will be continued during the coming year. It has been the desire of the executive council to eliminate all expense following the recent unpleasantness, with the exception of that involved in the effort to bring back into the fold the offices that have strayed away. Before the convention opens we will have nearly reached that desirable position. This means the elimination from strike rolls and benefit rolls of all the members affected by the eight-hour difficulty who at this time are beneficiaries from the International funds. No organization involved in difficulty with employers carried its members on strike and benefit rolls as long as has the International Typographical Union in the eight-hour difficulty. What had been a right and of justice should have been done, bid fair to become an abuse. Of course, in our strike, a number of the older members, abiding loyally by their obligation to the union, were involved, and it will be impossible for these members in many instances to again secure employment. The pension fund was designed largely for the protection of these members, and beginning August 1 they will enjoy the benefits of that fund. As to the other and younger members, the time has arrived when they must care for themselves, and the date chosen by the executive council for this renewed assertion of self-reliance is one when the least degree of hardship will occur. The industrial depression has to an extent affected the printing trade, but would have affected it to that extent whether we had gone through a strike or not, and therefore can not be used now as an argument for the continuance of benefits or special assistance to those who have so long been sustained by International funds. The outlook is a bright one. That we will secure all of the offices that were lost, and many that we never before controlled, is the belief of your president. A good share of our efforts, as much of our money as possibly can be appropriated, and our very best talent, should be expended in the direction of strengthening the International Typographical Union at every point, securing all of the important offices that are without the fold, and the bringing of the membership to the highest possible degree of organization. We can never bring about a 100 per cent union. Thousands and thousands of printers are employed in towns and hamlets who have no opportunity or occasion to join a union. It may be that the extension of our benefit features will secure a percentage of these isolated artisans, but we can never hope to secure all of them. We can, however, organize every town where there are seven or more printers, and that we propose to do.

AS TO AN ENLARGED COUNCIL

For some years there has been persistent agitation for an enlarged executive council, the method of securing this larger council taking varying channels. This effort to increase the number of members making up the executive council has been renewed and will undoubtedly come before the Boston convention. If an enlarged executive council will be of greater service to and make for greater strength of the International Typographical Union, then it goes without question that the council should be enlarged. On the other hand, if an enlarged council simply means increased expenses and a division of responsibility, then a change from the present method should not be endorsed. During the eight-hour strike, covering more than two years, the executive

council met every day that the president was at headquarters. Each morning there was a large amount of business to transact, and it was this prompt attention to business, this centralization of authority, that contributed much to the winning of the eight-hour strike. Maintaining a council of five or seven members at Indianapolis during the period covered by the eight-hour contest would have meant a large outlay of money, but if such a council could accomplish greater results than were evident, then the money expenditure would have been justified. If the council is to be enlarged it should, in the opinion of your president, be made up of seven members, the changes to consist of making the first vice-president a member of the executive council; the council then to consist of the president, first vice-president, second vice-president, third vice-president, fourth vice-president, fifth vice-president, and the secretary-treasurer. All of the members of this council should be practical printers and typographical union members. When business of interest to the allied trades who are members of the International Typographical Union and organized into trade district unions is to come before the executive council, then the vice-president for that particular trade should act as a member of the council.

Amendments along the foregoing lines will be submitted to the convention for its consideration and action.

When the proposition to increase the number of members making up the executive council was before the Hot Springs convention last year, your president, speaking of the proposed amendment to law, said that, "so far as the members of the present council were concerned, they were not opposed to an increase in the number of members making up the council. As an officer of the International Typographical Union, the president said that he would welcome an increase in the membership of the council, as that would simply mean a further division of responsibility, but as a member of the union he was strongly opposed to an enlarged council. He believed in centralization of authority, because then there was greater ease in holding the officers having authority responsible for their acts. He was against an enlargement of the executive council on sectional lines, as proposed in the New Orleans propositions. The endorsement of sectionalism would mean that there would eventually spring up a northwest typographical union, a southwest typographical union, a southeast typographical union, a northeast typographical union and Canadian typographical union. President Lynch believed that the interests of the members of the International Typographical Union were identical, irrespective of where they were located. And he sincerely trusted that the membership or the conventions would never endorse a sectional division of the International Typographical Union. He made the foregoing explanation on behalf of the executive council, so that the position of the members of the council might be known to all."

In setting forth the failure of organized labor to secure legislation from congress the president reproduced the reports of the union's representatives at the labor conference that was held in Washington in March, 1908, and attached thereto "Labor's Protest to Congress" and an "Address to Workers," which was promulgated at that time.

Old Age Pensions — The Hot Springs convention formulated an old age pension plan which was later ratified

by the referendum. This plan provided for an assessment of one-half of 1 per cent on earnings, to become effective on the discontinuance of the eight-hour assessment, the pensions to be paid five months after the discontinuance of the eight-hour assessment. The eight-hour assessment was eliminated on March 1, 1908, and the pension assessment made effective on the same day. Regarding the pension plan, the president said:

It is impossible, through lack of actual test, to give information as to the working of the pension plan. It must be in actual operation for at least one year before reliable data as to its application will be at hand. But the law itself has been under observation and criticism, and certain amendments suggest themselves. The revenue is raised under an assessment of one-half of 1 per cent, while all other International revenue is secured under a monthly per capita tax, a flat rate. While it is believed that the assessment method is the most equable plan, yet the fact that the great majority of local unions collect dues at a flat monthly rate and that the International per capita is on the same basis, makes the assessment method for the pension fund cumbersome and confusing. It should be abolished, and a flat rate, say 75 cents per month, substituted. The rate suggested will, it is believed, cover all International expenditure, and if the suggestion is adopted, it should be made as the International per capita tax, the revenue to be applied to all purposes now covered in article ix, constitution.

Considerable objection has been made to what are termed the "pauper features" of the pension plan, and this objection is well based as far as the law is concerned. The executive council, however, has adopted a broad and liberal policy in considering pension applications. But the law should be amended. The words "and who has no other adequate means of support," in section 6, article vi, by-laws, should be stricken out. With this amendment, any member who has reached the age of 60 years, and who has been in continuous good standing for a period of twenty years, and who finds it impossible to secure sustaining employment at his trade, will be entitled to the pension.

Section 13, article vi, should be stricken out. It has served its purpose.

I take this occasion to utter a word of caution to the delegates who will make up the Boston convention against any amendment that will increase the expenses incident to the pension plan other than as outlined in this section of the report. As far as your president is aware, no other great labor organization has put into effect a pension plan from an international standpoint. We must, for the protection of our older members, and for the honor of the International Typographical Union, make this pension plan proposition a success. One year from now, after payments have been made and the bulk of the applications are practically all in, we will be in a better position to judge what further amendments may be necessary and what additional expense the revenue to the fund can stand. To overload the proposition at the present time with liberality and sentiment may mean its failure, and that is an eventuality that I am sure every delegate and member of the International Typographical Union desires to avoid.

VALUE OF CONTINUOUS MEMBERSHIP

In the past it has been the policy of many members of the International Typographical Union going into other lines of industry to take out honorable

withdrawal cards, or sever entirely their connection with the typographical union. Now that the pension law is operative, and in view of the fact that the International Typographical Union will shortly begin to pay pensions to members eligible under the law, it is well that a word of warning should be given at this time to the entire membership of the organization. Members who sever their connection with the International Typographical Union, either through dropping out or by the taking of withdrawal cards, by that action and at that moment terminate their continuous membership, and in order to be eligible to the pension fund twenty years' continuous membership from the date of reaffiliation will be necessary. Many members in good health, and able to earn a livelihood at the trade, are, as is human, prone to be careless as to the pension fund, basing their attitude on the insecure foundation of never needing the assistance that the pension will give. Notwithstanding this, there is not a member of the International Typographical Union today who may not at some future period be placed in the direst financial need, unable to work, or unable to obtain it because of age or infirmity, and, needing the pension, then find that he is ineligible on account of lapse in membership through suspension for non-payment of dues and assessments, the taking out of an honorary withdrawal card, or leaving the local union. This applies also to those members who go into other lines of industrial activity. The time may arrive when they will find it necessary to return to the compositor's art for a livelihood, and will reach a condition in which the pension, small as it may be considered by those in the full possession of strength and the ability to work, will be a real blessing enjoyed as a right and not as a privilege. The point is: Maintain your membership in good standing in the International Typographical Union, no matter where you are or what vocation in life you may be following.

Other benefit features, particularly the insurance plan, may make continuous membership even more valuable at some future time.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Hugo Miller reported a very quiet year in Typographia circles. However, the German-American branch was successful in securing a wage increase in several cities, notably in St. Paul, Philadelphia, Columbus (Ohio), Rochester, Buffalo, St. Louis and Chicago. During the year one lockout occurred in the jurisdiction, a book and job plant in Newark, N. J., and the fight was still on when the report was filed. Consolidations in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, throwing some of the German members out of work, were also unfortunate affairs. Mr. Miller, nevertheless, reported the Typographia in good condition financially, it having increased its old age pension from $4 to $6 per week.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — The report of Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood began with a summary of the

receipts and expenditures of the organization for the fiscal year. The different funds were given in full and a table showing the assessments paid by the different unions to the old age pension fund was printed in the report. The total receipts for the year were $1,071,816.21; expenditures, $833,799.96; leaving a balance of $238,016.25.

Home Fund — The increased per capita tax ordered by the Colorado Springs convention of 1906 did not take effect until March 1, 1908, and the executive council had found it necessary to transfer $20,880.80 to the Home fund during the fiscal year, this sum having been transferred from the defense fund. The report of the Home trustees showed the total expense of maintaining the Home for the year to have been $79,080.45.

Burial Fund — There was a decrease of twenty-three in the number of burial claims filed during the year, the total being 538. The receipts for the fund during the year were $39,366.40 and the expenditures $38,650. The death rate for the year was 1.23 per cent of the average membership, or a little more than 12 per 1,000.

Membership — Under the caption "Our Membership," the secretary-treasurer said:

> The per capita tax payments show an average paying membership of about 43,000 for the first nine months of the year, and approximately 45,000 for the last three months covered by this report. For the year, the average membership, as indicated by the per capita tax payments, was 43,740, an increase of 1,383 over the average membership for 1907. This increase in membership and the addition of forty-two unions to the list of locals is encouraging. The success of the International Union in its eight-hour movement has been given the widest publicity, and, as a result, locals that were lost during the progress of the fray are seeking reinstatement, and towns that have not heretofore supported locals want charters. All seem anxious to obtain the eight-hour day. These incidents make it only fair to presume that greater additions to the membership and list of unions can safely be expected.

During the year the charters of twelve unions were surrendered or suspended, with a total membership of 101. During the same period fifty-four unions were chartered or reinstated, with a membership of 594, leaving a net increase from this source of forty-two unions.

On June 1, 1908, there were 618 local unions, divided thus: English, typographical, 575; German-American, 22; mailers, 18; newspaper writers, 3.

Cost of Eight-Hour Struggle — From the reports of 1906, 1907, 1908, the following figures have been taken. The grand total represents the cost of the eight-hour fight to May 31, 1908:

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES FOR THE THREE YEARS

1906.		
Expenditures from International defense fund.....	$815,291 80	
Ten per cent assessment retained and expended by local unions	651,791 73	
One-half of one per cent assessment retained and expended by local unions.....	96,645 57	
		$1,563,729 10
1907.		
Expenditures from International defense fund.....	$1,468,841 52	
Ten per cent assessment retained and expended by local unions	500,487 49	
		1,969,329 01
1908.		
Expenditures from International defense fund.....		630,912 53
Grand total		$4,163,970 64

The foregoing includes $13,358 sent to California locals in their hour of need in 1906, and $14,900 forwarded to Los Angeles for use in the Times fight during the three years indicated. This summary does not include local funds or moneys derived from local assessments that were expended in the eight-hour fight.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Five propositions were submitted to the referendum by the Boston convention, all of which met with approval. The first proposition was to repeal section 2, article i, constitution, which was objectionable, owing to the fact that the five unions of the printing trade had reached an agreement under which each had complete autonomy. The second proposition was an addition to section 2, of article ii, constitution, being a proviso relative to "conven-

tion laws." The third amendment arranged for a consolidation of the various funds of the organization, providing that but three funds should be maintained—the general fund, old age pension fund and Home fund. The fourth proposition changed the manner of handling appeal cases by requiring that local unions should appeal direct to the executive council and thence to the convention. The fifth and last proposition was a minor matter intended to regulate the time that amended laws should go into effect. The five propositions, with the vote on each, follow:

First proposition—Amend article i, constitution, by striking out section 2 of that article. The section eliminated reads as follows:

Sec. 2. The right is reserved to re-establish jurisdiction over any branch of the kindred trades whose affairs are conducted in such manner as to menace the welfare of the International Typographical Union.

Result of vote—For, 16,822; against, 1,983; majority for, 14,839.

Second proposition—Add sub-section to section 2, article ii, constitution, to read as follows:

(d) The convention laws, which shall contain all laws, rules of order, committees, etc., relative to the convention and its deliberations.

Result of vote—For, 17,261; against, 1,333; majority for, 15,928.

Third proposition—Amend article ix, constitution, to read as follows:

ARTICLE IX—REVENUE AND FUNDS

Section 1. The revenue of the International Typographical Union shall be derived as follows: From dues, which shall be 40 cents per month per member, and an additional one-half of 1 per cent assessment on earnings of members for old age pension fund; from charters for subordinate unions, $5 per charter; from necessary supplies, at prices to be fixed by law. International dues for each month shall be collected by subordinate unions, and shall be transmitted to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union before the 20th of the succeeding month. Unions failing to comply with this provision shall be considered delinquent and debarred from benefits; *provided,* that unions located so far from headquarters as to make it impossible for their dues to reach there within the prescribed time shall not be considered delinquent if their remittances bear postmark date prior to the 15th of the succeeding month.

Sec. 2. In addition to the monthly dues provided in this article every member (except members of the Typographia and those domiciled at the Union Printers Home) shall pay the sum of 5 cents monthly as a subscription to the Typographical Journal, the same to be collected with the monthly dues and transmitted to the secretary-treasurer of the International Union, to be placed to the credit of the general fund.

Sec. 3. The dues of the International Union shall be apportioned to the

several funds as follows: 15 cents to the Union Printers Home fund, one-half of 1 per cent on earnings of members to the old age pension fund; the balance to the general fund.

SEC. 4. The general fund shall be used to defray all expenses of the International Typographical Union except disbursements from the pension fund and the Home fund.

Sec. 5. On the death of each member in good standing a death benefit to the amount of $75 shall be paid to the proper parties.

Sec. 6. All moneys to the credit of the Union Printers Home fund shall be transferred to the treasurer of the Union Printers Home corporation.

Sec. 7. The old age pension fund shall be used for the purpose of maintaining and disbursing pensions to aged and superannuated members.

Sec. 8. The executive council shall have the power and authority to transfer money of this union from one fund to another whenever deemed necessary to maintain the integrity of this organization.

Result of vote—For, 16,676; against, 2,225; majority for, 14,451.

Fourth proposition—Amend section 1, article xi, constitution, to read:

ARTICLE XI—APPEALS.

Section 1. All appeals from the decision of a subordinate union shall be submitted in written or printed form only, to the executive council of the International Typographical Union (seven complete copies of all papers to be supplied), and decisions rendered by that body, except in cases where allied crafts are organized as trade district unions. Should either party feel aggrieved at the decision of the executive council he shall have the right of appeal, in printed form only, to the succeeding convention of the International Typographical Union, which judgment shall be final.

Sec. 2. Appellant and respondent shall furnish copies of papers in complete form, on each other, and shall be entitled to submit replies to these original articles. In appeals to the convention, the same procedure shall be followed.

Result of vote—For, 17,254; against, 1,603; majority for, 15,651.

Fifth proposition—Amend section 5, article xvii, constitution, by adding the words "the by-laws and" in the first line.

Sec. 5. The by-laws and general laws adopted by the convention of the International Typographical Union shall go into effect at the same time as laws and amendments submitted to the membership by the same convention.

Result of vote—For, 17,661; against, 1,036; majority for, 16,625.

The Priority Law — Perhaps the most interesting discussion that took place upon the floor of the Boston convention occurred when the laws committee submitted its report upon several propositions dealing with section 109, general laws (the priority law). Several propositions, respectively, Nos. 89, 83, 84, 90, 132, 189 and 191, all

dealing with the subject of priority, were reported unfavorably by the laws committee, with the exception of proposition No. 89 by the New York delegation, which the laws committee reported favorably. It was as follows: "Amend general laws by striking out section 109 and substitute the following: 'Section 109. Subordinate unions may decree that the competent substitute oldest in continuous service is entitled to the first vacancy.' "

Delegate Lawton (Portland, Ore.) offered the following substitute: "Amend proposition No. 89 to read as follows: 'Section 109. Subordinate unions may decree that persons considered capable as substitutes by foremen shall be given preference in the order of their priority in the filling of vacancies in the regular force and in giving out extra work.' "

Delegate Kleinhoffer, of the committee on laws, said that the propositions under discussion had been carefully considered and the report submitted was in response to a demand for local autonomy on this and other subjects. The majority of the committee believed such matters as this should be submitted to a vote of the membership.

Delegates Cahill (New York), Nolan (Boston), Koester (Denver), Lovy (New York), Rosenson (New York), Calvert (Fort Smith), Wenzel (New York), DeVoe (Boston), Sherouse (Tampa), Rice (Seattle), Ottarson (New Haven), Waterman (Washington), Carroll (Providence), Miller (Toledo), Miller (Wheeling), Davis (Denver) and Crane (St. Louis) discussed the propositions.

The substitute of Delegate Lawton (Portland, Ore.) was lost.

The favorable report of the committee on proposition No. 89 was non-concurred in by a vote of 125 to 63. There being no objection, the New York proposition (No. 89) was declared defeated by the same vote.

All of the remaining propositions referring to priority were also defeated. Thus the convention refused to endorse the proposition of local option in the enforcement of the priority law.

By-Laws, General Laws, etc. — In addition to the constitutional amendments, several important changes were made in the by-laws and general laws of the organization. By an amendment to the by-laws, all convention committees were increased from five members to seven members. Another amendment provided that the laws committee shall meet in the city where the International Union is to convene at least five days (instead of three days) before the beginning of the session. A law governing the creation of a committee on appeals was passed at the Boston convention. Under the provisions of the law, the president may appoint the appeals committee, or, if the delegates so desire, the committee may be elected.

Section 6, article vi, by-laws, a part of the old age pension law, was amended by striking out "and who has no other adequate means of support." Though this proviso had been inserted in the law at the Hot Springs convention as a precautionary measure, under the operation of the law it was found that this restriction could wisely be removed.

The general law which denied subordinate unions the right to erase the names of charter members from their charters and substitute others in their places was amplified to provide that this restriction should not operate to prevent a union attaching to its charter, on a separate sheet, a sketch of the delinquency or degeneracy of any person whose name appeared thereon as a charter member.

Among the resolutions passed by the convention was one requiring that a label agent be appointed by the president, to work under the direction of the executive

council and carry out its instructions, compensation of the agent to be fixed by the executive council. That the officers, delegates and visitors to the twenty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be invited to be the guests of the International Typographical Union at the Union Printers Home in Colorado Springs for one day during the federation's convention at Denver, and that such sum of money as was necessary be appropriated for the purpose of carrying out the above invitation.

NEW AGREEMENT WITH STEREOTYPERS

For the greater portion of the time during which the eight-hour difficulty was on, the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, under agreement with the International Typographical Union, paid 50 cents per week per member into the joint defense fund. Early in the year 1907 the stereotypers claimed it was impossible for them to continue to pay the assessment at the rate of 50 cents per week and requested a reduction to 25 cents per week, which request the representatives of the International Typographical Union did not feel they were justified in acceding to. The stereotypers then declined to pay further, and thus matters stood for several months. Later negotiations were had with the view of determining the relations that were to exist between the two organizations and they resulted in the agreement which follows:

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION AND THE INTERNATIONAL STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS' UNION

It is agreed that the contract heretofore existing between the International Typographical Union and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, and for certain reasons ineffective for a number of months, is hereby terminated, and that this action is mutually satisfactory.

It is agreed by the executive council of the International Typographical Union that any indebtedness by the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union to the International Typographical Union at the date of signing this agreement is hereby canceled. The executive council of the International Typographical Union believes that it is fully justified in taking this action, as a recognition of the earnest and aggressive support given the International

Typographical Union by the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union during the eight-hour conflict.

It is agreed that the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union will be bound by the arbitration agreements, covering stereotype or electrotype departments, already executed and in existence between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union, which will expire on May 1, 1912, and all subsequent agreements, covering stereotype or electrotype departments, that may be executed up to the date of an agreement that may be negotiated between the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, under which an arbitration agreement will be made between the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and arbitration contracts covering stereotype or electrotype departments negotiated directly between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union.

It is agreed that the International Typographical Union and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union will in the future, as in the past, work for the furthering of the interests of both organizations, and for the success of the trade union movement.

Dated at Indianapolis, Ind., June 24, 1908.

James M. Lynch,
J. W. Bramwood,
Hugo Miller,
James J. Frzel,
J. Fremont Frey,
Aug. D. Rorrahn,
M. J. Shea,
George W. Williams.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The American Federation of Labor met in annual convention in 1907, in Norfolk, Va., November 11-23, inclusive. A summary of the business transacted at this convention is contained in the annual reports of officers submitted to the Boston session of the International Union. The document is comprehensive and complete, and contains many interesting features not generally included in reports of this character. The child labor question, eight-hour workday, boycotts, relations with manufacturers, and the Los Angeles situation were among the subjects treated in the report. Regarding the Los Angeles situation, the action of the federation is summarized as follows:

The committee on resolutions reported as follows on the resolutions relative to the situation in Los Angeles, in which the International Typographical Union was and is vitally interested: "Your committee concurs in the spirit and intent of this resolution, and recommends that one special assessment of 1

cent per capita be levied to combat the work of the manufacturers' association in Los Angeles and other places where similar conditions exist. Your committee further recommends that all national and international organizations directly interested in this situation send one or more organizers, as per the advice of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, to successfully prosecute the work necessary to ultimately organize the workers of Los Angeles and other places where like conditions exist." The report of the committee was more satisfactory than the original resolution, in its financial aspect, as it provided for an arbitrary instead of a voluntary assessment. The American Federation of Labor very quickly arranged for the prosecution of the work in Los Angeles, under the direction of Arthur A. Hay, acting as a special organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Another organizer, under the terms of the committee's report, took the place of Mr. Hay as the direct representative of the International Typographical Union. The movement against the unfair Los Angeles Times has gone forward, with added impetus and strength.

LOS ANGELES TIMES AND PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

The report of the committee on Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer contests was to the effect that the committee had carefully considered all propositions and correspondence submitted in connection with these contests. It referred to the fact that at the Hot Springs convention a resolution was adopted to the effect that the American Federation of Labor be induced to enter the Los Angeles field and endeavor to unionize that city. The federation had responded to the request of the International Union and had levied an assessment of one cent on each of its affiliated members. The result of the action of the federation had been the keeping of from five to ten organizers of the various international unions in Los Angeles for the last six months of the year. During that short time much good had been done in strengthening existing unions and organizing new ones. Organizer Arthur A. Hay, who was in charge of the work in Los Angeles for the American Federation, maintained that it was absolutely necessary to build up the general labor movement in that city before effective work could be done toward unionizing the Times. On December 1, 1907, Mr. Hay resigned as organizer for the International Union and was succeeded by T. D. Fennessy, of Los Angeles.

In May, 1908, Mr. Fennessy resigned and was succeeded by W. A. McLernon. The committee offered a recommendation that the contests with the Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer be continued and that the executive council be authorized to expend such money in the conduct of these movements as in its judgment was deemed necessary, and the convention concurred in the recommendation.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

At the afternoon session of the fourth day of the convention President Lynch announced the presence of Charles H. Taylor, jr., a member of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. Mr. Taylor briefly addressed the convention and read a paper by H. N. Kellogg, special representative of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, who was prevented by illness from addressing the delegates. The president then introduced John Mitchell, second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and former chief executive of the United Mine Workers. Mr. Mitchell spoke as follows:

In coming here, I have no constituency. My object is none other than that I might have the opportunity to listen to the delegates and of learning more about your organization.

It would be presumption on my part to try to preach trade unionism to such an organization as this which has been established over fifty years. Your organization was born and reared at a time and in an atmosphere when it was not fashionable to be a member of such an organization. Men were not proud to proclaim that they were a member of a trade union fifty years ago, and it is not fulsome praise on my part to say that the International Typographical Union has made it more than any other organization of its kind respectable, if not fashionable, to now be a member of a trade union organization.

For more than ten years it was my proud privilege to direct the affairs of the United Mine Workers of America. During that time we had many fights, fights that shocked the conscience of the American public. But in all that time I never consented to the calling of a strike until every other honorable means of obtaining peace was exhausted. If I have the power I should not deprive any one of them of any weapon of defense, or one weapon of offense. The organization's best methods, however, were not always used. The policies of this organization may best promote the membership, than by the policies of recently organized trade unions, international and national. I would call no strike until both the employes and employers had exhausted every method of

conciliation and arbitration. It is now my purpose to devote the few years of my life remaining to the promotion of industrial peace. At the present time, you, especially those working in the newspaper offices of the country, are working under the best trade agreement possible. I don't know whether the interests of capital and labor are identical, but capital and labor have many mutual interests, and they should tend to the industrial prosperity of the country. It has been my experience to secure the best division of profits possible, and I believe that capital and labor should meet in conference as man to man of equal strength deciding as to what our individual rights and privileges should be.

Let me say this, gentlemen, it is my earnest belief that a union man is and always shall be a better workman than a non-union man. Unionism should be the synonym of efficiency and good workmanship, and so it follows that a union employer is a better man than a non-union employer. There always should be co-operation as far as possible, and when it comes to a question of division of profits more can be gained by a peaceable agreement. In the ten years that I directed the affairs of the miners, their wages were increased over 100 per cent and the number of working hours was reduced 25 to 30 per cent, but I would not deprive the right of man to fight. It is the right of man to a closed shop, and the right of man to strike makes them all reasonable.

I am glad to be here with you gentlemen today, and I congratulate the International Typographical Union on the steady progress it has made. Labor unions will come to be a still greater factor in the industrial face of the world in the future, and after this I shall strive in my new work.

You, as union printers, will work out the destiny of the printing trade. You will make for better conditions and relations in the great printing industry of the country.

AFTER THE CONVENTION

At a meeting of the New York branch of the Printers' League of America, held on October 6, 1908, the report of President Charles Francis was submitted and ordered published. In view of the friendly position occupied by the Printers' League, in contrast with the policies pursued by many organizations of employers that had preceded its formation, the remarks of Mr. Francis, relative to relations with unions, are herewith reproduced:

We are nearing the close of the second year of our existence along the lines laid out by the Printers' League, and during these two years our membership in New York city has become a representative one, and in all probability the most powerful in point of the number of employers that has ever existed in this vicinity.

We began on the principle that other organizations had been a failure in their negotiations with the unions and had really caused disruption and untold expense, which had to be borne by the customer and employer, and reflected its baneful effects on the unions. Our basis of organization was wide open as to its membership; no one was barred from becoming a member who lived up to the requirements shown forth in our "plan and scope" and afterward in our constitution and by-laws.

At the very outset we found the unions prepared to meet us with open

arms as soon as they could really be made to believe that we came to them as friends and co-laborers, to work together in an unbiased manner to obtain, so far as possible, a fair remuneration for our mutual labors.

It goes without saying that the methods of the typothetæ, which has in its recent convention declared for "war" all the time, are not in consonance with the trend of the times. The unions are here to stay and number among their members probably 90 per cent of the high-class workmen. These workmen are beginning to learn that they are to all intents and purposes our partners in business, and can help themselves by helping us; this work is, however, educational and will take time for its fulfilment.

Our accomplishments thus far are the peaceful settlement of all questions arising between the employers and employes, the latter constituting the three principal unions with whom we have to deal.

THE REDEMPTION OF PITTSBURGH

From the Typographical Journal, February, 1909:

On January 8, 1909, an agreement was entered into between the Pittsburgh Publishers' Association, composed of five hitherto non-union newspapers, and Typographical Union No. 7, by which the entire composing room forces of the Gazette-Times and Post, morning papers, and the Chronicle-Telegraph, Press and Sun, evening papers, with the exception of three foremen who are exempted from union membership while they hold their present positions, will hereafter comprise only members of the typographical union. The agreement, which was negotiated and signed by President Lynch, on behalf of the International Typographical Union, and by President Merz and Secretary Lafferty, of Typographical Union No. 7, was ratified by a unanimous vote at a meeting of the union held the following Sunday.

The memorable strike occurred in Pittsburgh in December, 1899, and attempts have been made by various union representatives during the past eight years to effect a settlement, which were finally crowned with success. The Dispatch was the only paper saved to the union at the time of the strike, but about two years ago the Evening Leader was unionized, and since that event the efforts to square the remaining papers have been especially strenuous.

For eight years the executive council has worked toward the end that has just been attained in Pittsburgh. All of the council's plans have been made effective through the agency of President Lynch and the executive officers of No. 7. While full meed of praise should be accorded President Merz, Secretary Lafferty and their co-workers for the magnificent result attained, yet former Presidents Dabney, Bradley and Leighley should also be remembered. These were the officials who worked with the executive council when the prospects were discouraging and obstacles and disappointments the most in evidence. As a famous admiral said in an equally famous message, "There is glory enough for all."

The National Labor Tribune, of Pittsburgh, in its account of the meeting of No. 7, at which the proposed agreement was unanimously ratified, says:

"The meeting Sunday was held in the Wabash building, and long before the hour for the starting almost every member of No. 7 was in the hall, probably three hundred, waiting for President Merz to call time.

"After time was called President Lynch was asked to take the chair, which he did, and the way he dispatched business was a wonder. The scale agreed upon was read and taken up seriatim and discussed.

"When the last section was read and President Lynch made a short speech, and the question was called for, and President Lynch said that all in favor of adoption say 'Aye,' there was such a response that it almost lifted the roof of the Wabash building, and all opposed 'No,' there was a silence as intense

as the grave; and when he decided that it was carried unanimously, hats were thrown into the air, men hugged one another and a general good feeling prevailed."

The contract is not all that President Merz, Secretary Lafferty and President Lynch made effort for, but in the greater part of its provisions it is satisfactory, and at its expiration can be made more so. The great object was accomplished. Pittsburgh is a union city in the newspaper field, and undivided effort can now be given the job interests—and will. That the members of No. 7 appreciated the importance of securing an agreement with the so-called open office newspaper establishments, and that the contract was satisfactory in its essential features, is best evidenced by the unanimous vote for the ratification of the instrument. One of the most aggravating situations that has confronted the International Typographical Union has been eliminated, and five newspapers have been added to the union fold.

The following communication, which was forwarded to the Journal by Secretary Lafferty, of Typographical Union No. 7, speaks for itself:

"PITTSBURGH, PA., January 21, 1909.

MR. THOMAS E. GRIFFIN, *Foreman Composing Room.*

DEAR SIR: The Dispatch has accepted the contract between Typographical Union No. 7 and the Pittsburgh Publishers' Association, which includes the Gazette-Times, Pittsburgh Post, Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph and the Pittsburgh Sun, of date January 8, 1909, for the term of five years. Under this scale the rate per hour is fixed at 60 cents, seven or eight hours constituting a day's work.

In accepting this contract the Dispatch Publishing Company desires to express its thanks to Typographical Union No. 7 and the members thereof associated with the Dispatch for their loyalty and friendly interest in its welfare during the many years the Dispatch was the only union newspaper in Pittsburgh and prior thereto. In recognition thereof the Dispatch Publishing Company hereby notifies the members of Typographical Union No. 7 that, until further notice, the rate of 61 cents per hour, paid under scale of April 2, 1903, will be continued.

Hoping that the existing friendly relations between the Dispatch and its employes shall continue on uninterruptedly, and with kindest greetings, we are, very truly yours,

THE DISPATCH PUBLISHING COMPANY,
(C. R. SUTPIN, *Business Manager.*)

RESIGNATION OF SECRETARY-TREASURER BRAMWOOD

Under date of February 1, 1909, the executive council issued a circular to secretaries of all subordinate unions, as follows:

Office of the Executive Council, International Typographical Union, 635-650 Newton Claypool Building.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., February 1, 1909.

To the Membership of the International Typographical Union.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The following documents are self-explanatory:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., February 1, 1909.

"JAMES M. LYNCH, *President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis, Ind.*

"DEAR MR. LYNCH: I desire to present herewith my resignation as secre-

tary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union. My health has been such for the past six months that I consider continuing in the office as an obstacle to my recovery.

"In presenting this resignation I desire to say that I sever my official connection with the International Typographical Union with considerable regret, and only because health necessities demand that procedure.

"Yours fraternally,

"J. W. Bramwood."

"Indianapolis, Ind., February 1, 1909.

"John W. Hays, *First Vice-President International Typographical Union.*

"Dear Sir: You are hereby appointed secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, vice J. W. Bramwood, resigned. This appointment effective from this date. Fraternally,

"James M. Lynch,
"Hugo Miller,
"Executive Council International Typographical Union."

"Indianapolis, Ind., February 1, 1909.

"To the Officers and Members of Subordinate Unions.

"Ladies and Gentlemen: Make all International Typographical Union drafts, checks, money orders, etc., payable to John W. Hays, secretary-treasurer.

"James M. Lynch,
"Hugo Miller,
"John W. Hays,
"Executive Council International Typographical Union."

Following the resignation of Secretary Bramwood and the appointment of First Vice-President Hays to fill the vacancy, the executive council appointed George A. Tracy, of San Francisco, to fill the unexpired term as first vice-president.

Convention at St. Joseph

[1909]—When the fifty-fifth convention of the International Typographical Union opened its first session at St. Joseph, Mo., Monday, August 9, 1909, the delegates were called to order by Ben F. Hill, chairman of the local arrangements committee. After an invocation by Reverend Father Brady, of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Mayor Clayton was introduced and instantly made friends with his audience with his oratory, inimitable stories and cordial words of welcome. The mayor was frequently applauded during his address. In closing he said: "When the local union conceived the idea of bringing this big convention to St. Joseph, their committee held its first

meeting at my home. They came to my den for inspiration, and they received it. I wish I had a voice in this convention, so I could offer a resolution to name St. Joseph as the permanent meeting place of this organization. In the name of the citizens of St. Joseph, I bid each and every one of you welcome to our city, to our homes and to our hospitality."

The next speaker was Louis T. Golding, publisher of the St. Joseph News-Press. After a kindly greeting, he devoted a part of his address to pointing out the many commendable features of the International Union and spoke of the friendly relations which had long existed between himself as a publisher and the organization. Mr. Golding was followed by George C. Crowther in an eloquent address. Mr. Crowther became a member of Leavenworth Union No. 45 in 1866, and was later prominent in the councils of St. Louis Union No. 8. G. H. Larke, publisher of the St. Joseph Gazette, was the next speaker, and in a particularly pleasing manner invited those present to make themselves at home while in the city. President Burnham, of St. Joseph Union, convinced the gathering that every member of the local organization, as well as the citizens, intended to do their utmost to make the stay of the visitors as pleasant as possible.

President Lynch replied to the several addresses of welcome and expressed appreciation both for himself and the assembled guests. He then declared the fifty-fifth session of the International Union open for business.

After Secretary-Treasurer Hays had read the list of delegates, the chair announced the appointment of the convention officers and the various committees.

BRIEF REVIEW OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

President's Report — The optimism that the year before characterized the report of the president was again

evident in the address of that official presented to the convention. The president said:

In submitting herewith my annual report, it is with pleasure and gratification that I point to the record of the fiscal year just closed. We have indeed progressed, and the International Typographical Union is stronger at every point than it was one year ago. Our policies are gradually claiming the attention and receiving the commendation of all who are interested in the trade union movement, and even the hostile employers are reluctantly compelled to admit that the International Typographical Union is rapidly becoming a model organization.

During the year our members have been quite generally employed, owing to the steady increase in patronage of union offices, although the contrary has been true as to the non-union offices. In the main I attribute this prosperity of the union office and permanency of employment for our membership to the aggressiveness of the label campaign, so persistently conducted from International headquarters, and so loyally assisted and furthered by local unions, acting through their local label committees.

The pension assessment shows that our membership has earned during the fiscal year about $40,500,000, and this is indisputable proof of the quite general employment of the union printers and the permanency of that employment.

Our pension venture has worked out better than the most optimistic pension supporter had hoped for.

Our technical education proposition is rapidly ingratiating itself in the esteem and support of the membership.

The Union Printers Home at Colorado Springs is in good condition, and, aside from its value as a refuge for our aged and incapacitated members and those suffering from disease, its advertising value for the organization can not be exaggerated.

Our organization work goes on with gratifying results. In this respect we go neither too fast nor too slow.

Sanitary conditions in composing rooms have steadily improved.

We obtained a high place in the general campaign against the great white plague.

We have been associated with all movements having for their object a betterment of the condition of the toilers of the country.

The label campaign has been auspiciously inaugurated, and contains promise of much greater results as it is gradually developed and its possibilities unfold.

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor in November of last year the International Typographical Union was one of the few organizations showing a gain in membership, notwithstanding the panic conditions.

The average membership for the year is 44,921.

We paid per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor for the month of March on 48,246 members; April, 45,636 members; May, 46,966 members. The total membership taken from the quarterly reports on April 3 was 47,174.

Our finances are in a good condition, and we hope during the coming year to make a gain in this respect, as we do not anticipate that the calls from local unions will be near as heavy as they have been for the past two or three years.

All in all, we can congratulate ourselves on the history of the fiscal year just closed, and can look forward to another year with the hope and conviction that success will attend all our legitimate efforts.

As set forth, the pension assessment shows that our membership has earned during the fiscal year ended with May 31, about forty million five hundred thousand dollars, or nearly nine hundred dollars average for every member of the organization. When the members on the pension roll and those domiciled in the Union Printers Home are taken from the average membership, and further deductions are made for those members who continue their active association with the union but who are not employed at the trade, and the basis of calculation is thus reduced to the members who are actively working at the trade for a livelihood, it is believed that the average wage will be considerably more than nine hundred dollars per year, and that it will closely approach one thousand dollars per year. The total amount earned, as shown by the pension assessment, proves that our membership has been quite generally employed during a year which has been severe on artisans in other industries. The wide control of the union in the more important composing rooms, the fact that the union membership embraces the most skilled artisans, and the additional condition that industrial peace has prevailed throughout the International jurisdiction, are some of the subdivisions of the story told by the immense sum earned by the union printers of the country. It may be that in some cases wages have not been advanced to as great a degree as the members affected believed was justified, but throughout the jurisdiction the figures will show that the general advance in wages and betterment of conditions have been most satisfactory. It is submitted that a condition such as is set forth by the earning power of the membership is one that must be conserved, and, if industrial peace brings such large returns both in a financial way and through steady employment to our members, then it should be our aim to perpetuate industrial peace in every honorable way.

I am opposed to strikes. I have always opposed the strike, and I have sought a settlement in every instance where trouble did occur through every channel that offered, before the strike was resorted to. But I am not one of those who would abandon the strike as the last weapon in the hands of organized labor. Where the employers, through their associations, are fair; where they indicate a desire to enter into agreements under which industrial disputes can be adjusted in a manner that gives both the employer and employe equal opportunities in the settlement, then I am for that policy of conciliation, arbitration, or adjustment. On the other hand, where associations of employers evince the disposition and manifest the tactics that were so conspicuously indicated by the typothetæ when in the full enjoyment of its greatest power, when all overtures toward peace were rejected, then I am for battle, and a battle to a successful end for the union, despite the sacrifices that may be called for and the treasure that may be expended.

Without question, our agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, under which industrial peace in the great newspaper composing rooms of the country has been the rule for the past eight years, has contributed materially to the earning power of our members employed in the newspaper branch. The general peace that has characterized employment in the book and job industry since the great eight-hour strike has also contributed to the financial prosperity of that portion of the membership.

In brief, under our policy of conciliation and harmony, we have established a very favorable condition, and one that should be fostered and conserved through fairness and diplomatic negotiation.

Mortuary Benefits — On the very important question of increased mortuary benefits, the president expressed himself at some length on the theory that if the organiza-

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

J. W. HAYS, MINNEAPOLIS
Secretary-Treasurer International Typographical Union
February 1, 1909 – 19—

tion was strong enough, and if its past career and future prospects were reassuring enough to guarantee an insurance or mortuary benefit in a reasonable amount, then it was asserted that such mortuary benefit or insurance benefit, or whatever term might be applied to it, would knit together the membership and make of the International Typographical Union a much stronger organization.

Old Age Pensions — The president was opposed to any amendment of the pension law that would increase the liabilities of the International for the payment of pensions. Speaking of the balance shown in the pension fund, it was pointed out that the liabilities against the fund had not been as large as it was thought they would be, and the collections for the fund had exceeded the original estimates. As a result there was a very comfortable balance in the pension fund. This balance had caused much discussion and a reduction in the pension assessment had been advocated, also an increase in the amount of pension per week per member had been suggested. The president was opposed to both propositions. To justify this position, he said:

The liabilities against the pension fund are continually increasing, and will continue to increase. While the balance in the pension fund appears to be large, that impression is more apparent than real. In any event, the pension policy should be guaranteed by a fairly large balance in the pension fund. A modification of the twenty-year continuous membership rule has been urged, but to my mind that would weaken one of the best features of the pension policy, the value that it gives to continuous membership in the International Typographical Union. Some of our members believe that the required number of years of membership should be accumulative, that is, that twenty years' membership in the International Typographical Union, even though not continuous, should be sufficient for the endorsement of a pension application. This modification would of necessity apply to the past, and it is submitted that as a matter of fact the International Typographical Union is under no obligation to pay a pension to members who have been such for five years, ten years, fifteen years or twenty years, who have reached the age of sixty years. These members have not contributed in as great degree to the establishment of the fund for pension purposes. From many points of view, it is good policy to pay pensions to our older members, but, it is submitted, it is no hardship on these older members, no violation of any obligation that is due them, when the twenty-year continuous membership feature

is insisted upon. Those who are becoming members today, those who have been members for five, ten or fifteen years, will see to it that their membership is continuous, and when they become eligible for a pension they will have contributed something toward the maintenance of the pension policy. To limit the continuous membership to five or ten or fifteen years, to make the membership accumulative instead of continuous, will be to open the pension fund to other inroads of a like nature, and will speedily dissipate the balance that now appears so large and yet that can be most expeditiously distributed if the utmost care and vigilance are not exercised in the preservation of the main features of the law as it stands today.

An increase in the amount of the pension paid per member would be another imprudent step, imprudent not only for the organization itself, but toward the individual member. It was never intended that a pension should be so large as to guarantee a good livelihood to any recipient, and certainly it should not be so augmented as to discourage thrift and industry in the working years of the individual. As I understood it, the pension is intended to furnish to a member sixty years or more of age and incapacitated for work at the trade an amount which will at least suffice for his actual support. This is exactly what the present pension law does. To increase the amount will be to establish paternalism in its worst sense, to undermine that self-reliance and determination to succeed that should characterize every worker at our trade, to pauperize instead of fairly assist those of our members who may later find it necessary, when reaching the age specified, to turn to the pension fund for help and succor.

Supplemental Trade Education — On the subject of supplemental trade education, the president had this to say:

Our movement for the better education of journeymen and apprentices in our trade has been quite successful. The report of the commission having this subject in charge goes into detail. Movements of this character are necessarily of slow growth. That the journeyman or apprentice can be taught the art of good printing through a correspondence course at first does not appeal to the average man or boy. Gradually we are overcoming this prejudice, and our commission has demonstrated that its correspondence course meets all of the requirements. There should be a much larger number of students than we have, but notwithstanding we are doing very well, indeed, and it is hoped that as the membership of the International Typographical Union gets a better idea of the object the commission has in mind and as our graduated students demonstrate their greater efficiency in following their trade, that the increased knowledge and ocular demonstration will prove a much more potent lesson than the circulars sent out by the commission. The secretary of the commission has addressed several local unions and with good results. There is another feature to this work that should be touched upon. Our technical education proposition has attracted attention from the press, daily, weekly and monthly publications frequently mentioning the course in laudatory terms. Its advertising value must be taken into consideration, and without question this venture has aided in raising the International Typographical Union to a high place in the estimation of the general public. The attention of the delegates and of the entire membership is invited to the report of the commission covering its work for the fiscal year.

The Label Campaign — The label campaign, under the supervision of the International president, was fully ex-

plained. It was asserted that the work as conducted from headquarters had very forcibly demonstrated the wisdom of a systematic and persistent agitation for the use of the union label. Continuing, the president said:

Not only have our efforts against the non-union printing of theatrical attractions been rewarded, but we have been successful beyond expectation in the campaign against the non-union printed matter of individuals and concerns. The results of the label campaign have been stupendous and will never fully be realized. Managers of summer amusement parks have signified their intentions, when interviewed by label committees, of having future orders for printing placed with union concerns. Theater managers, at the suggestion and request of committees, have placed their programs in offices having the use of the union label. Retail grocers' associations and ministerial unions have taken up the question of having the union label appear on all their printed matter. Baseball associations have passed resolutions making the use of the union label compulsory on the part of the different clubs affiliated. Insurance companies have realized that it is easier to talk protection when their printing bears the union label. Much work has been accomplished during the past year, but much remains to be done. The label campaign is yet in its infancy, and when developed will prove of incalculable worth in diverting orders for printing to union offices, thus giving employment to our members when non-union printers are looking in vain for work.

The assistance of the members in the label campaign was much to be desired, and the president emphasized this in the following language:

If each member could be interested in the label campaign, and could be induced to contribute individually toward making it a success, the volume of effort would be replete with results. As we can, we are trying to interest more and more members. This must be proceeded with carefully and slowly, as is true of all union ventures, on the theory that it is better to gradually absorb the attention and interest of the individual rather than overburden him with union requests and thus paralyze or render apathetic his union interest. What is most desired is that our members will call to our attention printed matter of general circulation that is produced in non-union offices. Many publications containing the names and addresses of firms engaged in some particular line of industry and using large amounts of printed matter are issued, and if copies of these publications were sent to us they would be of great aid in the label campaign. This is also true of many other pamphlets, leaflets, booklets, etc., and a moment's thought on the part of the member when these printed volumes come to his attention will show whether the label campaign could be advanced by sending copies to headquarters. If in doubt, send the copies to us and we will determine. Every piece of printed matter diverted from a non-union to a union office means additional employment for union men at fair wages, under fair hours, and to this end surely we can all exert ourselves.

The endorsement of the label by the Farmers' Co-operative Union and the organization of a label department by the American Federation of Labor were set forth.

Organizing Work — Speaking of the work of organization and referring particularly to the official duties of organizers, it was pointed out that the term "organizer" was considerable of a misnomer.

The organizer does very little organizing. Ninety-nine per cent of his work embraces the negotiation of new scales, or the effort to reclaim non-union offices. It might be much better, and certainly much less misleading, if the term "organizer" were changed to "representative," or some other equally appropriate designation. Typographical unions to a large extent are organized by card men working in unorganized localities, or, when the time is ripe, through that desire that springs up in the human breast for closer association through organization in the effort to better trade conditions. At times the services of an organizer are necessary in order to give force and direction to this new-born desire, and when opportunity occurs of this character the organizer is promptly furnished. It remains true, nevertheless, that this work is only a small part of that allotted to the organizer, and that his main duties consist in the negotiation of new scales, the smoothing out of threatened difficulties and the straightening up of non-union offices. The delegates are requested to read the reports made by these painstaking and loyal officials.

It has been the aim of the International president to retain the experienced organizers, believing that in this line of activity, as is true with almost every other avenue of human effort, experience educates the organizers, that the International Typographical Union pays for this education, and that it is a part of a business proposition to retain the skilled and highly trained organizers just so long as their services give satisfaction. In this connection it may be well to repeat the observation that was made in the report to the fiftieth session, held at St. Louis in August, 1904: "It has been my aim to retain in the service of our International experienced representatives. No removals have been made. In the development of modern industrialism the work of the peacemaker is of supreme importance. Experience fits him for his task, and the more experience the better is the organizer qualified to grapple with the varied and trying problems that are presented to him for solution." I can do no better than to add here a part of my report of last year referring to the work of the organizers: "In this field hundreds of thousands of dollars are saved each year by the organizers. These officials are rarely sent into a jurisdiction until all local effort at adjustment of disputes fails, and in twenty-four cases out of twenty-five their presence is most earnestly requested—yes, demanded—by the local union. Let it also be said to the credit of the organizers that in nine cases out of ten they succeed in making settlements that are satisfactory to the local unions."

Finances — Under the caption "Finances," the president said that the union was in good shape and that the amount of money in the treasury was far in excess of that usually on hand during normal times. He then continued:

When the executive council terminated the eight-hour assessment it was estimated that the amount in the treasury would permit the council to carry the contests then on hand and to finance campaigns for the reclamation of unfair offices, until the local unions were in a position to assume these financial burdens. The condition of the treasury today fully justifies the position

of the executive council at the time of the elimination of the assessment. We have been enabled to assist local unions in a monetary way, gradually reducing the amount of this special assistance until, in the opinion of the council, and in many instances, in the opinion of the local unions affected, these locals were able to proceed without further aid. Of course, many of the non-union offices have been reclaimed, as the official magazine has shown from month to month, and the general condition is gratifying and reassuring. There is another phase of the financial proposition, however, that should have careful attention at this time. During the pendency of the eight-hour assessment, local unions with eight-hour difficulties exhausted their local treasuries and then were compelled to depend entirely on the International for such money as was needed to finance local contests. It was impossible for these unions in the great majority of cases to raise money by assessment for the reason that the International assessment was so high that the burden was all the membership could stand, and for the further reason that the usual local dues were inadequate to the emergency. In every instance, where found necessary, the executive council responded when called upon, and there was no diminution in the intensity of the conduct of any local contest, so far as the financial features of these contests were concerned. But this very policy has brought about a condition under which local unions, or many of them, still depend to a great extent upon the International treasury and have in many instances failed to make adequate provision for sufficient money with which to properly conduct local business. In some places local dues were reduced, or altogether abolished, during the eight-hour assessment, and while, of course, where abolished, these dues have been restored, yet in some cases where dues were reduced they have not been again placed at a figure necessary for local purposes. The very fact that there has been during the past two years between one and two hundred thousand dollars in the International treasury seems to have been sufficient warrant on the part of some of our local unions to shoulder their financial responsibilities on the International organization.

POSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

In many applications the council has refused to assume these financial burdens, on the ground that the local unions should provide for them, but the demand has been persistent and repeated on the part of the unions, and in most all the cases the council has been compelled to yield in the end, in order that local dissatisfaction and discouragement might not ensue. In instances where the council has refused special appropriations, the local officers have then placed the refusal before the local union and have pointed to the International treasury as the only and chief argument against the council's position. It may be that a centralized treasury would be a good thing for our International organization. However, that is a point that is not up for discussion at this time. If the executive council, acting for the International Typographical Union, is expected in the future to assume financial responsibilities, such as outlined in this section of the report, then the membership must provide a fund adequate for the increased demands that will be made upon it. At the present time local unions are entitled, in case of difficulty, to the regular strike benefits, and that is all. The other moneys that come to the International headquarters are intended for organization work, publicity campaign, maintenance of headquarters, publication of the Journal and such other features as may be deemed necessary to keep our organization well in the forefront of the progress that is being made by like combinations on the industrial field. It will be a distinct menace and calamity if the amount in the International treasury is permitted to drop very much below one hundred thousand dollars. Indeed, it would be the better part of wisdom if provision should be made

for automatically replenishing the treasury when it falls below the one-hundred-thousand-dollar mark. With sinews of war in the war chest, hostile employers will hesitate before they risk a contest with our International Union. But, it is submitted that the sinews of war can not remain in the war chest if local unions are encouraged or warranted in shouldering their chief financial burdens, aside from the ordinary running expenditures, on the treasury of the International Typographical Union. A pronouncement made by the convention would be of aid, and it will be for the benefit of local unions if their position toward the International treasury is distinctly and emphatically outlined at this time, so that the council may know just what it is expected to do and to what local unions are by right entitled. It is not meant by this recommendation that the hands of the council shall be tied in any way from a financial standpoint. It will be much better to leave the executive council free to act and to make appropriations whenever an emergency may arise. But an intimation to our local unions that they themselves must prepare for emergencies before they can expect their sister unions to come to their rescue will be of value. We have had instances of local unions clamoring for permission to strike when we knew from their financial statements that their treasuries were empty and no preparation had been made. It is better that this condition be uncovered at this time, so that a word to the membership may be sufficient to again impress upon them that eternal vigilance is the price of the retention of those betterments and that progress which during the past five years have been secured at such a great outlay of money and such a tremendous amount of personal sacrifice.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Hugo Miller reported that business in the German printing trade of the country continued stagnant, another daily newspaper, the Volksfreund, of Cincinnati, Ohio, being compelled to suspend during the year. The Typographia was collecting 1 per cent on the earnings of its members for the old age pension, adding $2 per week to the International pension of $4. During the year the New York wage scale was renewed for a period of two years. At Detroit the hand men received an increase of 25 cents a day. At Winnipeg the machine scale was advanced from $20 to $22 per week.

Mailers — Charles N. Smith, president of the Mailers' Trade District Union and third vice-president of the International Union, reported on conditions as he had found them in the mailers' branch since assuming office on November 1, 1908. Controversies existed in the Boston Mailers' Union and some strikes which occurred in the jurisdiction of the New York Mailers' Union were

covered in the report. Several new mailers' unions were organized during the few months Mr. Smith had been in office and prospects for better conditions in the trade were declared to be bright by Vice-President Smith.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — In accordance with the usual custom in previous reports, Secretary-Treasurer Hays began with a summary of the receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year. The total receipts were $716,-790.20 and the total expenditures, $458,061.73.

Home Fund — The amounts credited to the Home fund by the International secretary-treasurer in the twelve months ended May 31, 1909, totaled $86,518.31. All Home expenditures are made under the direction of the board of trustees, and the report of the board for the fiscal year contained a statement of the financial transactions connected with the institution and showed the total expense of maintaining the Home for the year to have been $72,598.94.

Burial Fund — Of the burial fund, the secretary-treasurer said that a less number of burial benefits were paid during the fiscal year than in any similar period since 1903. Claims filed and paid aggregated 509, or 29 less than in the year immediately preceding. The decrease in the number of deaths during the first five years after 1903, with an increasing membership, seemed to indicate that efforts for improved working conditions and the eight-hour day were bringing results, at least it was assumed that sanitary workrooms and shorter hours were promoting health and longevity among members. The 509 benefits paid amounted to $38,175, or about 85 cents per member. The death rate for the year was 1.13 per cent of the average membership, or a little more than 11 per 1,000. The average death rate since the establishment of the fund had been 1.27¾ per cent—12 per 1,000.

Membership — Speaking of "Membership," the secretary showed that the per capita tax payments were made on an average paying membership of 44,921 for the twelve months ended May 31, 1909. This was an increase of 1,181 over the year 1908, and 2,564 over 1907. The average per capita tax collected was only fifty-nine short of the year 1906, in which the eight-hour fight began, and was 1,812 less than in 1905, in which the average was the highest in the history of the organization. On the basis of the last three months of the fiscal year 1908-1909 the showing was more favorable. The March collections on per capita tax represented 48,246 members; April, 45,636, and May, 46,966, making the average paying membership for the quarter ended May 31, 1909, 46,949, or greater by 215 than the average membership for any fiscal year in the history of the International Union.

During the year the charters of twelve unions were surrendered, suspended or revoked, with a total membership of eighty-four. During the same period forty-six unions were chartered, with a membership of 570, leaving a net increase from this source of thirty-four unions and 486 members.

On June 1, 1909, there were 652 local unions, divided thus: English, typographical, 605; German-American, 22; mailers, 22; newspaper writers, 3.

The Pension Roll — A table was printed showing the unions having members on the pension list, the number of members on the pension roll from each local, the amount paid to them and the total membership of each union. The receipts and expenditures of the pension fund for the year were as follows:

RECEIPTS

June 1, 1908—Balance in fund	$26,377 18
May 31, 1909—One-half of 1 per cent assessment	201,468 69
May 31, 1909—Interest	1,415 65
May 31, 1909—Pensions returned	56 00
Total	$229,317 52

EXPENDITURES

Paid to pensioners	$67,580 00	
Clerical work	1,501 25	
Books and printing	455 35	
Expressage	13 75	
Total		$69,550 35
Balance in fund May 31, 1909		$159,767 17

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Until the year 1908-1909, the work of the executive council had been covered in the president's report. Beginning with this fiscal year, however, the work of the council is covered in a separate document. The following is quoted:

The executive council this year initiates its convention reports. This report will not by any means cover all of the business transacted by the executive council during the fiscal year, but will deal only with a few of the most important features, comprising those which the executive council believes to be deserving of special mention, most of which cover subjects that will receive considerable attention from the delegates to the St. Joseph convention.

The proposed insurance or increased burial benefit features of our organization have been receiving a great deal of attention, not only from the executive council, but also from a large number of our members in various sections of the country, and the executive council in this report undertakes to show to the delegates and members what the expense of certain features, if adopted, will be. With the figures submitted by the executive council the delegates and members can readily figure out what would be the cost of any amount of insurance or burial benefit the International might desire to pay.

The old age-pension that is being paid by the International Typographical Union has received so much favorable comment, both inside and outside the organization, that the council believes it worthy of special mention in this report and that the International Typographical Union should take advantage of all the advertising that can accrue to it from publicity in connection with this feature.

Another thing which the executive council has taken up that has never been discussed before by delegates in convention assembled is the increasing value of membership in our organization. Every benefit feature added to our system makes membership in the International Typographical Union more valuable, and the executive council believes that new members being admitted to the union, or suspended members who are reinstated to their former affiliation to the organization, should pay therefor a price more nearly commensurate with these benefits than has been the custom in the past, and, therefore, makes recommendations along these lines.

Believing that the work of organization in Cuba, Porto Rico and Mexico, as recommended by the Boston convention, will result in nothing but dissatisfaction to a large majority of our members, and an expense to the International far beyond what the benefit promises to be, the executive council has incorporated in its report not only its own ideas on what the St. Joseph convention should do, but has copied extensively from communications received from people who have had experience with the organizations that have been formed in these sections. This for the enlightenment of the delegates and members.

As directed by the Boston convention, the executive council has taken up the question of the printing of return cards on envelops by the United States government, and, in this report, sets forth what the postoffice department has to say upon this subject, and also copies from the report of the Third Assistant Postmaster General recommendations that have been made to congress along the lines which we desire should be followed, although these recommendations do not go so far as we wish. It is hoped, however, that in the near future congress will take some action that will eliminate entirely the printing of return cards for business firms or private parties who order stamped envelops direct from the government.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Four constitutional amendments were submitted to the referendum by the St. Joseph convention.

The first proposition submitted was to amend section 1, article i, constitution, by striking out the word "typefounders." It eliminated from the constitution and laws all mention of typefounders and its purpose was to relinquish jurisdiction over that craft. The majority in favor of this action was 16,114.

The second proposition amended section 2, article i, constitution, requiring that the number of printers necessary to obtain a charter be increased from seven to ten. The referendum approved of this increase by a majority of 3,878.

The third proposition was to amend section 1, article viii, of the constitution (salaries) by increasing the salary of the mailers' vice-president from $50 to $100 per annum. This was approved by a majority of 9,655.

The fourth proposition amended the laws regulating appeals, reducing the required number of copies to be furnished the executive council from seven to three. This was approved by a majority of 16,307.

By-Laws, Etc. — The by-laws and general laws were amended to conform to the constitutional changes.

Several minor amendments were made to the by-laws and general laws, the most important of which was a law providing for individual membership records. Previous to this time, no attempt had ever been made to systemat-

ically record the organization's membership. Under the law passed at the St. Joseph convention it was provided that there should be established and maintained in the office of the secretary-treasurer a complete record of all journeymen active members of the International Union, this record to contain the age of each member, date of initiation, where initiated, date and cause of suspension or expulsion, date of reinstatement or reinitiation, together with the date of death and such other matter as might be deemed necessary by the executive council to determine the continuous membership of any member of the organization.

INCREASED MORTUARY BENEFITS

The subject of insurance on a flat basis, and propositions to increase burial benefits to an amount sufficient to secure to the heirs of members of the organization at least temporary protection, had been before several conventions previous to the gathering at St. Joseph. At the Boston convention the year previous four separate propositions had been offered by various delegates. On recommendation by the committee on laws, the convention referred all of these propositions to the executive council with the intention that the whole subject matter be investigated. In making its report to the St. Joseph convention, the executive council said that the investigation of life insurance, or the payment of an increased mortuary benefit, convinced the council that insurance for the membership of the International Typographical Union was feasible and that the main question was the expense connected with such a venture. The investigation made by the council had also convinced its members that any sum paid to the membership as an insurance feature should be in the nature of a death or burial benefit, an amplification of the existing law providing for burial

benefits. By following this plan the union would be free from complication with the insurance laws of the various states and there would be greater economy in the administration of such a fund. It was not unlikely that, if the union took up the matter of straight life insurance, issuing policies as is done by the insurance companies, the courts would hold that the plan would come within the laws enacted in the various states for the protection of the people against wildcat insurance schemes.

There were many points to be considered, not the least of which was the fact that many members carried insurance to the extent of their financial ability. That insurance provided by the International Typographical Union would be, for a time at least, something of a burden to those members. In the opinion of the executive council any insurance or mortuary benefit plan that provided for a sum larger than the amount being paid at that time must be arbitrary; that is, insurance should be paid for by each member of the International Union. The council submitted a table specially prepared to show the cost per member of a $1,000 benefit. This was presented more for information than with the intention of recommending a $1,000 plan. In closing, the council said:

TO TEST THE MEMBERSHIP

In the opinion of the council there should be a flat burial benefit of $1,000 per member or a graded benefit ranging from $200 per member to $600 per member, according to length of membership. In the opinion of the council death benefits should not be made payable on the death of a member unless said member has been affiliated with the organization for at least six months.

If a graduated burial benefit of $200 to $600 were put into effect and the claims of our present members considered from the date of its adoption, allowing these benefits to new members six months after initiation, the same could be carried at the rate of $7.20 per year, or 60 cents per month. Under this plan all who were members at the time of its inauguration would be entitled to the full benefit of $600. New members of six months' to three years' membership, benefits $200. Three to five years' membership, $400. After five years' membership, benefits $600.

Articles appearing in the official magazine during the fiscal year show that there is a wide diversity of opinion on the part of the members who have thus far expressed themselves as to the wisdom and necessity for an insurance provision or for a mortuary provision greater in amount than that now provided. Comparatively, the discussion has been confined to a few members, and the

position of the great bulk of the membership is not known. A benefit providing for $1,000 at death, or a mortuary benefit of from $200 to $600 represents a most important undertaking, and it will be better to delay the enactment of it until we are sure of our ground. It may be well, therefore, to obtain the sentiment of the membership as to the insurance or mortuary benefit, and this can be easily accomplished on the ballot on which the laws enacted by the convention will be submitted to the referendum vote. The questions might take the following form:

Are you in favor of a mortuary benefit of $1,000 per member payable in case of death occurring six months after affiliation with the organization at an approximate cost of $12 per year?

Are you in favor of a mortuary benefit ranging from $200 to $600 graded according to length of membership from six months to five years, the cost to be approximately $7.20 per year?

Are you opposed to an insurance or mortuary benefit greater than that now paid?

The answers to the first two questions could be taken together as indicating a desire for some insurance scheme or mortuary benefit, and if the vote on these two questions exceeded the vote on the third question the first two questions could again be submitted at the biennial election of officers, which occurs next May, and the membership could then decide between the flat benefit of $1,000 and the graded benefit of from $200 to $600. Then the executive council could submit the necessary laws to the 1910 convention and these laws would in turn be submitted to the referendum for consideration and ratification or rejection. Thus the entire insurance idea or increased mortuary-benefit scheme would receive thorough discussion on the part of the membership, would be before the referendum three times and the final verdict could be taken as representative of the educated thought of the membership on the proposition as submitted.

It will be noted from the above that in figuring the cost of insurance on the propositions mentioned the cost given is just about the actual amount that would be paid out in benefits were either of them adopted. It is, of course, realized that there will be additional cost attached to the execution of the laws providing for the payment of the increased benefits in the way of preparing and keeping at headquarters a full list of our membership, which will be necessary for the perfect security of the organization. There would also be some extra expense attached for clerical work, office rent, etc. For this reason the executive council has not taken into consideration the $75 burial benefit now being paid and believes that under the new plan a portion of this amount should be set aside to pay the additional expenses and provide a reserve fund to guarantee our membership against additional cost, should there be an abnormal number of deaths in any year from pestilence, accident, or other causes. In other words, 5 cents per month per member of the amount now paid as per capita tax should go into a reserve or guaranty and administration fund.

Prior to the meeting of the delegates at St. Joseph, President Lynch appointed a committee to consider various plans to increase the mortuary benefit. This committee met at St. Joseph three days before the convention opened and during the week of the convention submitted a plan that was approved by the delegates and it was ordered that a special referendum vote be taken on the

proposition on February 10, 1910. This was defeated by a majority of 907 on a total vote of 33,643. The plan submitted, involving several amendments to the constitution and by-laws, shown by italics, was as follows:

Amend section 1, article ix, constitution, to read as follows:

ARTICLE IX—REVENUE AND FUNDS

SECTION 1. The revenue of the International Typographical Union shall be derived as follows: From dues, which shall be 35 cents per month per member; an additional one-half of 1 per cent assessment on earnings of members for old age pension fund, *and an additional one-half of 1 per cent assessment on earnings of members for the mortuary benefit fund;* from charters for subordinate unions, $5 per charter; from necessary supplies at prices to be fixed by law. International dues for each month shall be collected by subordinate unions, and shall be transmitted to the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union before the 20th of the succeeding month. Unions failing to comply with this provision shall be considered delinquent and debarred from benefits; *provided,* that unions located so far from headquarters as to make it impossible for their dues to reach there within the prescribed time shall not be considered delinquent if their remittances bear postmark date prior to the 15th of the succeeding month.

Amend section 3, article ix, constitution, to read as follows:

SEC. 3. The dues of the International Union shall be apportioned to the several funds as follows; Fifteen cents to the Union Printers Home fund, one-half of 1 per cent on earnings of members to the old age pension fund; *one-half of 1 per cent on earnings of members to the mortuary fund;* the balance to the general fund.

Amend section 4, article ix, constitution, to read as follows:

SEC. 4. The general fund shall be used to defray all expenses of the International Typographical Union, except disbursements from the pension fund, *the mortuary fund and the Home fund.*

Amend sections 6, 7 and 8 as to numbers.

Amend sections 14 and 15, article v, by-laws, to read as follows:

MORTUARY BENEFITS

SEC. 14. On the death of a member in good standing in a subordinate union, the president and secretary thereof shall immediately notify the secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, on a form provided for that purpose, accompanying such notification with the last working card or certificate of membership of the deceased member. The secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union, as soon as practicable after such notification, shall transmit to the president and secretary of such subordinate union the amount of mortuary benefit to which the beneficiary of the deceased member is entitled.

SEC. 15. No mortuary benefit claim shall be allowed unless the deceased was possessed of a current working card or certificate of membership within date at the time of death, nor shall a mortuary benefit claim be allowed if, at the time of death, the union of which deceased was a member was in arrears for per capita tax to the International Typographical Union.

SEC. 16. In case of the decease of a member holding a certificate of membership, the president and secretary of the nearest union shall act in the premises.

Add new sections as follows:

SEC. 17. In the event that no beneficiary is named as the person to whom

the mortuary benefit shall be paid, or if such beneficiary resides at a point where he or she can not take charge of the funeral, the International Typographical Union shall defray the expenses of the funeral out of the sum to which the heirs of the deceased member shall be entitled; and if no claim shall be presented to the International Typographical Union within six months, any remainder shall revert to the mortuary benefit fund of the International Typographical Union.

SEC. 18. The collection of the one-half of 1 per cent assessment for the mortuary benefit fund shall begin on the 1st of March, 1910.

SEC. 19. The payment of the death claims under this law shall begin on the 1st day of June, 1910, and the classification of members for the purpose of this fund shall be made according to their length of membership on the 1st of January, 1910.

SEC. 20. Any person who joins the International Typographical Union after the age of 50 years shall not be entitled to any greater mortuary benefit than $75.

Amend remaining sections as to numbers.

Amend section 5, by-laws, to read as follows:

SEC. 5. On the death of each member in good standing a death benefit shall be paid to the designated beneficiary in amount as follows:

For a membership of one year or less, $75.

For a continuous membership of over one year and not more than five years, $125.

For a continuous membership of over five years and not more than ten years, $175.

For a continuous membership of over ten years and not more than fifteen years, $275.

For a continuous membership of over fifteen years, $400.

Add new section as follows:

SEC. 6. The mortuary benefit fund shall be used for the purpose of disbursing mortuary benefits to the designated beneficiaries of deceased members.

LOS ANGELES TIMES AND PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

A proposition submitted by Delegate Rowe, of Los Angeles, suggesting that the conduct of the fight against the Los Angeles Times be delegated to the local union and that the executive council be instructed to render financial assistance created intense interest on the part of the delegates. The committee to which the proposition was referred reported it back with an unfavorable recommendation. The following is an excerpt from the committee's report:

We assembled at Parlor "B," Hotel Metropole, at 8 o'clock Tuesday, August 10, with five members of the committee present—Delegates Weakley (Kansas City), Callan (Philadelphia), Baker (Mobile), Williamson (Vicksburg), Gragg (Abilene). This meeting continued until the following morning at 2 o'clock.

Proposition 133, by Delegate Rowe, of Los Angeles, and Proposition 112, by Los Angeles Union, were taken up. Among those present beside the committee were Delegate Rowe (Los Angeles), Delegate White (San Francisco),

Messrs. Arthur A. Hay, Organizer McLernon and T. D. Fennessy. Matters bearing on the Los Angeles situation were presented in detail and were of voluminous proportions.

The following Wednesday at 2 P. M. your committee again met with all members present, including Delegates Bloom (Richmond) and Steep (Toronto). There were also present Messrs. Hay, McLernon, White and Delegate Rowe, of Los Angeles. Additional information was given your committee, after which the committee went into executive session to consider formally all of the matters placed before it.

In considering the Los Angeles situation carefully we find great lack of harmony to exist in that union; that factional feeling and bitterness appear to prevail to such a degree as to hamper the work of organization in Los Angeles. We also find that there has been a considerable increase in the membership of the union, and that there has been a corresponding increase in the amount of dues collected up to and including the past month of July.

We find that in round numbers there has been $156,000 expended during the past six years in Los Angeles, and that this has been used in paying strike benefits and organization work in the book and job branch, and in the conduct of the fight against the Los Angeles Times, and no showing has been made that the above amount has been spent otherwise than economically, judiciously and to the best interests of the local union, and to the International Union as a whole.

We recommend to this convention that the past aggressive policy of the executive council in the work at Los Angeles be continued, and that the executive council be instructed to extend every financial aid in its power to pursue the policy mentioned above, and that in pursuing this policy the executive council shall have such supervision over the expenditure of moneys as in its judgment seems proper.

The results attained in the Los Angeles field by Arthur A Hay, who has held the position of organizer under direction both of the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union, and also the work of the present organizer, Mr. McLernon, appear to be all that could reasonably be expected under the conditions and circumstances.

And in conclusion, so far as your committee can see, everything has been done and is being done by the executive council to better the conditions in Los Angeles, and we here quote from President Lynch's report to the Boston convention, and which we believe is more applicable to the present conditions:

"There is no cause for discouragement because of lack of complete success in our crusade against the Times. It was non-union for years, and it may take years to reclaim it. It is the most bitter, malignant and tireless enemy of organized labor with which we have to contend. It is indeed unfortunate that we have not more unanimity of action on the part of organized labor in Los Angeles, and especially among our own members, in our crusade against the Times. But in all these movements we experience this regrettable development, and we have to meet it as best we can. Some members of organized labor are prone to initiate a fight today, and look for a victory tomorrow. The more experienced, however, realize that nowadays a fight is a fight, and that the victory is with contestants whose cause is right, whose purse is the longest, and whose staying qualities are not capable of impairment."

The progress made in the general situation at Philadelphia is satisfactory, and while results in the Inquirer contest have not been of that degree of success which was anticipated at the beginning of the past fiscal year, yet on the whole your committee is of the opinion that the conditions are satisfactory. We therefore recommend that the executive council continue to render such financial assistance as it finds necessary.

The chairman of the Los Angeles Times committee said

that he voiced the unanimous sentiment of the committee when he asked that the convention go into the matter thoroughly. After a prolonged debate, in which Messrs. Hay and Fennessy, of Los Angeles, were permitted to participate, President Lynch took the floor and gave an extended history of the fight against the Times. At the conclusion of the president's remarks, the report of the committee was concurred in by a vote of 186 ayes, 8 noes.

ADDRESS OF COMMISSIONER KELLOGG

H. N. Kellogg, representative of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, was in attendance at the convention, and was invited to address the delegates. He said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Peace and good will still prevail between the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. This is principally due to our arbitration agreement. There have been many cases considered by the National Arbitration Board during the past year, and in some cities local feeling has at times become acute, but, thanks to our agreement and the respect paid to it by all parties concerned, the questions in dispute have finally been adjusted without any breaches and with practically no interruption of work or business. The National Arbitration Board at some of its sessions has found the problems presented so difficult of solution that its members have sometimes felt that agreements were impossible. Fortunately, however, in almost every case the knots have been untied and the snarls removed. I believe I am warranted in stating that the decisions reached have in almost every case been satisfactory to the local parties interested.

You are, of course, aware of the campaign which has been conducted by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association for the removal of the tariff on white paper, pulp, etc. Both your International officers and your subordinate unions have many times responded to requests for assistance, and your co-operation has, we believe, lent considerable strength to the movement, and been an important factor in the fight. The tariff bill has now become the law, and, though under it we do not obtain all that we asked for, we secure a substantial reduction in the duties. While the final result is far from being entirely satisfactory, we heartily appreciate the action of your organization and your officers, and wish to express our sincere thanks for what you and they have done.

In closing, I desire to also express our appreciation of the fairness and courtesy of your president and the other members of your executive council. We are convinced they have met the various questions presented in a spirit of fairness. We can not ask more.

I thank you for your kind attention and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you many times in the future.

AFTER THE CONVENTION

Officers, 1910-1911 — Under the provision of the law requiring referendum elections, on May 18, 1910, the

following officers were elected for the two-year term beginning November 1, 1910: President, James M. Lynch, Syracuse; first vice-president, George A. Tracy, San Francisco; second vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; third vice-president, Charles N. Smith, New York; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Hays, Minneapolis. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—James M. Lynch, Syracuse (president); Frank Morrison, Chicago; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland; T. W. McCullough, Omaha; Hugh Stevenson, Toronto. Trustees Union Printers Home—James M. Lynch, Syracuse; J. W. Hays, Minneapolis; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs; L. C. Shepard, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Anna C. Wilson, Washington; Michael Powell, Ottawa; Walter McKee, New York. Agent, George P. Nichols, Baltimore.

Convention at Minneapolis

[1910]—The fifty-sixth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order Monday, August 8, 1910, in Dreamland pavilion, Minneapolis, Minn., by President Henderson of the local union. Rev. M. M. Adams, an honorary member of Boston Typographical Union, invoked the divine blessing. Ralph Wheelock, private secretary to the governor of Minnesota, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the state. Alderman Williams, a union printer, acting for the absent mayor, extended greetings on behalf of the city of Minneapolis, and Wallace G. Nye, representing the Commercial Club, also extended greetings on behalf of that organization. Mayor Clayton, of St. Joseph, Mo., who made many friends during the sessions of the International Union at the previous convention, journeyed to Minneapolis and was on hand at the opening session, making the hit of the occasion with an address in his inimitable style. President Henderson welcomed the delegates and visitors on behalf

of the local union, President Lynch responding for the strangers present.

Secretary Hays read his report, showing that 251 credentials had been deposited by delegates. The president announced the names of temporary convention officers and appointed the various committees.

Ross S. Reynolds invited every one in attendance at the convention to be the guests of St. Paul Union on Tuesday, August 9th.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

In opening his annual address to the convention, President Lynch observed that another wonderful year in the history of the International Union had been concluded. The success that had attended efforts to improve conditions in the trade since the inauguration of the eight-hour workday had been pronounced. The membership had increased and was then beyond the 50,000 mark. The number of subordinate unions had also increased; industrial peace had quite generally prevailed; the finances of the organization were in good condition. Maintaining a policy of conservative action, dealing justly with those with whom the union was associated in a business capacity, resorting to radicalism only when that was necessary in order to achieve a just end, the union would continue to grow in strength, influence and power in the industrial world and would gradually improve conditions under which the individual member earned his livelihood.

Referring to the referendum, the president said that in 1898 the membership had enjoyed its first referendum election and that the union had gone through membership selection of the International officers every two years since the date mentioned. The president deprecated the actions of some individual members in conducting campaigns of vilification and falsehood and admonished the

delegates that the future standing and welfare of the organization demanded that campaigns should be conducted on a higher plane.

Organizing Work — The policy pursued for several years in connection with organizing work was reviewed. Industrial peace had been maintained with the exception of a very few instances; wages had been increased and hours reduced. These results had been brought about largely through the diplomacy and experience of organizers employed in the settlement of difficulties. It was argued that a trade union, like any other business institution, could not stand still—it must go forward or backward, and, if it is to go forward, then it must have trained agents to sell the goods which it has to offer—the labor of its members. It was pointed out that the work of an organizer could not be limited to the formation of new unions. In the past years this phase of the organizer's work had become a small part of his activities, his services as an organizer being frequently demanded for occasions like these:

First. A union presents a new scale. The proprietors refuse to sign the same. Local officers are unable to bring about a settlement and a strike involving the membership of the union is imminent. Then the president of the International is asked to "send an organizer immediately." He does so; the scale negotiations are brought to a successful conclusion and a strike that might have cost thousands of dollars is averted.

Second. The foreman of an office discharges a member. A chapel meeting is called and the member ordered reinstated. The foreman refuses to reinstate and again there is trouble in the air. Another hurry-up call for an organizer, with a satisfactory adjustment as the result of his visit.

Third. Members of union lose interest in its affairs and become apathetic to conditions, with the result that many fall in arrears and are slated for suspension. Efforts on the part of the union's officers fail to bring the desired revival of unionism. An organizer is sent. He puts the union on its feet, gets the delinquents to pay up, starts a label campaign and comes away leaving behind a virile local.

Fourth. For months, perhaps, a local union has been at work endeavoring to add to its membership the men employed in a non-union office, has them all "lined up," feels the office can be gained, but can not get an audience with the proprietor and asks for an outsider—an organizer—to close the deal. The organizer drops into town unheralded. The proprietor has no prejudices against the International Typographical Union representative, who gets a hearing and in many cases closes a contract.

FIFTH. Organizers act as the representatives of the International Typographical Union in arbitration proceedings. They look up illegal users of the label and force its surrender. In many jurisdictions they take up the violation of union rules and regulations, and as a result many proprietors are made to see the error of their way. In short, the organizer is one of the men "behind the guns." He is under the direction of the executive council, and is shifted hither and thither as occasion requires.

The foregoing are not imaginary cases. They occur every day and every week. The missions referred to the organizer and the results he accomplishes do not appear in his statements of expenses, but show at the end of the year when the figures indicating the progress of the organization are compiled and published.

Increased Mortuary Benefits — The defeat of the mortuary benefit proposition by the referendum, following the St. Joseph convention, apparently had not discouraged or dismayed the advocates of benefit features in connection with trade unions. President Lynch was especially optimistic in his view of the ultimate result of proposed legislation on the particular question of increased mortuary benefits. Referring to the subject in his address, the president said that one of the most astonishing results of trade union agitation was its effect on the trusts and corporations who employ thousands of wage earners and who strain every nerve in order to prevent the unionizing of their industries. They know that with trade union conditions they will be compelled to pay vastly greater sums in the way of wages, while the employes will secure betterments in the number of working hours, sanitary conditions, treatment, rules, etc. Continuing on this subject, the president said:

It is the old story of the exploitation of the individual toiler, who, because of his isolation, is unable to defend himself against the greedy and rapacious master. And when that master takes the form of associated capital as represented in the giant trusts and corporations the individual producer is nearly helpless. Notwithstanding this, the gospel of trade unionism spreads, and in order to offset its allurements and tie the wage earner more securely to the juggernaut that crushes out his individual initiative and ambition, capital as an employer is now offering pension systems, welfare developments and death benefit features. These so-called provisions for the benefit of employes are really intended, as has been outlined, to make of the wage earner a dependent cog in the machinery of his employer. Benefits are always predicated on length of service. The impression sought to be created in the employe's mind is that if he should for any reason sever connection with his employment, or be discharged, he would lose the benefits—the

intangible something which he hopes to achieve if he lives long enough or works long enough for the employer who offers the inducements.

If these benefit features are considered so valuable by capitalist employers, why should they not be equally valuable to the trade union, which makes conditions for the wage earner endurable? Hours and wages should not be the ultimate trade union goal. There is nothing that any society, fraternal or otherwise, can do for its member that the International Typographical Union, or any other strong international union, can not do for its member. The mortuary proposition submitted to referendum vote by the St. Joseph convention was defeated by a narrow margin. There were cast for the proposition 16,368 votes, and against the proposition 17,275 votes; a majority against of 907 votes. The large number of votes cast for and against the plan indicates the interest that was taken in the proposition. Its defeat was due to a lack of understanding of its provisions, and to objection to some of its minor features which, if the principle had been endorsed, could easily have been adjusted afterward. There is also a class of members holding insurance policies or membership in fraternal organizations paying death benefits that voted against the mortuary proposition in the belief that they were carrying all of the insurance they could finance, and regarding the proposed benefit from a purely selfish standpoint. Any such benefit is a selfish proposition, but should be considered in the light of an intelligent selfishness. The member who holds insurance in companies or fraternal societies is also interested in the strength and development of the typographical union. The money with which he pays the premiums on his insurance, or the dues to his fraternal organization, comes to him because of the wage scale that has been established by the International Typographical Union. Without the union his wages would be much lower than they are now. The scale he receives is in much greater excess of what he would receive without the union than the combined cost of his present insurance and the cost of the mortuary benefit that was so narrowly defeated by the referendum. Every member of the International Typographical Union is vitally interested in making the union strong; in knitting together its units; in providing benefits at a lower cost than they can be obtained elsewhere; in inculcating in the member's mind the belief that the union is his strongest protection and refuge.

Relations With Allied Trades — Referring to the relations of the International Union with the other crafts connected with the printing industry, and composing the Joint Conference Board, President Lynch submitted a comprehensive document covering the agreements existing between the printing trades unions from the time of the first working compact of any character that had been tried. To such readers of this history as may be interested in the position of the International Typographical Union toward the other printing trade unions a careful reading of the following report submitted to the Minneapolis convention is suggested:

The executive council covers in its report the meetings of the Joint Con-

ference Board held since the adjournment of the St. Joseph convention. Thus far the joint agreement has worked well. Differences have occurred, some of them of intensity and bitterness, but the Joint Conference Board still continues under the agreement, and if it is not disrupted will make for the strengthening of each of the five international unions that compose it. Your representatives in the Joint Conference Board, while reluctant to exercise their full voting strength, have, nevertheless, done so on several occasions during the past year in order to protect, not only the interests of the organization they represented, but what they believed to be the best interests of the printing trades industry. It is but natural that the unions of less numerical strength should desire to exercise greater control and power in the Joint Conference Board than they now possess, but when it is considered that the membership of the International Typographical Union outnumbers the combined membership of our allies by many thousands, it is apparent that we are justified in exercising our right of final word in the policies that shall prevail, even though friction and ill feeling may develop because of that determination. It is to our interest that each of our allies shall become strong, but that strength must not be had solely at our expense and to our undoing.

Thus far nearly all the questions arising between the five international unions have been adjusted in the Joint Conference Board. At the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, however, the delegates representing the International Photo Engravers Union brought up a question of jurisdiction, which was referred to the grievance committee and by that committee to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, which later found in favor of our contention. This incident related to the use of Rouse blocks, the mounting of the shells on these blocks. It was held by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor that this work could be performed in the composing room. The claim of the photo engravers was that it must go to the photo engraving department in the first instance, or that the photo engravers of right must do the work if done in the composing rooms. My proposition was that all work in the composing rooms connected with the issuance of the newspaper is our work. That was the position I maintained at the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, the position that I maintained before the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and the position I maintain at the present time and that I believe should be insisted upon and emphasized by the Minneapolis convention. There can be but one jurisdiction in composing rooms, and one union operating the composing rooms, and that jurisdiction belongs to and the union is the International Typographical Union of North America.

LABEL OWNERSHIP—VOTING POWER

Some of our allies have agitated joint ownership of the allied label, and equal voting power in the Joint Conference Board. This is further explained in the report of the executive council. The questions have caused some bitterness. My address before the Columbus convention of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union sets forth the history of our various coalitions, and my position on the subject in dispute. I said:

AT THE PRESSMEN'S CONVENTION

"It affords me great pleasure to have this opportunity to appear before your convention and to extend to the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and its duly accredited legislative body the felicitations and well wishes of the International Typographical Union.

"As to the relations between your International organization and the

great trade union that I represent, these have been uniformly satisfactory and amicable with the possible exception of the disposition of certain matters before recent meetings of the Joint Conference Board, as provided for in the existing agreement between the five international unions of the printing trade. As this subject has been given prominence by your president in recent addresses before conventions of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, perhaps I may better devote myself at once to a discussion of this phase of our relationship, as I am sure that it is this phase that at the present time is of the greatest interest to this convention.

"In what I may say, no offense is intended, and I trust that none will be taken, for it is my sole object to secure a continuance of the Joint Conference Board in some mutually acceptable form, as I believe that the history of the board proves the statement that under this form of agreement we have made our greatest progress and achieved our greatest success in the adjustment and settlement of questions that formerly caused wide difference of opinion and intense hostilty.

"Prior to the abrogation of the Tripartite Agreement, the questions that are agitating the five international unions today were given much attention by the three international unions then in existence. The Tripartite Agreement included the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. In order that some understanding might be arrived at, the convention of the International Typographical Union held in Syracuse in 1898 suggested a conference between representatives of the three organizations, and this conference was held on January 10, in 1899, in the city of Pittsburgh. It appears from the minutes of this conference that a thorough discussion of the subject was had, but no definite conclusion was arrived at.

THE BALTIMORE CONFERENCE

"In March, 1901, another conference was held in Baltimore, Md. At that gathering rules for the government of local allied trades councils were adopted and regulations under which the allied label might be issued were agreed to. This meeting was attended by representatives of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. The agreement reached was never made effective. It was intended mainly for the government of local allied councils, and its only international feature was in the provision for a joint board of appeals. It was set forth that 'all rules enacted by the joint board of appeals for the government of allied trades councils shall be adopted by the unanimous vote of the board, subject to the approval of the executive councils of the high contracting parties to the agreement.' Thus it preserved in its fullest sense the complete autonomy of the three international unions, and placed it within the power of the executive body of each of these unions to pass upon and ratify or nullify the proceedings of the joint board of appeals. But as has been pointed out, this agreement was never made effective.

"The Tripartite Agreement was a prolific mother of trouble in local allied councils; it was a creator of strife and dissension, and dissatisfaction with it became so intense that our 1901 convention held in Birmingham in that year directed its abrogation, and this action was approved by our referendum. After this the relations between the three international unions remained in a more or less chaotic and unsatisfactory condition, and resulted in friction between two of the international unions at the Scranton convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1901 and at the New Orleans convention held the following year. At the New Orleans convention, however, at a conference of

representatives of the three international unions, it was decided to hold a further conference in Indianapolis, under the following agreement:

"PROPOSED OUTLINE OF ACTION FOR AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, THE INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANTS' UNION, AND THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BOOKBINDERS.

"In the matter of distribution of the allied printing trades label, the International Typographical Union to hold and issue the labels, under a new agreement that may be made. There shall be a method of agreement under the following plan:

"That locally the constitution of the allied printing trades councils shall be upon the membership basis, and in the granting of the label the consent of each affiliated body shall be obtained.

"Should there be a deadlock on any point, not specifically covered in the articles of agreement, that the matter shall be referred to a national council composed of representatives of the bodies to the agreement, the composition of which shall be

"Two members from the International Typographical Union,

"One member from the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and

"One member from the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

"In the event of failure of this council to agree, that they select the fifth member, the decision of this council, so constituted, to be final.

"The rules adopted at the Baltimore conference to be the basic method of agreement subject to such changes as may be made at a conference of representatives of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, to be held in Indianapolis at such a date as may be selected later.

"It is further understood that nothing herein contained shall be construed as binding the Indianapolis conferees or the international organizations to the adoption of any method or rule herein outlined.

"JAMES M. LYNCH,
"WILLIAM M. GARRETT,
"MARTIN P. HIGGINS,
"THEODORE F. GALOSKOWSKY,
"JAMES J. FREEL,
"L. P. STRAUBE,
"ED. W. PALMER,
"R. GLOCKLING."

THE INDIANAPOLIS MEETING

"The conference was held at Indianapolis in January, 1903, with representatives of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union in attendance. At that time the agreement at present in force, minus the amendments and modifications that have since been made thereto, was formulated, and was signed and accepted by the presidents of the four organizations, to become effective on its ratification as a whole, by the proper authorities of the organizations signatory thereto. It was so ratified and subsequently went into effect.

"This agreement provided for a joint board of appeals, consisting of three representatives from the International Typographical Union, one representative from the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, one representative from the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and one

representative from the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union. It was stipulated that

"'In the event of the representative of any of the parties to this agreement voting with the International Typographical Union on an appeal, and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders being jointly dissatisfied with the verdict, the two last named organizations shall have the right to call for a seventh disinterested party, who shall be unanimously agreed upon to act as arbitrator, whose decision shall be final.'

"At a subsequent session this provision was, by unanimous vote, eliminated.

"The question of the photo engravers becoming a party to the agreement was briefly discussed; the following was adopted as defining the position of the joint board of appeals on this subject:

"'*Resolved,* That when a charter is granted by the American Federation of Labor to the National or International Union of Photo Engravers, the latter organization shall, upon application, be made a party to the agreement and be entitled to representation on the joint board of appeals. On such admission, section 1 of the agreement shall be changed by inserting the word "four" in lieu of "three" where reference is made to the number of representatives from the International Typographical Union, and the name of the new organization shall be added thereto and allotted one representative.'

"All of the requirements of the resolution above mentioned were met by the International Photo Engravers' Union in August, 1904, and the International Typographical Union was thereafter entitled to four votes, its present allotment.

"At the meeting of the joint board of appeals held in Indianapolis on January 13, 1905, it was unanimously decided that the name should be changed to the 'Joint Conference Board,' and at this meeting the provision relative to the course of procedure that might be had in case one of the organizations voted with the International Typographical Union was eliminated, and each of the five organizations then a party to the joint agreement was placed in an equal position as to the effect its vote might have in determining any question before the board.

POWERS OF THE JOINT BOARD

"Under the agreement, the international unions party thereto surrendered some of their powers, or delegated some of their powers, to the Joint Conference Board. The Joint Conference Board was made supreme in regard to those matters over which jurisdiction was conceded to it by the international unions. Numerous meetings of the Joint Conference Board were held, and harmony prevailed until the meeting held in Toronto on November 3, 4 and 5, 1909, when the San Francisco allied council case came before the joint board for consideration and decision. Then occurred radical disagreement, and for one of the few times in the history of the board, when an important question was up, the International Typographical Union felt compelled to use its voting strength to protect the interests of one of its local unions. In this position it was joined by the representative of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, and a majority of the board enacted a decision which was not at that time and it is presumed has not been since acceptable to the minority. At the following meeting, and the last that has been held thus far, convening in Cincinnati on March 7, 8 and 9, 1910, the estrangement occurring at the Toronto session was emphasized, and evidently caused considerable resentment on the part of the minority.

"It had previously been proposed that the agreement should be amended so as to bring about joint ownership of the label. The International Typo-

graphical Union, seeing very little difference between joint ownership and joint control, raised no objection to the proposed amendment, and the proposition was referred to an Indianapolis attorney, who at the Cincinnati meeting submitted his decision, which was later given further consideration by the attorney selected by the joint board in conference with attorneys representing the affiliated international unions.

"The Tripartite Agreement was not satisfactory nor successful. The Pittsburgh conference failed to agree on anything that was of material value. The Baltimore conference evolved a proposition which was not made effective, and the Tripartite Agreement was subsequently abrogated by the International Typographical Union.

"The agreement now in effect was formulated in Indianapolis in January, 1903, and up to the meeting of the Joint Conference Board held in Toronto, which has been alluded to here, was a most successful combination. Joint ownership of the label has not been combatted by the organization I have the honor to represent, but I understand now that the agreement submitted by the Indianapolis attorney selected by the board is not satisfactory to some of our allies, inasmuch as it does not provide for equal representation and voting strength.

THE RULE OF THE MAJORITY

"The International Typographical Union has a membership of more than 50,000, nearly 20,000 more than the combined membership of our allies. We feel that in any agreement that is arrived at, our greater interests should be given consideration, and that we should be accorded at least equal voting strength until the combined membership of the allies exceeds our membership. We have never used our voting power except when we believed it absolutely necessary in order not only to protect our interests, but to protect the interests of all of the unions making up the Joint Conference Board; for if local allied councils will not give adherence to their own laws and to the laws formulated by the Joint Conference Board, then I submit that it is imperatively necessary for the well-being of each of the international unions and the future of the Joint Conference Board itself, that the recalcitrant, refractory local allied council should be made to respect the statutes that have been enacted for its government.

"A comparison of membership on the basis of per capita tax paid to the American Federation of Labor for its fiscal year, ended October 31, 1909, shows that the International Typographical Union paid tax on an average membership for the year of 45,500; the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union on an average membership of 17,800; the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, on an average membership of 3,500; the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, on an average membership of 7,100, and the International Photo Engravers' Union, on an average membership of 3,200, showing that at that time we had an excess in membership over the combined membership of our allies of nearly 14,000. But it may be argued that while our membership is larger, yet this membership is not all employed in jurisdictions where the allied label is used. This may be answered by the statement that the local jurisdiction in which the typographical union is the only union of the printing trade today may have a union of another printing craft tomorrow, and an allied council the next day, so that all of the laws governing the allied council jurisdictions of today are liable to apply tomorrow in jurisdictions where the allied label is not now in evidence. However, admitting that all of our members are not employed in allied jurisdictions, let us make further comparison. I am submitting herewith a table showing the membership of each of our unions in allied trades council jurisdictions, as reported by our International secretary-treasurer for the fiscal

year ending April 30, 1909, and the membership in good standing of the same unions paying us per capita tax for the month of May, 1910. [The table is omitted.—Ed.]

WHAT THE FIGURES SHOW

"The foregoing shows that on April 30, 1909, we had a greater membership working in jurisdictions in which the allied label is used than the combined membership of our allies on the 31st day of October following. We have today, as the statement shows and I believe the figures will prove, a greater membership working in allied label jurisdictions than the combined membership of our allies.. And it must be borne in mind that some of the locals holding charters from our allied international unions are not located in jurisdictions in which the allied label is used. On any basis from which the subject can be considered, we are entirely justified in asking at least equal representation on the Joint Conference Board.

"The Joint Conference Board was organized mainly for the adjustment of difficulties between the international unions, often serious in their nature, for example, the present threatened dispute, and of local differences that formerly annoyed and sometimes disrupted local allied councils, and for the enactment of laws general in their nature for the government of local councils and in the issuance of the label. That the joint board has been a success in this connection can not be disputed. I believe that all disputes arising between the five international unions of the printing trade should be adjusted within the Joint Conference Board, and I am strongly of the opinion that the exercise of patience on the part of all of the international unions making up the Joint Conference Board will yet result in mutually acceptable, amicable relations.

FEDERATION PRINTING TRADES SECTION

"It has been suggested that if the International Typographical Union does not accede to the demand for equal voting power in the Joint Conference Board, application will be made thereafter by certain international unions to the American Federation of Labor for the formation of a printing trades department of the American Federation of Labor. Even if such a department is organized, I am still of the opinion that the International Typographical Union will be in a position to secure fair treatment and fair representation; that it will be able to protect its interests. But I am opposed to the formation of a printing trades department of the American Federation of Labor for many important reasons. I am opposed to making the International Typographical Union or any of the allied international unions subordinate to the American Federation of Labor. Under the rules of the latter organization governing departments, the organization of a printing trades department would practically place the five international unions in a subordinate position, for the reason that the business of the department would have to be reported to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and could be reviewed by that council or by the federation convention. We have been in existence for more than sixty years, we have for all this time maintained complete autonomy, and we do not propose to now surrender that proud distinction.

CONSIDER THE CONSEQUENCES

"I have tried to set forth the history of the various agreements, and the status of the present agreement, and the disputes that have arisen under it. I sincerely trust that before any action is taken that will jeopardize the joint agreement, the results that may follow shall have careful consideration and due weight. We do not want warfare with our allies. We believe that better results will be forthcoming if we have joint effort along trade union lines. We know that in any differences that may arise the burden will eventually fall

on the member—not on the officers who may be responsible for the contention. Nevertheless, if we are forced into the position where we must defend our interests, where we must meet opposition, strife and friction, we will do the best we can to preserve our strength and stability.

"It has occurred to me that if the headquarters of our international unions were located in the same city, there would be more frequent opportunity for conference, and that contentions which eventually loom large, with prompt treatment might never get beyond the initial conference stage.

"I can not predict what action our Minneapolis convention, which will be held in August this year, will take. The convention will consider the proposed agreement that has been designed to supplant the present joint agreement, and will instruct its officers as to the course which they shall pursue.

"I don't propose, as has been done, to anticipate the action of our convention. All of the facts will be submitted to that convention, and its judgment will only be arrived at after full consideration of all of the elements that go to make up our present differences."

Health Campaign — A campaign for better sanitary conditions in composing rooms had been aggressively waged during the year. Thousands of tuberculosis pamphlets had been distributed both to the general public and to the membership. It had brought good results. Many old composing rooms had been remodeled and better sanitary conditions established, while many new composing rooms had been constructed with modern ventilating and sanitary appliances. The president asserted that the union could prolong the average life of its members materially if working conditions were made as they should be.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Hugo Miller submitted an extensive report covering the operations of the Typographia during the year. He said that a goodly number of subordinate unions had fallen in line with the onward march of the International Typographical Union for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions. At Milwaukee the book and job scale had been raised and a three-year contract signed. At Columbus, Ohio, the Typographia had secured an increase in its scale for day work, although one German daily had suspended publication. Rochester Typographia had made a demand for an increase of $2 a week, but had compromised on a $1 raise.

At New York city the newspaper scale was raised $1 a week, and after this had been accomplished the book and job offices also raised the scale in the same proportion. Davenport, Iowa, had obtained an increase over the old scale. A strike had occurred at Buffalo on the German daily papers to enforce a demand for increased wages, and the union had been successful. St. Paul Typographia and Indianapolis Typographia had each presented revised scales, including increases, which had been compromised satisfactorily. Typographia No. 8, of Newark, also secured an increase. St. Louis Typographia had raised its book and job scale to the figure obtained by the English union. In Chicago, the Abendpost had raised its scale $2 a week. Work in the German branch was much better than during the previous year and most of the members had steady employment.

Mailers — Third Vice-President Charles N. Smith, for the mailers, submitted the most comprehensive and satisfactory report concerning the welfare of that craft ever presented to a convention up to that time. The document was a complete review of the operations of the various mailers' unions during the year. In concluding his report Vice-President Smith said: "There are a few unsightly spots in my report, but on the whole I was treated fairly well by all those with whom I came in contact, although none treated the mailers' affairs in such fair and square manner as did the executive council of the International Typographical Union, and I take this means to publicly thank the members of the council for their amicable attitude."

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — At the outset Secretary-Treasurer Hays submitted a table of receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year ended May 31, 1910, showing a total of $518,419.98 as being received from all sources, with expenditures of $417,998.76. The balance

on hand on the date above mentioned was $359,149.69, of which $81,553 was in the general fund, and $277,596.69 in the old age pension fund. The special assistance and benefit expenditures for the year were $28,728.43. The expenses of the commission on supplemental trade education, copyright law representative, eight-hour presentation committee, label advertising, meetings of the National Arbitration Board, Joint Conference Board, tuberculosis campaign, etc., were shown to have been $14,306.84, and the money paid to organizers and officers engaged in organization work was $35,010.96. The general expenditures of the organization outside of those credited to the executive council or defense, the Home and old age pension funds, reached a total of $60,145.05. The 15 cents per month paid by each member toward the support of the Home amounted during the year to $86,051.90.

Mortuary Benefits — Burial benefit and mortuary tables were given indicating that 574 benefits were paid during the year, the largest number, with one exception, since the death benefit was established. The death rate for the year was 1.19 per cent of the average membership, or a little more than 11 per 1,000. The average death rate since the establishment of the benefit was 1.30 per cent—13 per 1,000. The average age of members who passed away during the year was 46.7 years. The secretary-treasurer advocated a graduated burial benefit by the collection of an additional 25 cents per month per member, the amounts paid to be as follows: $50 for a membership of one year or less; $100 for a membership of over one year and not more than two years; $150 for a membership of over two years and not more than three years; $200 for a membership of over three years and not more than five years; $250 for a membership of over five years.

It was asserted that this plan could be adopted without fear of failure; in fact, it was thought that a benefit of $250 on the death of a member in good standing, regardless of the length of his membership, could be paid with this assessment.

The relation of the benefits paid to the receipts for the year was most interesting. This sum, which was paid to the local unions as strike benefits, special assistance, death benefits, old age pensions, Home fund, etc., amounted to $267,712.89, or 51.6 per cent of the total money paid into the treasury.

Membership — Under the heading "Our Membership," Secretary-Treasurer Hays said, in part:

> The receipts for per capita tax show an average paying membership ot 47,848 for the twelve months ended May 31, 1910. This is an increase of 2,927 over the year 1909 and 4,108 over 1908. Never before in a like period—twelve months—has the International Union collected per capita tax on such a large average number of members.
>
> Even a better showing is made in the last five months of the fiscal year, during which we have been working under the register system of members. The January collections of per capita tax represented 50,281 members; February, 46,776; March, 53,553; April, 50,146; May, 52,212; an average of 50,593 for the five months. At the close of business on May 31, 1910, register numbers were held by 52,165 members, of which 49,976 were affiliated with local unions, the remainder being in unorganized towns and in possession of traveling cards.

The growth in the number of new unions organized during the year was indicated by the following figures:

Subordinate unions June 1, 1909	653
Chartered during the year ended May 31, 1910	52
Total	705
Suspended and surrendered	21
Number of local unions May 31, 1910	684
Increase in number of unions	31
These subordinate bodies were thus divided among the several crafts:	
Typographical unions—English	631
Typographical unions—German-American	22
Mailers' unions	28
Newspaper writers' unions	3
Total	684

Bonding Local Officers — It was asserted by the secretary-treasurer that although the law relating to the

bonding of local officers had been in operation only since the 1st of January, 1910, its good effects were apparent. Some of the smaller unions objected to the requirements on account of the trivial amount of money in their treasuries, and it was suggested that this might be overcome by the International establishing a bonding department. On this subject, the secretary-treasurer said:

> It has been suggested on several occasions that the International Union arrange for what is commonly called a "blanket bond" covering all local officers. This was the original plan of the executive council, which was defeated and the present law adopted. However, it is not too late to change to that system if deemed advisable to do so. The present law is working satisfactorily and there is no great need of a change. The law should be a little more stringent and provide a penalty for non-compliance therewith.

Receipts and Benefits — A series of tables were presented, occupying sixteen full pages of the report, showing the payments of each subordinate union to the general, old age pension and Home funds, the burial benefits and old age pensions drawn by each union and the money received by them for strike benefits and special assistance. On the subject of strikes, it was shown by the secretary-treasurer that but fifteen small disturbances occurred during the year.

Old Age Pension Fund — A large section of the report of the secretary-treasurer was devoted to the old age pension fund. A summary of the receipts and expenditures for the year follows:

RECEIPTS

June 1, 1909—Balance in fund		$159,767 17
May 31, 1910—One-half of 1 per cent assessment		228,014 72
May 31, 1910—Interest		5,139 82
May 31, 1910—Pensions returned		72 50
Total		$392,994 21

EXPENDITURES

Paid to pensioners	$106,740 00	
Clerical work	2,473 65	
Books and printing	133 75	
Installation and maintenance of register system	6,050 12	
Total		115,397 52
Balance in fund May 31, 1910		$277,596 69

During the twelve months covered by the above table the average membership of the International Typographical Union upon which per capita tax was collected was 47,848. The receipts from the pension assessment averaged $19,001.22—39.7 cents per member per month, or $4.76 per member per year. These figures mean that the total earnings of the membership during the year aggregated $45,602,944—$953 per member, based on the average paying membership for the year. This is a much better showing than was made last year, when the earnings averaged $897 per member on a membership of 44,921. I said last year "no other American trade union can show an equal average earning capacity." The figures of this year demonstrate the International Typographical Union to be superior, as regards the average wages of its members, to all other organized trades, no matter where located, with an equal membership.

Since the establishment of the pension fund and up to May 31, 1910, 796 applications for the pension had been filed; 647 in the first and 149 in the last fiscal year. Of this number 52 petitions were disapproved, 4 were withdrawn, 2 removed from the list and action upon 15 was pending. Deaths to the number of 81 occurred among the pensioners, leaving 642 pensioners on the roll on May 31.

An analysis of the ages of the pension applicants develops the notable fact that the average age of the 796 applicants is 66.4 years. Of the total number, 523 are between 60 and 70 years; 241 are septuagenarians; 30 are octogenarians; one is a nonagenarian, and one withdrawn was less than 60 years of age.

Of the future of the old age pension fund, the secretary-treasurer said:

The pension law has now been in operation twenty-six months, during which time pensions have been paid for ninety-two weeks—forty weeks in the fiscal year of 1909 and fifty-two in that of 1910. In the past twelve months there was a net increase of 100 in the number of members on the pension roll. Notwithstanding this marked increase in the number of pensioners, the receipts of the fund were far in excess of the demands thereon. Should the number of pensioners increase at the rate of 100 per year, we will have practically 1,000 pensioners in three years. The revenue of the fund will support that number without touching the reserve if the collections on the assessment are as large in succeeding years as in the past. Since the assessment is on percentage basis, the revenue of the fund may be seriously decreased by dulness of business, a panic or other unforeseen conditions. We can depend upon the number of pensioners increasing year by year. This is proven by the experience of foreign trade unions operating a benefit of this character. How rapid the increase will be one can not predict with certainty, but it is believed the increase will be about like that of the past year.

In the face of these facts—a rapidly growing pension list and an uncertain revenue—great care must be taken in handling the pension law. No doubt amendments having in view a broader distribution of the pension will come before the next convention. The effect of these amendments, if offered and adopted, can not be estimated, and we should consider well any proposition which has for its purpose a large increase in the number of pensioners. The list has grown rapidly—it will continue to do so.

Among the principal complaints against the pension law is the percentage assessment. It is contended by many members that all should pay an equal amount to the fund, since all are entitled to the same benefits therefrom. This argument has some strength. As between the two alternatives—broaden the pension law or make the assessment a flat rate of 35 cents per month—I

should advise the latter course, because we can estimate with some degree of accuracy the result, and there is no way by which it can be determined whether or not the present assessment would be sufficient should the pension law be extended. The old age pension is our greatest benefit. Let us guard it carefully and make no mistakes which may impair the stability of the fund or render it burdensome upon the membership.

The secretary-treasurer concluded his report with comments on the official magazine, the register system, the manufacture and distribution of labels and presented a table showing the number of members of each subordinate union and the amount of money in the treasuries of the local organizations.

The Executive Council — The report of the executive council opened with a document drawn up by competent attorneys, intended for governing the joint ownership of the allied printing trades label, which subject had been gone into at great length during the year by the Joint Conference Board. The council asked for instructions from the convention as to how far it should go on the question of joint ownership of the label or the change of representation and voting strength in the Joint Conference Board.

The minutes of the several sessions of the National Board of Arbitration held during the year were included in the council's report, together with amendments to the agreement and a list of all newspapers parties to the compact.

During the year the council was compelled to take a stand on the question of relief of sick members which had not altogether satisfied some subordinate unions. A negative decision was made when assistance was asked for certain members who were eligible neither to the old age pension nor to admittance to the Home.

Many requests for financing label campaigns instituted by subordinate unions had been received during the year. The council had refused these requests, giving as its reason that the International Union, not having provided

funds for such purposes, the council could not finance the propositions.

Referring to the mortuary benefit proposition, the council said that it was strongly of the opinion that a majority of the members desired an increased death or funeral benefit. The question was one of deep interest to all, and while the council did not desire to go on record as making any special recommendation, it was urged upon the delegates and the membership that the entire subject be studied so that it might be worked out for the advancement of the best interests of the membership of the International Union.

Other features of the council's report included a review of the old age pension system, the United Hatters' strike, matters regarding Los Angeles, enhanced value of union membership, the success of the campaign to defeat increased rates on second-class mail, the Journal as second-class mail matter and printing corner cards on envelopes by the government.

Reports from twenty-six organizers furnished interesting reading for the delegates and membership at large. A glance at these reports shows that the work of the organizers was of great benefit and proved the necessity of at all times keeping competent men on guard to protect the interests of the International Union.

The report of the trustees of the Union Printers Home contained the minutes of the annual meeting and also that of the Home corporation, as well as the report of the secretary-treasurer and the superintendent. The Home secretary-treasurer showed that the receipts for the fiscal year were $122,923.42, and the expenditures $103,366.88, leaving a balance on hand of $19,556.54. In this was included payment for the construction of an addition to the main building. The admission committee considered 119 petitions during the year, ninety-one of which were

approved, twenty-five disapproved, one withdrawn and two applicants died while their petitions were pending. Petitions disapproved on advice of the Home physician numbered twenty, and five were ineligible for admission. The report of the superintendent covered all financial transactions during the year, improvements to buildings and grounds, mortality statement, tubercular patients, names of members in the Home, report of Home physician and a list of members admitted during the year. The average number of residents at the institution during the year was 129, and the average cost per week per resident was $7.66.

INCREASED MORTUARY BENEFITS AGAIN DEFEATED

Notwithstanding the urgent recommendations of the president and the executive council, the Minneapolis convention failed to adopt a plan for increasing burial benefits satisfactory to the membership at large. In lieu of several propositions looking toward an increase or a change in the law relating thereto the convention adopted the following, which was submitted to a referendum vote of the membership:

For a membership of one year or less, $50.

For a continuous membership of over one year and not more than two years, $100.

For a continuous membership of two years and not more than three years, $150.

For a continuous membership of over three years and not more than five years, $200.

For a continuous membership of over five years, $250.

It was proposed to provide the funds for the payment of the graduated burial benefit by collecting 25 cents per member per month. The subject was fully discussed in the report of the secretary-treasurer and the plan was thought to be entirely feasible, the only question to be

determined by each member was whether or not he desired to pay $3 per year for a burial benefit of $250.

There were several propositions before the convention having for their object the collection of a stipulated amount for the pension fund in lieu of the percentage system originally adopted. In the belief that dues should be collected either entirely on a percentage or on a flat basis, the convention amended the law so as to provide for the collection of $1 per member per month, divided as follows: Per capita tax, 35 cents; Journal subscription, 5 cents; for the pension fund, 35 cents; for the burial fund, 25 cents.

This amendment and the proposed graduated burial benefit plan was submitted to the referendum as one proposition, as the adoption of one was contingent upon the adoption of the other. Probably the weak point in the proposition and the factor that contributed largely to its defeat was the plan embodied of collecting all dues on a flat basis. It was argued that this would have a tendency to increase the dues in the smaller unions having exceptionally low scales. In the larger towns, where scales were higher, the dues would be decreased. Whether this was the real cause of defeat, of course, can not be positively asserted, but in the vote of more than 30,000 a majority of 203 was cast against the proposition.

OTHER LEGISLATION

Aside from the proposed constitutional amendment increasing the mortuary benefits, two other propositions were submitted to the referendum, the first providing an increase in salary for the president and secretary-treasurer from $2,000 to $3,000 each per year. This proposition was submitted by the laws committee and adopted by the convention in lieu of twelve propositions offered by delegates dealing with the same subject. The referendum

majority against the proposition was 7,353. The only amendment that received the approval of the referendum was a proviso added to section 7, article vii, stipulating that it should be the duty of the Home agent to attend at least one meeting of the board of trustees during his term of office.

Amendments to the by-laws included a proposition that all members voting for International officers in the biennial elections must personally cast their ballots; that all appeals to the convention shall be in printed form, and shall contain in full all of the papers and evidence on which the decision of the executive council was based, together with said decision, and appellant shall furnish a sufficient number of copies of his appeal to supply each delegate in attendance at the convention with one copy thereof. The general laws were amended permitting the executive council to extend the jurisdiction of subordinate unions, with a proviso that the petitioning union makes satisfactory showing of its ability to properly supervise the additional territory and enforce its scale and rules in the offices operating therein. The law requiring fiduciary officers of local unions to be bonded was amended by adopting a penalty clause for failing to comply with its provisions. The general law providing for registration of members by the International secretary-treasurer was amended so as to require each member to furnish, on a blank provided for his use, the date of his birth, the date of initiation, and such other statistics as are necessary to show clearly the length of his continuous membership. It was also recommended to local unions not to admit applicants under twenty years of age to full membership in the union. Another amendment to the general laws provided that local unions shall furnish the Typograpical Journal to registered apprentices within their jurisdiction and to graduated apprentices, when initiated, a typo-

graphical button. The law stipulating that the label shall not be granted to a union the scale of which was below $12 a week of not more than forty-eight hours, was amended, increasing the amount to $14.

Old Age Pension Law Amended — Perhaps the most important legislation of the convention was the modification of section 6, article v, by-laws, which governs the conditions under which pensions may be granted. There were many amendments submitted to the convention seeking a change in the old age pension law. The committee on laws submitted a substitute for all of these propositions, which was adopted. This proposition was substantially as follows: Any member of twenty years' continuous membership, at whatever age, who is totally disabled and who is denied admission to the Home, after applying, shall be entitled to receive the pension. Also any member who has reached the age of 70 years and who has been in continuous good standing for a period of ten years shall be entitled to receive the pension.

JOINT OWNERSHIP ALLIED LABEL

For some time prior to the Minneapolis convention dissatisfaction had been expressed by representatives and members of several unions affiliated with the International Typographical Union in the Joint Conference Board because of the ownership of the allied printing trades council union label by the International Typographical Union. It was finally agreed by the representatives of the International Typographical Union on the board that if a workable and safe plan of joint ownership could be evolved they would submit it to the convention for consideration and action. Accordingly an attorney was selected by the Joint Conference Board for the purpose of determining whether such a plan would be feasible and, if so, he to draft the necessary agreement.

This attorney consulted with the attorneys of the different international unions interested and they collectively determined that joint ownership could be brought about only in one way, and accordingly a document was drawn up on the lines suggested by these attorneys. The proposed new agreement was submitted to the Minneapolis convention and referred to the committee on allied trades relations. During the convention week representatives of several of the allied trades unions appeared before the delegates and discussed the proposed new agreement. Martin M. Hugg, attorney for the International Typographical Union, also addressed the delegates, explaining the manner in which the attorneys reached their conclusion, and stated positively that the plan presented would solve the question. It appeared, however, from a review of the remarks made by some of the representatives of the allied trades that joint ownership of the label was not the only purpose of the agitation for a new agreement. The question of voting strength on the board was also a matter of concern to several of the allied trades unions. The position taken by President Lynch, however, that the International Typographical Union, by reason of its large membership, could not be expected to place itself in a position whereby, by reason of a combination of voting strength on the part of the smaller unions, the interests of the International Typographical Union would be jeopardized, was stoutly maintained by the convention. The new agreement abolishing the Joint Conference Board and creating an International Allied Printing Trades Association, as recommended by the attorneys, was adopted by the convention, together with an introductory resolution offered by the committee, as follows:

Resolved, By the members of the International Typographical Union in convention assembled:

FIRST. That it is the intention and desire to become mem-

bers of the International Allied Printing Trades Association and that they do hereby adopt the constitution of said association hereto attached and made a part hereof, and agree to abide by all the laws and regulations embodied in said constitution or which may be hereafter duly enacted.

SECOND. That they do hereby choose and appoint the president, the first and second vice-presidents and secretary-treasurer as members of the board of governors of said International Allied Printing Trades Association.

THIRD. That the executive council be and it is hereby authorized and empowered to take all necessary action to surrender to and vest in said International Allied Printing Trades Association all rights in and to the present allied printing trades label, and to take all necessary and proper steps to effectuate and carry out the letter and spirit of this resolution.

Following the adjournment of the Minneapolis convention and before the proposed new agreement was submitted to the referendum, at a meeting of the Joint Conference Board held at Baltimore, December 10, 11, 12, 1910, the proposition was amended by inserting the following paragraph, the phraseology of the document also being changed wherever necessary to make the instrument conform to the terms of the amendment:

All questions coming before the board of governors shall be decided by unanimous vote, except as provided in sections 4 and 5 of this article. In the event of failure of the board of governors to agree unanimously upon any proposition or propositions submitted to it, then any one or more of the members of said board may demand that such proposition or propositions be submitted to a disinterested person for decision, and such disinterested person shall be selected by the unanimous vote of the board of governors, but if said board shall fail to agree upon such disinterested person, then such person shall be selected by the president of the American Federation of Labor, and the decision of such person so selected shall be final and binding upon the board of governors. Notice of the demand to submit any such proposition or propositions for decision to a disinterested person, as aforesaid, must be given during the session in which such proposition or propositions arise, and the settlement of such proposition or propositions shall proceed to

determination as speedily as circumstances permit, not to exceed thirty days from the time said notice shall be given, unless the time shall be extended by the board of governors.

Following the meeting of the Joint Conference Board at Baltimore, the amended agreement was submitted to the various affiliated unions for action. The Typographical Union, by a referendum vote, on February 15, 1911, endorsed the agreement by a majority of 6,814.

At a meeting of the Joint Conference Board in Indianapolis, March 6-7, 1911, all of the interested unions reported having endorsed the agreement, the business of the Joint Conference Board was concluded and the International Allied Printing Trades Association was formed. The agreement, as finally adopted, follows:

ARTICLE I (Name—Object—Jurisdiction)

SECTION 1. This body shall be known as the International Allied Printing Trades Association.

SEC. 2. The objects of this association are to designate the products of the labor of the members thereof by adopting and registering a label or trademark designating such products.

SEC. 3. To that end the association shall by its board of governors adopt a label, to be known as "allied printing trades label," which label shall be used to distinguish the product of the labor of the members of the association; and the association shall exercise jurisdiction throughout the United States of America and Canada in regard to said label, and over subordinate local organizations which shall be established and maintained in accordance with the provisions of these laws.

ARTICLE II (Membership)

SECTION 1. All members in good standing of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the International Photo Engravers' Union shall be members of this association. But before the members of any of the said unions shall become members of this association, they shall by appropriate action taken by them at a convention, or on referendum vote or otherwise in manner approved by the respective unions, duly declare their intention and desire to become such members and agree to abide by all laws and regulations now or hereafter adopted for the government of this association, and shall at the same time provide who shall constitute their representatives on the board of governors hereinafter provided for in article iii. And any member ceasing to be a member in good standing in one of said unions shall thereby cease to be a member of this association.

ARTICLE III (Board of Governors)

SECTION 1. The affairs of this association shall be conducted and governed by a board to be known as the "Board of Governors." Said board shall also be trustees of, and hold title to, any label adopted by the associa-

tion and all other property of the association; and they shall cause to be registered such label in all states, territories and District of Columbia, in the United States, and Dominion and Provinces of Canada, where registration is or may be hereafter authorized by law.

Sec. 2. The board of governors shall consist of eight members. For the purpose of selecting those members, the membership of this association shall be divided into five groups, as follows:

One group consisting of those members who are also members of the International Typographical Union, who shall select four members of said board; one group consisting of those members who are also members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, who shall select one member of said board; one group consisting of those members who are also members of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, who shall select one member of said board; one group consisting of those members who are also members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, who shall select one member of said board; and one group consisting of those members who are also members of the International Photo Engravers' Union, who shall select one member of said board.

The selection of said members of said board of governors shall be in the manner and by the mode adopted by the several groups of members above specified respectively.

Sec. 3. The members of said board shall hold office until their successors are duly chosen. Should any member of said board cease to be such member, his successor shall be chosen or designated by the group who had selected such member in such manner as such group may determine. No member of said board shall continue in office after he has ceased to be a member of this association.

Sec. 4. The officers of the board of governors shall be a president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer and such other officers as the board may determine, who shall be elected by a majority vote. But no two executive officers shall be members of the same trade union.

Sec. 5. Regular meetings of the board of governors shall be held on the first Monday in November, March and July of each year at the place decided upon by a majority vote of the board of governors, written notice of which shall be mailed to each member of the board by the secretary-treasurer thereof. At the regular meeting in March, the officers of said board shall be nominated, elected and installed for the ensuing year. If any vacancy occurs during the ensuing year it shall be filled from members of the board.

On written demand of a majority of the members of the board, the president shall call a meeting at a convenient time and place designated by the president and after written notice is mailed to each member of the board.

In the event of any member of the board being unable to attend any meeting he may delegate his power and authority to a proxy, who, however, shall be a member of the same trade union of which the member giving the proxy is a member. Upon the filing of properly presented credentials to the board of governors, said proxy shall be accorded all rights and privileges due to the member for whom he is proxy.

When any group shall have more than one representative on the board of governors, then in the absence of any member or members thereof selected by said group, the other member or members of the board selected by such group may cast the full vote to which said group shall be entitled without having any proxy to do so.

Between meetings the secretary-treasurer may submit any questions calling for prompt action to the consideration of the members of the board of governors by mail, and the members shall vote by mail. Their votes shall be canvassed and announced by the secretary-treasurer and given the same effect as though cast at a meeting, and all such proceedings shall be reported by the secretary-treasurer at the next regular meeting of the board.

All questions coming before the board of governors shall be decided by unanimous vote, except as provided in sections 4 and 5 of this article. In the event of failure of the board of governors to agree unanimously upon any proposition or propositions submitted to it, then any one or more of the members of said board may demand that such proposition or propositins be submitted to a disinterested person for decision, and such disinterested person shall be selected by the unanimous vote of the board of governors, but if said board shall fail to agree upon such disinterested person, then such person shall be selected by the president of the American Federation of Labor, and the decision of such person so selected shall be final and binding upon the board of governors. Notice of the demand to submit any such proposition or propositions for decision to a disinterested person, as aforesaid, must be given during the session in which such proposition or propositions arise, and the settlement of such proposition or propositions shall proceed to determination as speedily as circumstances permit, not to exceed thirty days from the time said notice shall be given, unless the time shall be extended by the board of governors.

Sec. 6. The board of governors may adopt such rules of procedure in the hearing of appeals and in the conduct of such other business as may properly come before it as do not conflict with any of the general laws of the association.

Article IV (Local Allied Printing Trades Councils)

Section 1. In localities where there are subordinate unions chartered by two or more of the unions mentioned in article ii hereof, a local allied printing trades council shall be formed, the jurisdiction of which shall be determined by said board of governors. Within such jurisdiction no member of the International Allied Printing Trades Association shall use any trade label other than that issued by said International Allied Printing Trades Association through the local allied printing trades council, and all unions whose members are members of the International Allied Printing Trades Association shall withdraw from said jurisdiction their union label.

Sec. 2. It shall be composed of members chosen by and from those who are members of said subordinate unions, three being appointed or elected from each union in the manner and by the mode adopted by the members of the union. The selection of the three members from the membership of each of said unions shall be certified to said local allied printing trades council, and the three members of each class shall continue to be members of said local council for a term of one year and until their successors are duly chosen and certified by the members of that class. No one shall be at the same time a member of more than one local allied printing trades council.

Sec. 3. Each member present at any meeting of a local allied printing trades council shall be entitled to one vote. But a roll call may be demanded by any member on a question involving the raising of revenue or the election of officers, and on said roll call each member shall be entitled to additional votes, as follows: For fifty (50) members of the local union to which he belongs, one vote; for each additional fifty (50) members or major fraction thereof up to three hundred (300) members, one vote; for the next two hundred (200) members or major fraction thereof, one vote; for each additional five hundred (500) members or major fraction thereof, one vote; the membership to be computed in accordance with the last per capita tax paid by each local union.

Sec. 4. Local allied printing trades councils shall elect as officers a president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer and such other officers as the local council may determine. And said local councils may adopt such provisions and rules for their government as are not in conflict with the purpose and provisions of the general laws of the International Allied Printing Trades

Association or in conflict with the rules and laws of the board of governors of said International Allied Printing Trades Association.

Sec. 5. The funds of each local allied printing trades council shall be under its control, and shall be on a per capita basis.

Article V (Appeals)

Section 1. Appeals may be made to the board of governors from the decision or action of any local allied printing trades council. In such case the applicant must within ten days from said decision or action file notice of his intention to appeal with the president, vice-president or secretary-treasurer of the local allied printing trades council; and within thirty days from said decision or action the appellant shall forward to the secretary-treasurer of the board of governors ten typewritten copies of the appeal papers, serving one copy on the president, vice-president or secretary-treasurer of said local allied printing trades council. After such service said local allied printing trades council shall have thirty days in which to file with the secretary-treasurer of said board of governors ten typewritten copies of its answer. And no such appeal shall be considered by the board of governors unless it shall be approved by the local union of which the appellant is a member; such approval being evidenced by the certificate of the president and secretary of that union; which said certificate shall accompany the appeal papers at the time they are forwarded to the secretary-treasurer of the board of governors.

Sec. 2. When the papers are complete in each case the secretary-treasurer of said board of governors shall forward one copy of the papers to each member of said board of governors. Thereupon each member shall consider the case thus presented to him and within thirty days after the receipt of the documents each of said members shall file an opinion in the case with the secretary-treasurer of the said board of governors, and within thirty days after the opinions of the members have been received by the said secretary-treasurer and submitted to the several members of said board for final action the members of said board must register their votes on the appeal.

Article VI (Use of the Union Label)

Section 1. The International Allied Printing Trades Association, by its board of governors, shall procure, own and control the allied printing trades label.

Sec. 2. It shall by action of its board of governors and in accordance with and subject to the provisions of these laws, loan the same to local allied printing trades councils as agents of said International Allied Printing Trades Association upon receipt of a sum of money from the local council, not exceeding ten (10) per cent above the cost of production and distribution of said labels.

Sec. 3. No allied printing trades council shall issue any label not procured from said International Allied Printing Trades Association, nor duplicate nor allow the duplication of said labels except in the case of stereotyped or electrotyped forms, in which case the label appearing in the plate or plates shall be destroyed immediately on completion of the work on which it is used.

Sec. 4. No other body than the local allied printing trades council shall be allowed to grant the use of the allied printing trades label in any jurisdiction; *provided, however,* that the board of governors of said International Allied Printing Trades Association may order the issuance or withdrawal of the label or issue said label direct where in its judgment said action is necessary.

Sec. 5. All labels must be procured by local councils from the secretary-treasurer of the International Allied Printing Trades Association. Any in-

fraction of this rule shall be deemed sufficient cause for the dissolution of the local council so offending.

Sec. 6. All labels shall be issued or withdrawn by unanimous consent of local councils. Should any cause or grievance arise because of the issuance or withdrawal of the label by any local council the matter must be presented to said board of governors, and it shall be the duty of said board to consider or reconsider and determine the matter, giving to the parties in interest such opportunity to be heard as the president of the said board of governors may deem needful.

Article VII (Finances)

Section 1. The necessary funds for the establishment, maintenance and carrying on of this association and its work shall be under the control of the board of governors, and the same shall be furnished by the several groups in the proportions following:

One-half by the members of this association who are also members of the International Typographical Union; one-eighth by the members of this association who are also members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; one-eighth by the members of this association who are also members of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; one-eighth by the members of this association who are also members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and one-eighth by the members of this association who are also members of the International Photo Engravers' Union.

When the board of governors shall determine that any funds are necessary, the secretary-treasurer of this association shall notify the proper officer of each union mentioned in article ii, of the proportionate amount due from the members of such union, who are also members of this association, and such notice shall be notice to each member of this association who is also a member of such union.

Sec. 2. All funds of the association shall be deposited in bank subject to withdrawal according to regulations adopted by the board.

Sec. 3. The members of the board of governors shall not be paid out of the funds of this association for their services or for their expenses incurred while acting as such members of the board of governors.

Sec. 4. Should any group withdraw from this association, then such group shall forfeit all rights and interest in and to any and all labels registered by this association and in and to all property and effects of this association.

Article VIII (Amendments)

Section 1. Amendments to these laws may be made from time to time as follows: The proposed amendment shall be submitted to the secretary or the secretary-treasurer of each of the international unions mentioned in article ii hereof, to be submitted by him to a general convention of the union or to the members of the union through their local unions. If the convention or a majority of the members of the international union acting thereon shall assent to the proposed amendment, such assent shall be binding upon all the members belonging to that union and shall operate as the assent of all belonging to that union to the proposed amendment. If the members belonging to all said international unions shall thus signify their assent to the proposed amendment it shall be considered as adopted and shall thenceforth operate as a law of this association.

ADDRESS BY CHARLES FRANCIS

Mr. Charles Francis, president of the Printers' League of America, was a visitor to the Minneapolis convention

and was invited to address the delegates. In view of the amicable relations existing between the Printers' League of America and the International Typographical Union, the remarks of Mr. Francis at Minneapolis are herewith reproduced:

I desire to thank you and your president for the invitation to address you on this occasion, and to offer for myself and on behalf of my organization, the Printers' League of America, a very hearty greeting and a wish that your successful work may be continued for many years to come, and that, as I suggested in my talk in Boston, we may dwell together in unity, both organizations working for peace and prosperity which is our mutual aim.

When I last spoke to you I made the assertion that the unity of interests made it necessary that we should work together as friends. That in previous years we had come to the conclusion that we were natural enemies and that from costly experience on both sides it would be well for us to consider a course that would enable us to avoid both the bad feeling and the blunders of the past and come into the only natural and feasible condition of working hand in hand for general prosperity, and it is in this vein that I am bringing to you a suggestion that we enter into this fraternal relation by means of a national contract that we hope can be made on a basis of "justice to all" and thereby avoid the expensive and destructive strike and lockout system, and by means of which we can conserve the business interests of the country and advance our mutual welfare at the same time.

As a matter of review, I desire to say that for nearly four years now we have had a local contract with Big Six in New York.

That the formation of the league and the sending of its principles broadcast throughout the land has made it possible and has caused the making of a very large number of local contracts, many of which have been endorsed by your International officers.

Last year the Printers' League of America formed a national organization, which, though feeble, is probably as strong as your national body was at the same age, and we hope will grow and assume in a few years as great a strength as that of your great organization.

The league was formed for the purpose of cementing the ties that should bind us to each other, and in presenting the contract for your consideration and adoption we are not asking any favor at your hands, but are endeavoring to put forward a scheme that will more nearly conserve the general interests of the contractual parties.

If any of you should think that we offer a perfect haven of refuge or remedy for all complaints, it would be well to disabuse your mind of any such idea. What we believe is that this manner of action is so much in advance of the past and has been tried out locally to such good purpose, that it is time that we should get together nationally in the same manner.

You have now for some years tested the newspaper publishers' association contract and know its efficacy and its defects, and I fully believe you do not want to go back to the old system.

A few years since you were suing to be heard on behalf of the eight-hour day and were repulsed in a very arbitrary manner. The eight-hour day was bound to come and it has come, but how infinitely more successful and less costly would it have been had you had such a contract as is presented for your consideration at this convention.

Gentlemen, it is time that we shook hands on a compact that our interests are mutual. Any laws that you enact that are detrimental to the employer are bound to react upon your organization. You have one side of the

question before you all the time, why not take a glimpse at the other side and consult as to the necessities of the business?

We offer you the hand of brotherly love, and it is not a "mailed fist" either.

It is unnecessary for me to say anything in regard to the contract, except that we submitted a preliminary draft of this to the president when in New York, and we have endeavored to meet the suggestions put forward by him in the paper herewith submitted.

Perhaps I may be excused for some personal allusions in closing, but I desire to say that I have been a union member since 1866 and an employer and employe since I was eighteen years old, and I am quixotic enough to believe that the time has come when we can lay down the sword and take up the plowshare together. Just a few days since I was reminded of my career as a union member by a letter which contained a working card signed by myself as financial secretary of Little Rock Typographical Union in 1877, given to one J. E. P. Dorsey, now deceased. Shortly after this card was issued I walked out in that city against a reduction of 20 per cent in wages, and we, the union boys, were beaten out. On two other occasions I walked out, once in Louisville and once in Chicago. I have put in fifteen years as employe and twenty-three years as employer, and I believe I can truthfully say that during the years I have been an employer I have made a host of friends among my employes, many of whom now hold stock in the firm I represent; and with this experience and knowing the necessity of having satisfied and friendly employes, and also knowing how much it would be to your advantage to join the ranks looking to the friendly solution of the problems which are bound to arise, I urge upon you for your own interests to put this movement in effect by authorizing your officers to sign an agreement of which the basis is before you today, believing as I do that it will be the dawn of a new era of friendship between employer and employe.

LOS ANGELES TIMES AND PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Referring to the Los Angeles Times, the president, in his report, said that some unpleasant developments had occurred in Los Angeles during the year, but that on the whole the union had made material progress. The condition of the union in Los Angeles and in southern California was ample justification for the money that had been expended in that section. Without this expenditure, the desire of the unscrupulous enemy for the overthrow of the International Typographical Union might have been achieved in part, and an important section of the general jurisdiction not only lost to the union but standing as a menace to continued progress of the union as well as an encouragement to union-hating persons whose animosity and antipathy were manifested whenever an avenue was open to them.

In Philadelphia the movement had been for the organization of the city rather than solely against the Inquirer. In this connection the executive council submitted to the convention committee data explaining conditions in Philadelphia and the results attending the work performed and the money expended.

In submitting its report to the convention, the committee on the Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer contests said that it had carefully gone over the data referred to it, had listened to the statements of the delegates from Los Angeles and had reviewed the papers in the possession of Secretary-Treasurer Hays showing that Los Angeles was on record as being thoroughly satisfied with the work of Organizer McLernon during the year. The committee also said it believed that everything possible had been done for the interests of the International Typographical Union and the local union in Los Angeles. The local union had petitioned the executive council to continue in charge of the work in its jurisdiction and the committee recommended that the conduct of the Los Angeles Times fight by the executive council be approved and that the council be authorized to follow the course it believed best calculated to advance the interests of all in Los Angeles. The committee also reported having carefully considered the data referred to it concerning the Philadelphia Inquirer and general conditions in that city. It was apparent that a strong union sentiment was being crystallized among the non-union printers of that city and it was therefore recommended that continued financial assistance be paid to Philadelphia Typographical Union, at the discretion of the executive council, and that an International organizer be appointed to cover the smaller cities in the southeastern district of Pennsylvania. The recommendations of the committee were concurred in by the convention.

First Convention on Pacific Coast — After a spirited

contest between Salt Lake City, Utah, and San Francisco, Cal., the latter city was chosen as the meeting place for the convention of 1911, this being the first time in the history of the organization that the Pacific coast was recognized in selecting a convention city.

AFTER THE CONVENTION

During the interim between the Minneapolis convention and the next session of the International Union at San Francisco, an amendment to the general laws was submitted by Salt Lake Typographical Union No. 115. This amendment was offered as a substitute for section 94, general laws, as follows:

SECTION 94. No machine operator shall be allowed to accept a bonus based on setting so many thousand over a prescribed amount where such bonus is voluntary on the part of the employer and is not provided for in the scale of prices.

The following was the proposed substitute:

SECTION 94. No member shall be allowed to accept a bonus based on the setting of so many thousand ems and no local union shall sign or allow its members to work under a scale of prices based on the piece system or providing for a bonus based on quantity of type produced. (This section not to apply to contracts in force at time of adoption.)

The proposition as offered by Salt Lake Typographical Union received the required number of endorsements from other subordinate unions, and the executive council, in compliance with the law governing the submission of propositions to the referendum, named the third Wednesday in May, 1911, as the date on which the vote should be taken. The proposition was adopted by a vote of 22,879 ayes, 11,017 noes, and, in accordance with the constitution, the executive council ordered that the amended law become effective on August 4, 1911.

CONVENTION AT SAN FRANCISCO

[1911]—The fifty-seventh convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order by Chairman Bonnington of the local convention committee in Eagle's Hall, Monday, August 14, 1911. Rev. William

Nat Friend invoked the divine blessing. P. H. McCarthy, mayor of San Francisco, welcomed the convention and assured the delegates and visitors of the hospitality of the community. He said the people of San Francisco were delighted to have the convention in their midst. Mayor McCarthy told the delegates he would do all in his power to make their stay enjoyable. John A. Kelly, president of the San Francisco labor council, welcomed the delegates and visitors on behalf of that body. Representing the San Francisco Publishers' Association, President C. W. Hornick addressed the convention, in part, as follows:

Mr. Chairman: It is with great pleasure that I appear before you to welcome you to San Francisco on behalf of the San Francisco Newspaper Publishers' Association. My pleasure is made more keen by the fact that, at the annual meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, of which organization I am one of the directors, your president, Mr. Lynch, is a welcome guest; we receive him gladly and listen with interest to what he has to say. It has been my pleasure to occupy the same platform with him at some of those meetings.

I have intimately known the International Typographical Union for over twenty-five years, and I recognize you as one of the best organizations, if not the very best union, in the world, for I know you to be big, brainy and conservative. San Francisco owes much to the local Typographical Union No. 21 for the part it played in the rehabilitation of this city after our fire in 1906 and it gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to its efforts. Through the assistance of the union printers we kept the newspapers going without missing an issue; and this was necessary, because the papers were the only means our authorities had to reach the people and allay their restlessness; and the very first thing required in the commercial rehabilitation of the city, after locations had been secured, was a liberal use of printers' ink, and there the work of your members in job offices came into play.

Those were strenuous days. All imaginary dividing lines were obliterated, all rules were suspended, and all local and International laws were forgotten for the time being. Your members and ourselves worked side by side in those strenuous days. For the first few days we were hungry because we had little or no food; thirsty because we were short of water; and tired because our nights were sleepless. But every man of the typographical union worked like a demon; men whom we had not before known became George, Dick, Tom, Fred and Harry to us, and have remained so ever since; if they have any other given names, we have never yet realized it. I could tell you incidents that occurred in those days at which you would laugh immoderately, and indeed they do seem funny now; but in those terrible days we could see nothing humorous about them—indeed they were to us then only grim tragedy.

It pleases me to have this opportunity to thank the members of the typographical union for the noble part they bore in the early rehabilitation of our city.

Following the remarks of Mr. Hornick, Andrew Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union; Charles A.

Murdock, representing the Franklin Printing Trades Association of San Francisco; Walter Macarthur, editor of the Coast Seamen's Journal; A. B. Duncan, representing Mayor Clayton of St. Joseph, Mo., and Benjamin Schonhoff, president of San Francisco Typographical Union, addressed the delegates with words of welcome and felicitation. President Lynch was then introduced and presented with a gavel, made of California redwood, as a memento of the first convention of the International Typographical Union held on the Pacific coast. Mr. Lynch briefly responded to the addresses of welcome and announced the first order of business would be the report of Secretary-Treasurer Hays, who read the list of delegates—228 in all—when the chair appointed the convention officers and members of the various committees.

SUMMARY OF OFFICERS' REPORTS

President Lynch in submitting his annual report began by saying that he proposed to treat all of the subjects touched upon with frankness and sufficient exhaustiveness to make his meaning perfectly clear. As to the subjects of which the report treated, it was the president's belief that they were important and this belief was founded on long association with the International Typographical Union, as a member and as its chief executive. The president said that his idea of a great trade union was best illustrated by comparison with a modern dreadnought battleship. The union should be powerful enough to command respect; to compel attention in order that war might not be forced upon it; to cause the interests that might needlessly oppose it to pause and consider well the cost. In accordance with its strength would the employers respect the organization and in proportion to its recognized effectiveness would results be achieved.

For the fiscal year ended May 31, 1910, the membership of the International Typographical Union earned

$45,602,944, or an average of $953 per member, based on the average paying membership for the year; for the fiscal year ended May 31, 1911, the membership earned $49,770,668, an average per member of $973. The average membership for the fiscal year 1909-1910 was 47,848, while the average membership for the fiscal year 1910-1911 was 51,095. These figures represented increased earnings by members of the union of more than $4,000,000, and an increase in the average membership of 3,247. Concluding his remarks on this subject, the president said:

> What do these figures mean? Is our peace policy in part responsible for the magnificent showing that we make? Is any other trade union, pursuing different methods, making greater or even equal progress? The real test is in the figures submitted—and dollars and cents and membership figures talk. I do not mean to say that the only aim of the trade union is bound up in hours and wages, but I do mean to say that a union's real basic effectiveness is shown by the hours and wage test, for if the union can not thus affect the conditions under which its members work, it is powerless to be of much benefit in other directions. That we have been able to extend our activities aside from the bettering of the purely working conditions is evidenced by the reports that are submitted this year for the consideration of the convention and the membership.

Referring to the increased membership of the organization, it was shown that in 1901 the International Union had 34,948 members; in 1902, 38,364 (this number included the stereotypers and electrotypers). In 1903, after the withdrawal of the stereotypers, the membership was 42,436, and in 1904 it was 46,165, the latter figure including the photo engravers. In 1905 the membership reached the highest point previous to the eight-hour strike, with 46,734 adherents, although the photo engravers had then been separated from the parent body. In September, 1905, the eight-hour conflict was initiated and at the end of the fiscal year of 1906 the membership had declined to 44,980, at the end of the fiscal year 1907 to 42,357. With the termination of the fiscal year 1908 the membership showed an increase to 43,740, and for 1909 another increase to 44,921, and for 1910 a still fur-

ther increase to 47,848, and in 1911 the membership had reached 51,095. The increases refer to the average number of members in good standing for the particular fiscal period mentioned.

The contest for the eight-hour day was to a very great extent waged in the territory along and east of the Mississippi river, and it was in this territory that the greatest loss of membership occurred. It was asserted by the president that in all warfare, industrial as well as between nations or peoples, the reconstruction period is as difficult of successful accomplishment as is the attainment of victory in the actual conflict. This was true in the case of the eight-hour struggle, and the expenditures from the International fund were necessary for a long time after the eight-hour day had become an established fact. As to gain in membership, it showed its greatest percentage in the territory where the battle for the shorter workday had waged the fiercest. It was true, also, that there had been gains in the west and northwest, and especially in the Canadian northwest. Hundreds of union printers had left the eastern section of the country and located in the comparatively new and growing sections of the continent referred to. With a constancy that was reassuring, many important offices lost during the eight-hour battle had gradually returned to the fold. Hundreds of applications for membership had been received from unorganized localities, especially from the smaller towns and hamlets. This was attributed to the generous advertising campaign that had been carried on.

Summary of Office Work — In order that the membership might appreciate the volume of work performed at headquarters, the president summarized the office business for the years 1904 to 1910, as follows:

During the past year (1910) there was issued from the president's department 64,312 official communications, 22,781 circulars and 17,640 packages of

label stickers and printed matter, the latter consisting of organizing pamphlets, booklets containing lists of union and non-union periodicals and magazines, health campaign pamphlets, etc. This brief statement gives only a bare outline of the work performed, as it is impossible by printed word to adequately set forth the volume of business handled daily at the headquarters' offices. Members who have had opportunity to visit headquarters have invariably expressed their surprise at the magnitude of the business. The immense amount of research, care and labor involved in the task must be left to the imagination. For the purpose of comparison, statistics for previous years follow:

During the previous year there was issued from the president's department 49,845 official communications, 18,472 circulars and 5,285 packages of label stickers and printed matter.

During the year ended May 31, 1909, there was issued from the president's department 37,896 official communications, 24,437 circulars and 3,799 packages of label stickers and printed matter relating to label advertising and organization work.

During the year ended May 31, 1908, there was issued from the president's department 30,049 official typewritten letters, 25,118 circulars and 25,054 miscellaneous packages containing blotters, label stickers and other printed matter.

During the year ended May 31, 1907, there was issued from the president's department 38,454 official typewritten letters, 41,303 circulars and 26,419 miscellaneous packages containing blotters, label stickers and other printed matter. Five million five hundred thousand label stickers were distributed among the locals of the International Typographical Union and other trade unions in the United States and Canada. Two million five hundred thousand blotters were placed with local typographical unions, and their circulation aided materially at that time in making our label campaign effective.

During the year ended May 31, 1906, there was issued from the president's department 27,357 official typewritten letters, 282,571 circulars and 2,953 miscellaneous packages containing organizing printed matter, etc., and 928 contracts were approved and underwritten during that year.

During the year ended May 31, 1905, there was issued from the president's department 23,010 official typewritten letters. Ninety-six thousand eight-hour circulars were distributed throughout the jurisdiction.

During the year ended May 31, 1904, there was issued from the president's department 11,174 official communications. This was exclusive of eight-hour circulars and circular letters.

Betterments — Aside from matters adjusted by the National Board of Arbitration, betterments were reported in 171 separate jurisdictions during the year. Several notable adjustments which had been held up for a long period of time were those of the Butterick Publishing Company, the DeVinne Publishing Company, New York, and the Wine and Spirit Bulletin, of Louisville.

General Conditions — The president asserted his belief that if there was ever an industrial war worth while, it was the union's successful struggle for the eight-hour

day. He compared the solidarity of the printers in this country with the more or less divided ranks in Great Britain, where the shorter workday movement had proved only partially successful.

The "representatives" of the International Union, formerly termed "organizers," had been unusually active during the fiscal year. In conjunction with the executive council, representatives were put into the jurisdictions of several local unions for organization purposes. These unions were in agreement with the executive council, by contract, under which the council had full and complete charge of the organization work.

A history of the movement to increase postage rates on second-class matter was included in the report, as was also the relations between the church and organized labor, which had furnished a fruitful topic for discussion for a long time.

The president pointed out that the label campaign had been the most aggressive during the year of any since the inception of this phase of work in the organization and asserted that it had been most productive. A new codification of laws was urged and there was a comprehensive discussion of the priority question and of the Salt Lake amendment (so called) forbidding piece and bonus scales.

The Los Angeles situation was fully covered, including organization work in the book and job trades and the contest against the unfair Times.

Union Printers Home — Of the Union Printers Home, the president said, in part:

Reference to the report of the board of trustees of the Union Printers Home will make clear the nature of the improvements that have been made to the institution during the fiscal year. The partial completion of the library addition by the erection of the two additional stories, not including the interior finish, runs over the fiscal year and well into July. The boiler house was considerably enlarged, two new boilers installed, and commodious, sani-

tary and pleasant quarters provided for the male employes in the second story of the heating plant and laundry building, and other and necessary improvements made in this connection. The library annex has been completed, with the exception of finishing the interior of the upper stories. The total amount expended for the improvements mentioned has been about $25,000. A beautiful and adequate institution has been further improved, and in every way an effort has been made to comply with the intention of the membership in establishing the Union Printers Home so that it shall be a haven of rest and cure for our aged members and those afflicted with disease. A barren hillside has been converted into a garden spot, than which there is none more beautiful in this country. Exaggerated as this statement may appear, I feel that the delegates and visitors who on their westward trip may have opportunity to inspect the institution will fully endorse the sentiment expressed, and, indeed, reach the conclusion that the assertion is an underestimation rather than an exaggeration.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Hugo Miller submitted a report concerning the affairs of his organization during the fiscal year, it being the thirty-eighth year of the Typographia's existence. The state of trade among German printers had been very quiet, but nevertheless quite satisfactory. With the exception of a few small plants, every German printing office in the jurisdiction of the Typographia was conducted under union conditions. While decreased emigration from the old country prevented an expansion of business, the union was satisfied to maintain conditions gained in the past and to improve wage scales wherever possible. The treasury of the Typographia, as usual, was in splendid condition, containing more than $16 per capita in the general fund. This, of course, did not take into account moneys in local treasuries which were under the absolute control of the subordinate unions. No strikes had occurred during the year, but increases in scales had been secured in eight jurisdictions. On May 1, 1911, twenty-five years had passed since the German-American Typographia had successfully inaugurated the eight-hour day and the event had been quite generally celebrated, but the union had not been entirely satisfied with the inauguration and continuance of the eight-hour workday, and a majority of the locals had reduced the working time to five days per

week. This system, although at first opposed by the publishers, had become well established and worked satisfactorily.

Mailers — Third Vice-President Charles N. Smith, for the mailers, reported some progress during the year. Two mailers' unions had been chartered, several scales increased and other matters of interest to the mailers were referred to which had occupied the time of the vice-president, including the questions of single wrapping and automatic mailing machines.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — The annual report of Secretary-Treasurer Hays presented a table of the receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year ended May 31, 1911, showing that the sum of $561,177.87 was received, with a total outlay of $422,112.71, the balance on hand being $93,393.70 in the general fund and $404,821.15 in the old age pension fund. The increase in the general fund over the preceding year was $11,840.79, and the increase in the old age pension fund was $127,224.46. The expenses of the organization were incurred in various ways, as follows: Special assistance to local unions and strike benefits, $20,830.48; expenses of supplemental education commission, copyright law representative, label advertising, arbitration board, Allied Printing Trades Association and American Federation of Labor union label trades department per capita tax, tuberculosis campaign, etc., $13,204.63; expenses of representatives, $31,616.07. The bulk of the money expended for special assistance and strike benefits was on account of contests in cities where the anti-unionists were making the strongest opposition to the establishment of fair working conditions and increased wage scales.

Compared with previous years, the general expenses of the organization showed a decrease. This was accounted for from the fact that the executive council

had insisted upon local unions financing their organization work when able to do so, at the same time endeavoring to obtain the greatest possible results from the least expenditure.

Other expenses incurred aside from those already noted and those credited to the Home and old age pension funds reached a total of $54,745.94. In these items will be found per capita tax and assessments to the American Federation of Labor and to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, clerk hire, office and convention expenses, officers' salaries, the printing of official reports, book of laws, convention proceedings, etc. According to law, the secretary-treasurer must transfer each month one-third of the per capita tax collected to the Union Printers Home fund. During the fiscal year this sum reached a total of $92,365.95.

The death record for the year showed that 639 burial benefits were paid, aggregating $47,920, or about 94 cents per member, based upon the average paying membership. The average death rate for the year was a little more than 12 per 1,000, which about equaled the average for each year since the burial benefit had been in vogue. A table was included in the report which gave a summary of the benefits paid in each year and the age at which death occurred. Speaking of the attempts which had been made to increase the burial benefit, the secretary-treasurer said:

Though the membership has defeated two propositions providing for a graduated burial benefit, I am still of the opinion we should have such a benefit, and believe it would strengthen the organization. This belief is based upon the comments of the officers of local unions who are directly in touch with the membership and in constant communication with headquarters. In again mentioning this subject, it may appear that your secretary-treasurer is too insistent, but it is not my desire to so appear. We should keep apace with other organizations in this respect and build now for the future stability of our own union.

It has been suggested that a portion of the revenue of the pension fund be diverted to the payment of a graduated burial benefit. This suggestion does not appear wise. A mixing of the old age pensions and burial benefits

is not advisable, in my opinion. However, the subject of an increased mortuary benefit is worthy of the most careful consideration.

An interesting table was included in the secretary's report which gave a summary of the receipts and expenditures of the organization during the fiscal years from 1891 to 1911, inclusive. The balance on May 1, 1890, was $21,581.62. Following that date, up to and including May 31, 1911, there had been paid into the treasury of the International Typographical Union the enormous sum of $7,289,225.22, and $6,791,010.37 had been paid out, leaving a balance on hand of $498,214.85.

The relation of the benefits paid to the receipts for the year was most interesting. In this report it was shown that there was expended for beneficial features the following:

Burial benefits	$47,920 00
Strike benefits and special assistance	20,830 48
Old age pensions	122,672 00
Union Printers Home	92,365 95
Total	$283,788 43

These benefits represented almost 50.6 per cent of the total money paid into the treasury.

Tuberculosis Campaign — Of the work the organization was doing in the movement to curtail the inroads of the great white plague, the secretary-treasurer said:

Subordinate unions have been participants in the general tuberculosis campaign, and have distributed quantities of printed matter bearing on this great subject. The tuberculosis exhibit provided by the International Union has been traveling almost continually. It has served to advertise the locals using it, as well as the parent organization, in that the attention of the public has been directed to our progressiveness and desire to aid in any work tending to uplift or benefit the individual or community. Stereopticon slides containing views of the Home have been extensively used. Local committees have been busy looking after the sanitary condition of shops. This feature of local work has not had the attention it should receive, and this opportunity is taken to urge upon all unions greater activity in this matter.

Membership — That the International Union had made gratifying progress during the year was shown clearly by statistics regarding increased membership submitted

in the report of the secretary-treasurer. For the twelve months ended May 31, 1911, the receipts and per capita tax showed an average paying membership of 51,095 for the twelve months. This was an increase of 3,247 over the previous year and 6,174 over 1909. At the close of business on May 31, 1911, register numbers were held by 56,185 members, of which 53,080 were affiliated with local unions, the remainder being in unorganized towns or out of the business and in possession of traveling cards. It thus appears that the International, although it had relinquished control over the stereotypers and electrotypers and the photo engravers, had doubled its membership in fourteen years.

During the year twenty-six new unions were chartered, eleven disbanded, and three were suspended by the executive council. The subordinate bodies were thus divided among several crafts: English, typographical, 641; German-American, 22; mailers, 28; newswriters, 4; typefounders, 1; a total of 696.

Pension Fund — Perhaps the most important question regarding the finances of the organization was involved in administering the pension fund. On May 31, 1911, there were 808 members on the pension roll. The average age of pension applicants was 66.7 years and the membership of the unions having pensioners on their rolls comprised over two-thirds of the membership of the International. A table was given showing the amount paid to each pensioner and the total pensions received by the unions throughout the year. Notwithstanding a marked increase in the number of pensioners—166 in the fiscal year—the revenue of the fund was almost twice as great as the expenditures therefrom, and this despite the extension of pension expenditures through modifications in the law made by the Minneapolis convention. The

status of the fund at the close of the fiscal year was given as follows:

RECEIPTS

June 1, 1910—Balance in fund	$277,596 60
May 31, 1911—One-half of 1 per cent assessment	248,853 34
May 31, 1911—Interest	6,257 65
May 31, 1911—Pensions returned	156 00
Total	$532,863 68

EXPENDITURES

Paid to pensioners	$122,672 00	
Clerical work	1,605 00	
Books and printing	324 66	
Maintenance of register system	3,440 87	
Total		128,042.53
Balance in fund May 31, 1911		$404,821 15

Executive Council — The larger portion of the report of the executive council was taken up with the work of the National Board of Arbitration and the Joint Conference Board of the Allied Printing Trades, more recently termed the International Allied Printing Trades Association. This latter organization owned the allied label under the terms of the terms of the agreement perfected by the Joint Conference Board and adopted by the referendum following the Minneapolis convention.

A complete history with all the correspondence included was given of what had become well known as the illegal strike at Chicago; also the council's action on the illegal strike of pressmen on the Denver newspapers was set forth at length.

The council asserted that it was still strongly in favor of an increased mortuary benefit and believed that a majority of the membership was desirous of such an increase. It declared its belief that the plan adopted by the St. Joseph convention was the best that had been submitted, and urged the San Francisco convention to reconsider it with a view to once more getting an expression from the members on its advisability.

Arbitration matters consumed the most space in the council's report. The existing agreement, together with a list of newspapers party thereto, and the board's deliberations, with the verdicts arrived at, were printed in full.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Six constitutional amendments were adopted by the San Francisco convention and submitted to the referendum for approval or rejection in the regular manner. Included in these six amendments was one proposing increased mortuary benefits, graduated according to length of membership, from $75 to $400. This was endorsed by a substantial majority. All of the propositions were carried. Following is a summary of the amendments:

First Proposition—Amend section 2, article ii, constitution, by adding after paragraph (d) the following:

(e) Laws instituting and relating to a system of benefits and laws providing for the care of invalid and aged and infirm members in good standing.

This amendment provided that the laws of the International Union relative to beneficial features be grouped. For, 27,112; against, 3,318; majority for, 23,794.

Second Proposition—Amend section 8, article vi, constitution, by changing the last sentence to read:

Representatives shall assist in the organization of new unions, under direction and control of the president, and perform such other duties as may be assigned them by the president or the executive council.

The foregoing more clearly defined the duties of International representatives. For, 27,786; against, 2,822; majority for, 24,964.

Third Proposition—Amend section 1, article viii, constitution, by striking out "$100" in the eighth line and substituting "$200" instead; making this clause read: "Mailer vice-president, $200 per annum."

This amendment increased the salary of the mailers' (or third) vice-president from $100 to $200 per annum. For, 20,532; against, 10,210; majority for, 10,322.

Fourth Proposition—Amend section 3, article vii, constitution, to read:

Sec. 3. Whenever one hundred subordinate unions shall petition the executive council for the submission of any proposition or amendment, the

endorsements of such petition having been secured within three months, the proposition or amendment shall be submitted to the membership within three months of the receipt of the required number of petitions, and the vote taken and canvassed in the same manner as amendments and propositions referred to the membership by the convention of the International Typographical Union; *provided,* the executive council may submit to referendum vote propositions which require immediate action without petition of one hundred local unions. All such propositions and amendments shall be published to the craft a reasonable time before the vote thereon.

The foregoing raised the number of endorsing unions necessary to submit a proposition to the referendum from fifty to one hundred, and provided that the question upon which a vote was desired must receive the required number of endorsements within three months from date of its first promulgation. For, 16,305; against, 13,935; majority for, 2,370.

Fifth Proposition—Amend sections 1-6, article ix, constitution, providing for a graduated burial benefit and the levying of an additional one-half of 1 per cent assessment for the payment thereof, the benefit to be as follows: For a continuous membership of one year or less, $75; for a continuous membership of two years, $125; three years, $175; four years, $275; five years, $400.

For, 18,211; against, 12,985; majority for, 5,226.

Sixth Proposition—Substitute for section 94, general laws (Salt Lake amendment, so called), as amended by referendum vote on May 17, 1911, the following:

Sec. 94. It is the sense of the International Typographical Union that piece scales and bonus scales in connection with machine typesetting should be abolished; and subordinate unions, where these practices obtain, are directed to bring about such abolition at the earliest period practicable.

The convention had power to amend the general laws, but ordered the submission of this proposition to the referendum because it was a substitute for a law adopted by a vote of the membership. Its intention was to bring about the abolition of piece scales gradually and thus avoid friction that might be serious. For, 24,904; against, 5,823; majority for, 19,081.

Salaries Increased — In addition to the six propositions summarized above, the convention also ordered submitted to the referendum the following two amendments to the constitution, the vote to be taken on May 15, 1912, the date of the biennial election of International officers. In

explanation of this action by the convention, it may be said that several previous attempts to increase the salaries of the president and secretary-treasurer had been defeated when submitted in the regular manner, and along with other propositions. It was thought that if the proposition to increase the salaries of the president and secretary could be placed before the membership at the time of the biennial election of officers, and when it was not known who the incoming officials would be, the increase to start with the beginning of a new term, the amendment would be considered without prejudice for or against individuals who might be holding office. A special committee was appointed by the convention to present the matter of increasing the officers' salaries to the membership. The propositions were as follows:

Amend section 1, article viii, "Salaries," to read:

The salary of the president * * * in full (for services rendered as president of the International Typographical Union and as president of the board of trustees of the Union Printers Home, inclusive) shall be $3,500 per annum.

Amend section 1, article viii, "Salaries," to read:

The salary of the secretary-treasurer in full (for services rendered as secretary-treasurer of the International Typographical Union and as secretary-treasurer of the board of trustees of the Union Printers Home, inclusive) shall be $3,500 per annum.

Both amendments were carried by small majorities.

PENSION LAW AMENDED

Various amendments to the old age pension law were submitted to the San Francisco convention and referred to the committee on laws. This committee, after grouping the several propositions for consideration by the delegates, offered a substitute intended to cover all necessary legislation regarding the amplification or modification of the pension laws. The principal changes were made in section 6, article v, of the by-laws, which was made to read as follows:

Sec. 6. Any member of the International Typographical Union who has reached the age of 60 years, and who has been in good standing for a period

of twenty years, including and antedating the enactment of the pension law, or any member who has reached the age of 70 years, and who has been in continuous good standing for a period of ten years, and who finds it impossible to secure sustaining employment, or any member having a continuous membership of twenty years who, by reason of his affliction, is totally incapacitated for work, and whose application for admission to the Union Printers Home has been rejected by the trustees thereof, may receive the sum of $5 per week, subject to the provisions hereinafter set forth.

Under this section there are three classes of members entitled to the old age pension:

Such members, sixty years of age, who have been members in good standing for a period of twenty years, including and antedating the enactment of the pension law, and who find it impossible to secure sustaining employment at the trade. Applicants under this provision of the law must have been members in good standing at the time the pension law became effective and have maintained active membership since that time.

The second class of members includes those who have reached the age of 70 years and who have been in continuous good standing for a period of ten years and who find it impossible to secure sustaining employment at the trade.

The third class includes members who are totally incapacitated for work and who have been continuous active members for twenty years and whose applications for admission to the Home have been disapproved because their affliction has been such as to render them ineligible to that institution.

The important change in the law was that referring to the first class of members mentioned. Before the law was enacted, twenty years' continuous active membership was necessary to render a member 60 years of age eligible to the pension. Under the new law an accumulated active membership of twenty years is sufficient, provided the applicant was a member at the time the law became effective, January 1, 1908, and has since maintained active membership.

The amended law also increased the pension from $4 to $5 per week. During the period following the enactment of the old age pension law the executive council had been called upon from time to time to make interpretations regarding the application of various provisions of the law. These decisions were presented to the San Francisco convention and referred to the committee on laws for analysis. At the conclusion of the committee's report they were presented to the convention. All of the decisions and interpretations were approved by the delegates.

INCREASED MORTUARY BENEFITS

The San Francisco convention, having adopted a proposition providing for increased mortuary benefits with graduated benefits from $75 minimum to $400 maximum, according to length of membership in the organization, and the referendum having approved the law, it became necessary for the executive council to issue instructions to the membership regarding its enforcement. In order that the membership at large and the officers of subordinate unions might have a clear understanding of the mortuary benefit law, the old age pension law, the laws relative to the payment of per capita tax and the laws regulating admission to the Union Printers Home, the council issued in circular form the following document intended to cover all questions that might arise regarding these features of the organization:

EXTRACT FROM ARTICLE FIVE, BY-LAWS THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION —OLD AGE PENSION FUND

SEC. 6. Any member of the International Typographical Union who has reached the age of 60 years, and who has been in good standing for a period of twenty years, including and antedating the enactment of the pension law, or any member who has reached the age of 70 years, and who has been in continuous good standing for a period of ten years, and who finds it impossible to secure sustaining employment, or any member having a continuous membership of twenty years who, by reason of his affliction, is totally incapaci-

tated for work, and whose application for admission to the Union Printers Home has been rejected by the trustees thereof, may receive the sum of five dollars per week, subject to the provisions hereinafter set forth.

SEC. 7. Applications for pensions shall be made on blank forms prepared and furnished from International headquarters. Applicants shall set forth all the facts and answer fully all the questions contained in said form, which shall be certified to by the executive officers of the local union of which applicant is a member. Said application to be published in the Typographical Journal, and should no objection be made within thirty days from the date of said publication the member shall then be placed on the pension roll. Should objection be raised, the case shall be investigated by the executive council.

SEC. 8. Any member earning $5 or over in any one week at the printing trade shall not be entitled to pension for that week.

SEC. 9. Any resident member of the Union Printers Home at Colorado Springs who is expelled from said Home shall not be eligible to the old age pension until after one year shall have elapsed.

SEC. 10. Secretaries of subordinate unions shall forward weekly to the International secretary-treasurer a true and correct list of applicants entitled to pensions. On receipt of such list the International secretary-treasurer shall transmit the amount due to the local secretary for distribution.

SEC. 11. Any beneficiary who has knowingly testified falsely concerning his or her qualifications as a worthy applicant for said pension shall be debarred from receiving pension for such time as the executive council may deem fit.

SEC. 12. The executive council shall have the power at all times to review any pension case, and if in their opinion circumstances warrant it, the beneficiary may be debarred from further participation in the pension fund.

SEC. 13. In order to meet exigencies that may arise, the executive council is authorized and empowered to make such changes in administering the old age pension fund as they may deem wise after said plan has been established.

SEC. 14. Any member of the International Typographical Union in good standing at time of enlisting in the regular or volunteer army or navy of the United States during the Spanish-American war shall be considered as having been a continuous contributing member during such enlistment.

DECISIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL GOVERNING PAYMENT OF THE OLD AGE PENSION

The pension applications passed upon favorably by the executive council of the International Typographical Union are approved subject to the following conditions:

FIRST. The council approves all pension applications on the understanding that the applicant, eligible in all other particulars and requirements, "finds it impossible to secure sustaining employment."

SECOND. Where members, applicants for the pension, are residents of institutions maintained by the union, state, county or municipality, they shall not be eligible for the pension while at such institutions. This ruling does not apply to fraternal homes or institutions established by fraternal societies for the benefit of their members.

THIRD. Where members, applicants for the pension, also draw a pension from the nation, state or municipality, or from employers or other sources, and are not residents of publicly supported institutions, they shall be eligible for the pension.

FOURTH. An inmate of an institution maintained by the state who spends

ninety days of each year at his home outside the institution is a resident of said institution until he completely severs his connection with it, and is not entitled to the old age pension during the ninety days he is on his furlough.

FIFTH. Residents of the Union Printers Home shall not be eligible for the pension while at that institution.

SIXTH. Members who make $5 per week or more at the printing business shall not be eligible for the pension.

SEVENTH. Pensioners must at all times be in possession of a current working card, with the proper International due stamp attached, showing all International dues and assessments to have been paid.

EIGHTH. The pension is to be paid every four weeks, checks therefor to be payable to the interested member and transmitted to him through the secretary of his union.

NINTH. Holders of traveling cards desiring to apply for the pension must deposit their cards with a local union, and file their petitions through it.

TENTH. All members who are receiving the old age pension must regularly pay International per capita tax, amounting to 45 cents per month, and in addition thereto 30 cents per month as the pension assessment, and 30 cents per month as the mortuary fund assessment, the total monthly payment to the International Union from such members to be $1.05.

ELEVENTH. The pension law as it now stands does not give local and International officers any control over pensioners as regards the use of their pensions. In the opinion of the council a pensioner is at liberty to spend his money in any way he sees fit. If a pensioner is not totally incapacitated for work on account of his age and incapacitates himself by constant debauchery it would then become the duty of the local officers to make a specific report on his case and ask the executive council for a ruling. All members on the pension roll who are able to work, and who can obtain work, are expected to accept it.

DECISIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AS TO MEMBERSHIP OF APPLICANTS FOR THE OLD AGE PENSION AND ADMISSION TO THE UNION PRINTERS HOME

FIRST. Any member suspended or expelled for non-payment of dues and subsequently readmitted as a new member on the payment of the regular initiation fee of the local union will not be entitled to the old age pension until twenty years after the date of his last admission.

SECOND. A member who stands suspended can re-establish continuous membership when he is reinstated by paying all International dues and assessments owed at the time of his suspension, and International dues and assessments from the time he was suspended up to and including the date of his reinstatement, and the legal reinstatement fee, provided he was not during the time of his suspension or expulsion guilty of ratting or any violation of union rules and regulations, and provided further that reinstatement is not sought for the purpose of obtaining the old age pension.

THIRD. The council holds that members who make application for the pension under the accumulative membership law must have established continuous membership prior to the taking effect of the old age pension law—January 1, 1908—in order to entitle such applicants to the pension. In other words, continuous membership can not now be established by the payment of arrearages for the purpose of acquiring a right to the beneficial features of the International Typographical Union.

FOURTH. All residents of the Home, under the law, must be active members in good standing and during the time they stay at the Home should be considered as continuous active members of the organization. The law exempts members at the Home from payment of International per capita tax and specifically states that they shall be considered as members in good standing. A member, therefore, completing his twenty years' continuous active membership at the

Home would be entitled to the old age pension should he leave the Home, provided he can meet the requirements of the law in every other particular.

FIFTH. Section 6, article v, of the by-laws of the International Typographical Union, provides for the payment of the old age pension to any member of the International Typographical Union who has reached the age of 60 years and who has been in good standing for a period of twenty years, or any member who has reached the age of 70 years and who has been in continuous good standing for a period of ten years and who finds it impossible to secure sustaining employment. It was never intended by the law that a member could make application for the pension immediately upon reaching the age of 60 years and with a view to receiving the pension at some future date, or at widely intermittent periods. The pension fund was provided for the relief of members who can meet its requirements relative to age and membership and who, through the infirmities of age and other causes, are unable to obtain sustaining employment. A member who is out of employment for a month or so and who has had regular employment prior to that time, is still able to work, and with good prospects of again securing employment within a reasonable period, can not be considered as coming under the provisions of the law and can not make application for the old age pension, go upon the pension roll and draw the pension whenever he happens to be out of work. To place a different construction on the law would make it an out-of-work benefit rather than an old age pension. Neither is the pension fund intended as a sick benefit. It was adopted for the relief of members whose opportunity for securing sustaining employment has vanished or is at that point, or nearly so, so far as the printing business is concerned.

DECISION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL RELATIVE TO THE PAYMENT OF PER CAPITA TAX, THE OLD AGE PENSION AND MORTUARY ASSESSMENTS

Members Not Following Printing Trade and Proprietor Members

Active members whose cards are deposited with a local union and who are not seeking work at the printing business or who are following other pursuits must pay dues and assessments monthly as follows:

FIRST. Local dues as the laws of the local union provide.

SECOND. Forty-five cents per month as International per capita tax.

THIRD. Thirty cents per month as the old age pension assessment.

FOURTH. Thirty cents per month as the mortuary assessment.

The above applies to all members who are not actively seeking work at the printing business or who are following other pursuits.

Proprietor Members

Members who are running printing offices must pay local dues as the laws of the union to which they belong require. In addition to this they must pay 45 cents per month per capita to the International Typographical Union, and the pension and mortuary assessments at the rate of one-half of 1 per cent for each on the scale of the local union, but in no case can they pay less than 30 cents per month on each assessment.

Members Working at Printing Trade

Active members whose cards are deposited with a local union and who are seeking work at the printing trade must pay dues and assessments monthly as follows:

FIRST. Local dues as the laws of the local union provide.

SECOND. Forty-five cents per month as International per capita tax.

THIRD. One-half of 1 per cent on total earnings as the old age pension assessment.

FOURTH. One-half of 1 per cent on total earnings as the mortuary assessment.

If through dulness of trade a member of this class is idle he is not liable for the pension and mortuary assessments during the time he is out of work, because he does not earn anything in that period.

If through temporary illness (temporary illness being construed to mean an illness of not more than one month's duration) a member of this class is idle he is not liable for the pension and mortuary assessments during that time; but if such illness continues beyond one month then he must pay these assessments on the scale of the union to which he belongs.

Where a member works a day or more in the mechanical department of an office and the remainder of his time in another department or at an outside pursuit, he shall be classed as working at the trade and pay dues as above and the assessments for full time upon the scale of the union for the class of mechanical work performed.

Members at Union Printers Home or on Old Age Pension Roll

Active members whose cards are deposited with a local union and who are residents of the Union Printers Home are by law exempted from the payment of International Typographical Union per capita tax and by an action of the executive council, subsequently endorsed by convention action, they were exempted from the payment of the old age pension assessment and are not eligible for the pension while residing at the Home. In the past the death benefit of $75 has been paid on the death of a resident of the Home when the expense of burial was not paid from the Home funds. In all instances where burial is made in the Home plot in Evergreen Cemetery, Colorado Springs, the Home fund is charged with the burial expenses, and the burial benefit is not paid. In the future, on the death of a resident of the Home, the executive council will continue to pay a death benefit of $75, provided the expenses of burial are not paid from the Home funds; this $75 burial benefit to be paid from the general funds of the organization. This action is based on the exemption of residents of the Home from the payment of the mortuary assessment. If, however, any resident of the Home arranges to pay, through his local union (or the union to which he belongs pays for him), the sum of 30 cents per month from January 1, 1912, as the mortuary assessment, the International Typographical Union will then pay the mortuary benefit on the basis of the mortuary benefit law, as found in sections 15 to 21, article v, International by-laws, deducting the burial expenses when interment is made in the Home plot. To protect a member at the Home the union with which he is affiliated should remit local dues and carry him on its rolls as an active member.

All members who are receiving the old age pension must regularly pay International per capita tax, amounting to 45 cents per month, and in addition thereto 30 cents per month as the pension assessment, and 30 cents per month as the mortuary assessment, the total monthly payment to the International Union from such members to be $1.05.

Members Holding Traveling Cards and in Country Towns or Not Working at Trade

Members holding traveling cards and located in unorganized towns, or not working at the trade, must renew them through headquarters as International law provides. The holders of traveling cards so situated must pay International dues and assessments as follows:

FIRST. Forty-five cents per month as International per capita tax.

SECOND. One-half of 1 per cent on the total earnings as the old age pension assessment.

Third. One-half of 1 per cent on total earnings as the mortuary assessment.

Fourth. If not seeking work at the printing trade, following other pursuits or engaged in business for himself, the card holder must pay 60 cents per month as the pension and mortuary assessments in addition to per capita tax.

Fifth. Any member holding a traveling card and working at the trade in an unorganized town and failing to report his earnings will be charged 60 cents per month as the pension and mortuary assessments.

Members Depositing or Renewing Traveling Cards

Whenever a member who is following the trade presents a traveling card within date upon which dues and assessments have accumulated, the secretary receiving the card shall collect per capita tax at the rate of 45 cents per month, and the old age pension and mortuary assessments at the rate of 30 cents per month each. If the card has expired it must be renewed as is provided in Section 84, International Typographical Union general laws for 1912.

Payment of Benefits

The amount of the mortuary benefit paid in each case will be based upon the number of years the deceased had been a continuous active member in good standing at the time of death as shown by the records of the International Typographical Union and the death claim papers, which must be prepared as provided in the law. Benefits will be paid as follows:

Seventy-five dollars on the death of a member in good standing who joins the union subsequent to January 1, 1912, who was 50 years of age when initiated, regardless of the number of years of membership. (Section 21 of the mortuary benefit law.) A member who becomes such subsequent to January 1, 1912, after reaching the age of 50 years, by depositing an honorable withdrawal card, comes under the provisions of this section.

Seventy-five dollars on the death of a member in good standing who at the time of demise had been a continuous active member for less than two years.

One hundred and twenty-five dollars on the death of a member in good standing who at the time of demise had been a continuous active member two years and less than three years, provided the deceased member was not 50 years of age when last becoming an active member.

One hundred and seventy-five dollars on the death of a member in good standing who at the time of demise had been a continuous member for three years and less than four years, provided the deceased member was not 50 years of age when last becoming an active member.

Two hundred and seventy-five dollars on the death of a member in good standing who at the time of demise had been a continuous active member for four years and less than five years, provided the deceased member was not 50 years of age when last becoming an active member.

Four hundred dollars on the death of a member in good standing who at the time of demise had been a continuous active member for five or more years, provided the deceased member was not 50 years of age when last becoming an active member.

NEW ARBITRATION AGREEMENT

Attention of the delegates to the San Francisco convention was directed to the fact that the arbitration agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association would expire on May 30, 1912, and that it

would be necessary for the convention to take action regarding renewal of the agreement. At the convention of the publishers' association held in New York in April, 1911, the subject of the renewal of the arbitration agreement with the union was up for consideration and the following committee was appointed to confer with the executive council of the International Union: Victor F. Lawson, Herman Ridder, Charles W. Knapp, Don C. Seitz, S. S. Carvalho, Bruce Haldeman, George C. Hitt, Charles H. Taylor, jr., G. J. Palmer and H. N. Kellogg.

The executive council reported that it had held several meetings with the publishers' committee and that at the last meeting, on June 28, 1911, an understanding was reached and the resultant agreement was submitted to the convention for consideration, it being incorporated in the supplemental report of the executive council to the convention. The existing arbitration agreement had been amended so as to provide for a local board of arbitration of four members, they to select a fifth member. The specific changes in the agreement were embraced in sections 5, 7 and 12 of the code of procedure and are given herewith:

Sec. 5. After the questions to be arbitrated have been determined, a local board of arbitration must be formed, composed of residents of the locality in which the controversy arises, two members thereof to be named by each side, one such representative of each contending party to be free from personal connections with or direct interest in any newspaper or any labor union. The board as thus constituted shall select from among its members a secretary. The four members of the board shall then choose an additional member, who shall be a disinterested party and who shall act as chairman of the board. The chairman shall preside, put motions, etc., and shall be entitled to vote on all propositions which properly come before the board in open session. He shall declare a motion carried only when at least three of the arbitrators shall have voted affirmatively thereon. At the conclusion of the hearing the chairman shall retire, and the other members of the board shall go into executive session and immediately take up a consideration of the issues involved. If a tie vote occurs on any proposition, or if there are any differences, questions or propositions, which do not receive the votes of three of the four original members of the board, the chairman shall be called in and shall cast the deciding votes on all unsettled questions or propositions. If the chairman of the local board shall not have been selected within thirty (30) days after the questions to be arbitrated have been determined, he shall

be named by the chairman of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the president of the International Typographical Union or their proxies upon the request of either of the interested parties. The two officials named or their proxies may visit the locality if they deem it necessary. Any expense incurred shall be defrayed equally by the parties to the controversy.

SEC. 7. The party making the original demand shall have the right to present its case and evidence without interruption, excepting that when oral evidence is introduced, cross-examination of witnesses shall be allowed. The opposing parties shall have the same right in turn. The first party shall then have the right to present evidence strictly in rebuttal, and the opposing party shall be allowed to present counter evidence strictly in surrebuttal. Where obection is made by either party to the admission of any evidence offered by the other party, the board by vote shall decide as to the admissibility of the evidence in question.

SEC. 12. When said hearing is concluded the board shall, without unnecessary delay, and as set forth in section 5, of this code, go into executive session, from which all persons except the four original members of the board shall be excluded, for the determination of its award. In its deliberations the transcript of the stenographic report shall be accepted as the best evidence of what occurred at the hearings, unless it can be shown that gross errors exist in said transcript. Should the four members be unable to decide upon the award, the chairman shall be called in, as provided in section 5 of this code. The award of the board must be formulated and signed by all of the members thereof at a regular executive session, after there has been full opportunity for consideration and discussion, the date and time of such session having previously been determined at a full meeting of the local board. If any member of the local board dissents from the award, and wishes to file a dissenting opinion, he shall give immediate notice to that effect, and shall, within forty-eight (48) hours after the award has been decided upon, and before it has been promulgated, formulate his reasons for dissenting, and such opinion must be signed by him before final adjournment at a regular executive session arranged for as above provided. Such dissenting opinion, when thus signed, must be attached to the award.

It was explained to the convention that it had been the aim of the executive council of the International Union and the special standing committee of the publishers' association since the formulation of the then existing contract to so arrange it that decisions by local arbitration boards would be assured, but this had been found to be impossible under even numbered local boards. Repeated requests had come to the national board for permission to pass up local arbitration altogether and take the case direct to the national board. These requests had been generally declined and local arbitration had been insisted upon except in instances of disputes arising as to the meaning of provisions in local contracts. As a result of

the failure of even numbered local boards to agree, the national board of arbitration had been compelled to give a great deal of its time to the consideration of scale cases coming to the board as a court of original jurisdiction. This had come to be such an abuse that it was determined to terminate it by the amendments referred to and quoted above. It had been suspected by members of the national board that local decisions were possible if the local parties to the issue cared to shoulder the responsibility of making decisions, but the deadlock made possible by even numbered local boards presented the means of sending the cases to the national board and placing on the members of that body the responsibility for all decisions, then when the decisions were rendered the dissatisfaction could be shifted to the national board of arbitration. Under the proposed new agreement local decisions would be assured and the responsibility for the conduct of a case and for success or failure in the first instance would rest on the local parties to the arbitration. Cases would come to the national board under the new agreement only on appeal or where it was impossible to secure local arbitration.

The convention committee to which the arbitration contract was referred made an exhaustive report on the subject, which is quoted herewith, in part:

Your committee on arbitration has given careful consideration to the report of the officers on the important question of conciliation and arbitration, which has prevailed for a period long enough to demonstrate its true value as a medium for the settlement of those differences which so frequently occur in scale contentions and betterment of working conditions, and unanimously endorse the prevailing peace policy of our organization, and compliments and commends the executive council on the excellent showing made in the performance of this duty.

During the past ten years, through the medium of arbitration, the International Typographical Union has made such wonderful progress and conducted its affairs in so business-like manner, that it has become absolutely unnecessary to resort to the often expensive and ineffective strike to effect a settlement of differences with those employers with whom we have agreements.

The strikes and lockouts of the past created hatred in the hearts of both contestants and often led to dire disaster and want in the home of the striker; and too often it took years of earnest endeavor to harmonize differences that in the beginning were of a trifling and trivial nature. The strike

and boycott never promoted organization, and but rarely were of benefit to either of the parties involved. While our right to strike can never be taken from us, it should not be resorted to until every effort has been exhausted to effect an adjustment of the differences by the sane and peaceful method of conciliation and arbitration.

In this report we find mention of the adjustment of many questions by the chairman of the Newspaper Publishers' Association and the president of the International Typographical Union. It is indeed a well-conceived plan—an admirable arbitration agreement—that puts in the hands of our officials the power to effect the settlement of minor differences which so frequently, in the long ago, resulted in savage contests for supremacy.

The reports of the president and the executive council are so complete, and treat the subject of arbitration in all its phases so comprehensively, we recommend that these reports be placed before the entire membership as soon after the adjournment of this convention as is practicable.

It is assumed that the delegates to this convention are familiar with the present arbitration agreement, and we deem it unnecessary to discuss it at length in this report, other than to say that the code of procedure was prepared to cover every contingency that might arise, and probably had these measures been more carefully considered by the proper officials and the arbitrators selected by the local unions interested, and the provisions of the code followed with that intelligence that is only to be acquired by careful preparation, the results attained would have been more far-reaching and beneficial to all concerned. Many so-called successful strikes are compromises, and those of our members who are able to direct a strike should be brave enough to stand for a just settlement of differences by arbitration under our agreement.

President Lynch in his report makes an unanswerable statement when he says "that the International Typographical Union has prospered and progressed during the period of its agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association." It is more than probable that, had it not been for this agreement, the eight-hour strike might have been lost to us, for the very good reason that a large part of the membership, earning fair wages, were secure in their places and thereby contributed materially to the successful termination of that struggle, and thereafter to the large increase in the finances of the International Typographical Union, making the old age pension a success, thus securing to our old members a fund that is for their material benefit when unable to obtain sustaining employment; placing the Home in first-class condition; increasing the membership at an astonishing rate, and placing our International and local unions in the lead of all others.

We desire to call your attention to the great number of subordinate unions having agreements with the publishers in force July 1, 1911, which should be sufficient proof that the method is a popular and successful means of adjusting those differences that are sure to arise from time to time.

The decisions of the arbitration board appearing in the report cover a period ranging from the year 1907 to the present time. Every conceivable dispute that could possibly arise has been presented for adjustment. That many important publications have continued to employ members of our union is because the publishers believed that each side was sure to be given a square deal. This agreement is not perfect perhaps, but we believe it is the most intelligent and best method yet devised for the settlement of working conditions and scale controversies.

It is beyond reason to expect every member of either organization to be satisfied with the awards made, but we are of the opinion that the great majority of the membership of the International Typographical Union, who desire the organization to prosper and grow greater and stronger—those who wish to live in peace with their neighbors and their own kindred—will uphold this

rational method, that the unions may continue to enjoy that progress and prosperity that has prevailed during the past ten years.

Your committee has thoroughly considered the proposed international arbitration agreement and earnestly recommends that the convention adopt it. The proposed agreement is far in advance of any method ever attempted by any labor organization, and if it does not work out, we have been assured other measures will be devised to bring about the result desired.

One point the committee wishes to bring out clearly is that the acceptance of this agreement is wholly optional with the local unions.

Your committee believes that under the new agreement and code of procedure better and quicker results will be obtained, and that appeals to the National Board will be lessened, but, when taken, decisions can be rendered in much less time than in the past, because under its administration the proceedings of local boards will be clearer and recite the conditions as they actually exist.

During consideration of the committee's report, several amendments to the agreement were offered by various delegates, but, after discussion, all of the amendments were defeated and the document as presented was adopted as a whole.

Commissioner Kellogg's Address — Commissioner H. N. Kellogg, of the publishers' association, was a visitor to the convention and, upon invitation, addressed the delegates. His remarks, bearing partially on the proposed new arbitration agreement, were as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: In accordance with the usual custom, I am with you today to extend the greetings of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to the International Typographical Union; to express the interest of our association in this meeting and the hope that wise and conservative action will result.

The reports of your officers for the past year show that remarkable progress has been made during that period. I congratulate you upon your continued success.

You are, of course, all aware through the supplemental report of your executive council, that a committee was appointed at our convention in April to consider new arbitration agreements with the various international unions, to take the place of those which will expire on May 1 next.

In accordance with that action, our arbitration committee has had numerous conferences with your executive council. A tentative agreement has been concluded, subject to final approval by you and by our committee, which was appointed with power to act.

The terms of the tentative agreement are not entirely in accord with our views of what such an agreement should contain, because they do not provide for free and unrestricted arbitration.

It seems to us, that having accepted the principle of arbitration, the International Typographical Union should be willing to accept it in its full measure. I trust your deliberations on this subject will result in your concluding to agree to arbitration without restriction.

You are, of course, aware that treaties providing arbitration have been in effect between the great nations of the world for a number of years. That our

government and that of Great Britain and France have recently adopted the principle of arbitration without restriction. Surely you should not hesitate to follow such illustrious example.

During the past year, as you all know, the campaign of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association for the removal of the tariff from white paper, and the materials which enter into its manufacture, has been partially successful.

Our association has been carrying on this campaign for four years. Several times during that period we have requested co-operation by the International Typographical Union in this movement and in every instance your officers have given us their assistance. We sincerely appreciate that action.

There have been many differences between the members of our association and your local unions during the past year. Nearly all of these differences have been finally adjusted in accordance with the terms of the arbitration contract.

I desire to express our appreciation of the promptness and courtesy displayed by your International officers in dealing with the various problems that have been presented for solution.

I trust the pleasant and harmonious relations between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union will continue for at least another five-year period.

I thank you for your kind attention.

ILLEGAL STRIKE AT CHICAGO

On February 28, 1911, the members of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 working in the offices of the Chicago Examiner and the Chicago American, to the number of about 200, walked out. The cause of the walkout was a dispute as to the measurement of type set on the machines in the two offices, the contention of the union being that the type should be measured 13½ ems wide, while the office sought to pay the men on the basis of 13 ems. The columns of the paper were 12 ems and ten points in width.

Previous to the decision of the National Arbitration Board in the Chicago scale case, all the members of No. 16 working on the two papers with which the controversy occurred were paid on a flat time basis, but under the provisions of a contract existing previous to the arbitration decision the two offices had been placed on the same scale basis paid in the other newspaper offices in Chicago (either a time or a bonus scale), the bonus scale being accepted.

When the bonus scale was put into effect the president of No. 16 instructed the general foremen of the

American and Examiner offices to cast the measure up on the basis of 13½ em columns. The payment for the first week's work under the bonus scale was made upon this basis. The management of the offices then claimed that the measure had been cast on this basis without their knowledge, and instructed the foremen to recast it on a 13-em basis. Payment on a 13-em basis was made for one week and at the close of the second week a demand was made for payment on a 13½-em basis for the two weeks. A dispute having arisen, the management contended that they were entitled to arbitration as a means of settlement, but the officers of the local union held that while they might be entitled to arbitration they must continue the condition that had been created during the first week by order of the president of the union until the entire matter was settled through the arbitration proceedings. The management refused to accept that ruling, but agreed to place the difference in money in the hands of the president of the union, or any one to be named by the officers of the union, until the question could be settled. This offer was rejected and on February 28, 1911, all of the members working in both chapels walked out.

The first intimation to the executive council that trouble was likely to occur in the offices of the American and the Examiner was in a telegram addressed to President Lynch from Commissioner H. N. Kellogg, of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and received by Mr. Lynch in Philadelphia, at midnight on February 27, 1911. Immediately following the receipt of Mr. Kellogg's telegram, President Lynch wired President O'Brien of No. 16, as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., 12:30 A. M., February 28, 1911.

GEORGE R. O'BRIEN, *President Typographical Union, Postal Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.*

Kellogg wires me dispute with Hearst papers serious and trouble liable. Of course, under arbitration agreement, disputes must be peaceably adjusted,

work continuing in the interim between raising of question and its settlement. Know that you will see agreement is observed. Wire me Tuesday, Ebbitt House, Washington D. C. JAMES M. LYNCH.

In order that this history may contain the story of the Chicago walkout exactly as the incident was reported to the San Francisco convention, the report of the executive council on the subject is reproduced herewith, and following the council's report will be found the report of the convention committee and the action of the convention itself regarding the walkout.

At the time the walkout occurred President Lynch was in Washington, D. C., on official business, and the first information which any official of the International Typographical Union received that a walkout had occurred was by President Lynch through a bulletin posted on a bulletin board in Washington.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DISAVOWS STRIKE

President Lynch immediately got into communication with Secretary-Treasurer Hays, and the executive council, in accordance with the provisions of the laws of the International Typographical Union, disavowed the strike as illegal and without warrant or reason and ordered the men to return to work. The publishers of the Examiner and American were also informed of this decision by President Lynch, in accordance with our contracts and laws.

The president of No. 16 refused to accept this order over the telephone, and also stated that No. 16 did not desire the interference of the executive council, nor would the men be ordered to return to work. In fact, he stated that the executive council's mandate that the men must return to work would be ignored. He was then informed that the question in controversy must be settled under the laws of the International Typographical Union and the local contract and national arbitration agreement, which were a part of the Chicago scale of prices; that if the men did not return to work in accordance with the orders of the executive council the council would order that type for the American and Examiner be set by our members in other chapels, and that it would use every effort to see that the papers on which the strike occurred were issued with the the least possible delay.

The council having been informed by the president of No. 16 that its mandate would not be obeyed, then sent telegrams to the chairmen of the Chicago Tribune, Record-Herald, Inter Ocean, Post, Journal, News, American and Examiner, instructing them that if copy was presented for the men in the different chapels to set for the American and Examiner that the men were instructed to set it, unless our members who had walked out of the American and Examiner returned to work at once. A copy of this telegram was sent to President O'Brien, and is as follows:

"MARCH 1, 1911.

"GEORGE R. O'BRIEN, *President Typographical Union No. 16, Rooms [illegible] Postal Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.*

"The following telegram has just been sent to the chairmen of chapels in the offices of the Tribune, Record-Herald, Inter Ocean, Post, Journal, News, American and Examiner:

" 'If the members of No. 16 who walked out of the offices of the Chicago American and Examiner do not return to work at once the executive council of the International Typographical Union instructs you to have the members in

your chapel set such type for the American and Examiner as you may be furnished copy for. This action is taken in accordance with sections 147 and 152 of the International Typographical Union general laws, reading as follows:

"'SEC. 147. Whenever a strike occurs without the sanction of the executive council, the council must immediately disavow the illegal strike and notify all subordinate unions to that effect. Protection shall be guaranteed to all members who remain at, accept or return to work in offices affected by the illegal strike, as specified in section 152. Any officer or member of a union who shall suppress or conceal from his union or the executive council any official information concerning a strike, or a proposed strike, shall upon conviction by the local union be suspended or expelled.

"'SEC. 152. To affect union men prejudicially to their standing in the union who remain at work in an office where any number of the union men in such office have struck work on what they deem good grounds for such action, the strike must have been authorized in accordance with sections 145, 146 and 148 of this law. Unless so authorized, those remaining at work are not liable to charges of violation of any union laws.'

"By order of the executive council, J. W. HAYS, *Secretary.*"

The above mentioned telegrams to President O'Brien and the chapel chairmen of Chicago were sent from International headquarters about 2:30 A. M. of March 1.

SPECIAL MEETING OF CHICAGO UNION

During Tuesday, March 1, the executive council received information that a special meeting of Typographical Union No. 16 would be held at 5 P. M., and by order of the executive council the following telegram was sent to President O'Brien:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., March 1, 1911.

"GEORGE R. O'BRIEN, *Rooms 224–226 Postal Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.*

"The International executive council, giving further consideration to the Chicago situation, today instructed me to wire you reiterating what I said to you over the telephone early this morning, that the council demands that the members of No. 16 be instructed to return to work in the offices of the Chicago American and the Chicago Examiner, and that the laws of the International Typographical Union be fully complied with. The executive council also desires that all of the messages and communications referring to this subject which you have received from either Lynch or myself be read at the meeting of No. 16 this afternoon.

"J. W. HAYS."

Replying to this telegram, the following was received at Indianapolis at 4:55 P. M.:

"CHICAGO, March 1, 1911.

"J. W. HAYS, *Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.*

"This resolution was adopted by the executive committee on No. 16 previous to the receipt of your latest wire ordering employes of the Examiner and American to return to work: '*Resolved,* That in view of the position of President Lynch, as indicated by a dispatch to the publishers' association, as well as that of the executive council of the International Typographical Union, in regard to the action of the American and Examiner chapels in quitting employment at 3 o'clock P. M., Tuesday, February 28, for non-payment of wages, the executive committee of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 is compelled to recommend to this union that the order of the executive council, directing members of the American and Examiner chapels to return to work, pending an adjustment of the matter in dispute, be complied with.'

"G. R. O'BRIEN."

Convention at San Francisco, 1911

The result of the special meeting of No. 16 held on March 1 and the subsequent action of the executive council regarding the strike is fully set forth in the following letter, which was addressed to President O'Brien, of No. 16, and copies thereof furnished to the entire membership of No. 16:

LETTER TO PRESIDENT OF CHICAGO UNION

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., March 13, 1911.

"MR. G. R. O'BRIEN, *President Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago, Ill.*

"DEAR SIR: On Wednesday, March 1, Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, in special session, adopted resolutions in part as follows:

"'*Resolved,* That Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, having obeyed the mandate of the International Typographical Union council, as expressed in the telegrams from President Lynch and Secretary Hays, hereby requests President Lynch and the executive council immediately to proceed to Chicago and assume control of the questions in controversy between Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 and Chicago local American Newspaper Publishers' Association.'"

In acknowledging your telegram and letter transmitting the foregoing to Secretary-Treasurer J. W. Hays, that official said:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., March 3, 1911.

"GEORGE R. O'BRIEN, *President No. 16, 280 La Salle Street, Chicago.*

"DEAR MR. O'BRIEN: I have your telegram and letter quoting the resolutions adopted by No. 16 asking the executive council to come to Chicago and assume control of the questions in controversy between No. 16 and the publishers. There is to be a meeting of the Joint Conference Board of the allied printing trades council in this office on Monday next. As soon as possible after that date the executive council will arrange to go to Chicago. At that time the questions contained in your letter can be taken up.

"Fraternally yours,
"J. W. HAYS."

On Thursday, March 9, Secretary Hays wired you thus:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., March 9, 1911.

"GEORGE R. O'BRIEN, *Rooms 224-226 Postal Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.*

"Executive council will be at Briggs House tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.
"J. W. HAYS."

On the morning of Friday, March 10, at the Briggs House, Chicago, the following communication was received from you:

"CHICAGO, ILL., March 9, 1911.

"J. W. HAYS, *Secretary Executive Council, Briggs House, Chicago.*

"DEAR MR. HAYS: Your telegram stating that the 'executive council will be at the Briggs House tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock' received. It may be necessary to review many documents in this controversy, and I would request that the council meet at Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 headquarters, room 224, 280 La Salle street, as soon as convenient after 10 A. M. Friday, March 10.

"Fraternally yours,
"G. R. O'BRIEN, *President.*"

Shortly after 10 o'clock on Friday morning the executive council met you, and members of your scale committee, and, acting through President Lynch as spokesman, discussed in all of its phases the recent difficulty with the Hearst Chicago papers.

You were asked to name specifically the points that it was desired the

executive council should take up with the Chicago Publishers' Association, and after much questioning on the part of the council you were finally pinned down to the matters that you have previously taken up with the Chicago Publishers' Association or that the association had taken up with you in accordance with the method outlined in the contract between Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 and the Chicago local of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, as follows:

"It is agreed that both the language and the spirit of this contract between the Chicago local of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 make it imperatively obligatory on both parties, whenever any difference of opinion as to the rights of the parties under the contract shall arise, or whenever any dispute as to the construction of the contract or any of its amendments takes place, at once to appeal to the duly constituted authority under the contract—namely: the joint standing committee, to the end that fruitless controversy shall be avoided and good feeling and harmonious relations be maintained, and the regular and orderly prosecution of the business in which the parties have a community of interest be insured beyond the possibility of interruption.

"It is further agreed that this contract, being between the Chicago local of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, and underwritten by the International Typographical Union, all questions in controversy primarily concern the two contracting parties alone, and are not to be taken up for or against any individual member of either one of them, but shall be referred to the joint standing committee.

"In furtherance of harmonious action, to fulfil this contract in letter and spirit, to prevent misunderstandings and to make plain the course of procedure, it is agreed that a new ruling by either party under the contract shall be immediately referred by its president to the president of the other party, and if they agree as to the propriety of said ruling they shall at once formally notify all the parties to the contract to that effect, and it shall be of binding force; but if they fail to agree within forty-eight hours as to such ruling, the question in dispute shall be referred immediately by either party through the proper authority, as provided by the contract, to the joint standing committee for settlement, as provided by the contract—and pending consideration by the presidents as aforesaid, or by the joint standing committee, no attempt shall be made to enforce such ruling, and such appeal having been made, and written notice to that effect having been served by the party making the appeal to the other party, the latter shall await the decision of the joint standing committee. In the meantime the new ruling shall not be in force, but should the joint standing committee sustain the ruling, its operation shall be as of date when first announced, and any moneys due under the ruling by either party to the other shall then be paid without further delay."

Having pressed you to this point, the council then explained to you that it had no power or authority to assume jurisdiction over the real questions at issue, as the local contract set forth a specific method for their adjustment, and formal waiver to this method could only be made jointly by both parties to the contract, and not by one party to the contract.

You then again attempted to raise numerous other points and questions that had not previously been taken up by you with the Chicago Publishers' Association, and the executive council again and again impressed upon you that we had no power to change the procedure set forth in the local contract.

The recent illegal strike of the members of No. 16 employed on the Hearst Chicago papers, a strike which in the course of the interview you informed us you fully approved, was also the subject of discussion. You were informed that the first intimation of the contemplated trouble given to any member of the executive council was contained in a telegram from Mr. H. N. Kellogg to

President Lynch, at Philadelphia, at midnight on Monday, February 27, and that President Lynch immediately wired you as follows:

"PHILADELPHIA, PA., 12:30 A. M., February 28, 1911.

"GEORGE R. O'BRIEN, *President Typographical Union, Postal Telegraph Building,, Chicago, Ill.*

"Kellogg wires me dispute with Hearst papers serious and trouble liable. Of course, under arbitration agreement, disputes must be peaceably adjusted, work continuing in the interim between raising of question and its settlement. Know that you will see agreement is observed. Wire me Tuesday, Ebbitt House, Washington, D. C.

"JAMES M. LYNCH."

We have official knowledge, given us by a Chicago representative of the Western Union Telegraph Company, that you received the foregoing telegram at 8:30 A. M. on Tuesday, February 28, or more than six hours before the illegal strike occurred.

You were also informed that Mr. Kellogg met President Lynch in Philadelphia on Tuesday, February 28, and that President Lynch at that time flouted the idea that there would be strike trouble in Chicago, and again expressed to Mr. Kellogg his firm belief that you would not permit violation of the arbitration agreement and of the Chicago contract. That President Lynch then left Philadelphia for Washington, D. C., where he had important business, and that Mr. Kellogg also went to Washington. That when President Lynch arrived at the Ebbitt House in Washington he found an answer from you to his Philadelphia message, but that your answer contained no intimation that a strike was in progress or in contemplation. You were also informed that the first intimation or knowledge that any member of the executive council received that a strike had actually been declared in the composing rooms of the Chicago American and Chicago Examiner was given to President Lynch by a member of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, who called President Lynch's attention to an item covering the illegal strike appearing in a bulletin posted by a Washington bulletin company, and that this information was later confirmed by Mr. H. N. Kellogg. In short, that it was five hours after the strike occurred before President Lynch accidentally learned of it, and then received the official confirmation from the representative of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and yet during all of this time you knew the address of President Lynch and also the addresses of the other members of the executive council.

It was also set forth that immediately President Lynch had knowledge of the illegal strike, he sent you the following message, at an almost identical time, over both the Postal and Western Union lines:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., February 28, 1911.

"GEORGE R. O'BRIEN, *President Typographical Union, Postal Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.*

"Just learned of strike on Hearst papers, in violation of arbitration agreement and contract obligations. Men must return to work at once and protection guaranteed to those who obey this order.

"JAMES M. LYNCH."

The council has official knowledge that you received the foregoing message from the Chicago office of the Postal Telegraph Company at 10:15 P. M., on Tuesday, February 28, and at 10:40 P. M., on the same day from the Chicago office of the Western Union.

You were also informed that immediately on learning of the illegal strike President Lynch wired Secretary-Treasurer Hays, and later talked with that

official over the long distance telephone, and that Secretary Hays in turn talked with you over the telephone and also wired you in support of the effort made by the executive council to protect the contracts that had been violated by the illegal strike.

After this general discussion you remarked substantially as follows:

"Well, the only way to settle this matter is to call a special meeting of No. 16."

To this President Lynch, for the council, immediately replied substantially as follows:

"That is perfectly satisfactory to us. We have nothing to conceal and nothing to apologize for. Hold the special meeting next Sunday. Secure the largest available hall in Chicago, so that every member of No. 16 may have opportunity to attend. Call the meeting for 1 o'clock so that there may be plenty of time for the fullest and freest discussion."

You then began arranging for the hall. We were finally given to understand that two halls were obtainable, one of them the Lyric Theater. You also prepared the official call for the meeting, and about 12 o'clock the members of the executive council left the headquarters of No. 16 with the belief that the special meeting would be held, and to make necessary preparations for that meeting. So secure were the members of the council in the belief that the special meeting would be held, according to schedule, that the International headquarters at Indianapolis were called, and in order to avoid all chance for accident or delay, a special messenger was directed to bring to Chicago all of the records in connection with the illegal strike, and this messenger arrived in Chicago Saturday morning with the required documents.

But about 3 o'clock on Friday afternoon you called President Lynch on the telephone at the Briggs House and informed the president that the special meeting would not be held, as no suitable hall could be secured, and that a meeting of your executive committee would be held at 6 o'clock in the evening, and it was desired that the executive council should attend this meeting. President Lynch said he would communicate the information to the executive council and call you up later.

It seemed exceedingly strange to the executive council that in a city of Chicago's population and area it was impossible to obtain a hall for such an important meeting. So, as the Lyric Theater was one of the places you had under consideration for the meeting, the management of that theater was called on the telephone, and asked if the theater could be obtained. The reply was that the Lyric Theater could be obtained for Sunday afternoon from 1 to 6 o'clock, and that the theater would seat 1,400 people. With the stage and standing room utilized, this would mean at least 2,000 people.

This convinced the members of the council that they were being jockeyed with for some purpose not then clear, but that nevertheless the council would attend the meeting of your executive committee. President Lynch then called you on the telephone and asked you the object of the committee meeting. You replied evasively and contradictorily, finally contenting yourself with the assertion that the executive committee was the union between meetings, and as there was not to be a special meeting of the union, therefore the executive committee meeting. President Lynch said to you that the executive council had in the morning attended a meeting of yourself and scale committee, and had thoroughly gone into matters, and therefore could not understand why another committee meeting was necessary; that what the executive council was anxious for and most desired was a special meeting of the union. However, you were insistent that the council should attend the executive committee meeting.

At 6:20 o'clock the council arrived at your headquarters, and you called the meeting to order, immediately placing before the attendants a long type-

written document. This document, which proved to be a reiteration of your many and conflicting statements of the morning of points of difference that you claimed the council should take up and questions the council should answer, was then read by the committee's secretary, and its adoption moved. Two members of your committee questioned statements contained in the document and attempted to ask you questions, but you promptly silenced them. The document was then adopted by the committee, notwithstanding that several members of the committee had but just heard its contents and had no opportunity to digest them. But you had it adopted.

You then expressed the hope that the executive council would give the document early consideration, and your committee a speedy reply. Evidently this was intended as the council's dismissal, but President Lynch for the council insisted on making a statement immediately.

President Lynch said that the committee's evident purpose (and you are a member of and chairman of the committee) was to secure delay; that what the executive council wanted was a special meeting of the union on Sunday, and that the council had been denied that meeting; that you knew the document just adopted meant delay, as it had been explained to you in the morning that the proper procedure for the settlement of disputed points was as set forth in the local contract and that the council had no jurisdiction; that the responsibility for the delay in the adjustment of the points in dispute with the publishers would be on you and your committee; that you and your committee were simply sparring for time; that you and your committee were evidently afraid to hold a special meeting of No. 16. You replied that you were not afraid to appear before any meeting of No. 16. President Lynch then asked why you did not create and accept the opportunity to appear and state your case and permit the executive council to do likewise by calling a special meeting as you had agreed to do in the forenoon. To this question you did not vouchsafe a reply. It was noticeable that at the evening meeting you did not make the claim that a suitable hall could not be obtained for the special meeting, but shifted to the excuse that you could not notify the membership of No. 16 in time. The executive council knows that your special meeting of Wednesday, March 1, was called in much less time, and was a most representative gathering. But at that time perhaps you had the impression that you were a martyr to the executive council's insistence on the inviolability of law and contracts, and you wanted that special meeting held.

As the members of the council were retiring from your executive committee meeting, you jeeringly asked if the executive council intended to "run away" to Indianapolis on the first train. You were distinctly informed by President Lynch that the executive council would remain in Chicago until Sunday evening.

The council remained in Chicago Saturday and Sunday, as you were informed they would do, the council hoping against hope that, knowing this, you would on Friday night or Saturday morning call a special meeting of No. 16 for Sunday afternoon, at which both you and the council, face to face with the members of No. 16, could give an account of their stewardship. The council hoped in vain. You were determined there should not be a special meeting.

The executive council, having been deprived by you of the opportunity of setting forth all the facts before the membership of No. 16, in special meeting assembled, will furnish to each member of No. 16, whose name and address we have, a copy of this letter.

We will also present to the membership of the International Typographical Union, in the next issue of the Typographical Journal, a complete history of the illegal strike, and subsequent events.

As to the points of difference between No. 16 and the Chicago publishers,

they can be speedily adjusted under the terms of the local contract, and you know it. You also know that the executive council has no jurisdiction at present over these disputes and can not take jurisdiction.

The executive council has performed its duty in protecting the contract. It is now clearly up to you to perform your duty as specified in the contract.

Summarized, the position of the executive council is:

That differences between No. 16 and the Chicago local American Newspaper Publishers' Association must be settled between the parties thereto in accordance with the contract and the national arbitration agreement, and the council can not consider them until presented in proper form.

That you allowed a strike to occur in violation of both an existing contract and the laws of the International Typographical Union, notwithstanding that at the time of the walkout you were in possession of a telegram from President Lynch notifying you that pending a settlement of any differences work must continue.

That when the executive council issued orders in accordance with International laws that the men must return to work and disavowed the illegal strike you accused its members of being strikebreakers, and that you later prevented the holding of a meeting of No. 16 to allow the members of the council to state their position to the members of the Chicago Typographical Union.

Because of your position the executive council takes this method of reaching the members of No. 16, and this communication will be published.

Fraternally,

James M. Lynch,
Hugo Miller,
J. W. Hays,
Executive Council International Typographical Union.

AT THE REGULAR MEETING OF NO. 16

During the time intervening between the visit of the executive council to Chicago, when the effort of the council to have a special meeting of No. 16 failed, and the regular March meeting of No. 16, which occurred on the 26th inst., resolutions were received by the executive council from the Examiner chapel requesting that it attend the regular meeting of No. 16, and with the request made in the resolutions the council complied.

At the meeting held on the 26th inst. the capacity of the hall in which the meeting was held was taxed by the large number of members present, and, while considerable time was devoted to what it was supposed would be a discussion of the proper handling of the issues in dispute which brought about the illegal strike, the meeting, nevertheless, failed to touch to any extent at all upon those issues, but rather devolved into a clamor trying to justify the illegal strike and lost sight entirely of the fact that the issues raised were still there and must be settled in accordance with the laws of the International Typographical Union, which laws have been the guide for every action taken by the executive council. During the meeting the executive council and its members were subjected to all the abuse that vitriolic oratory could emit, and it became quite apparent that a large number of the members of No. 16 took the position that both the council and the laws of the International should be disregarded at any time at the behest of a subordinate organization. The result was that no action was taken at the meeting that would in any manner assist in the settlement of the difficulty, and the points in issue must, of necessity, remain unsettled until taken up in the manner provided by the contracts signed by the officers of No. 16.

The members of the executive council take the position that the laws of the International Typographical Union have been adopted by the membership and are intended to be lived up to; also that contracts once made must be

lived up to in all respects, and they will be lived up to so far as it is within the power of the executive council to see that they are enforced.

The strike on the Chicago American and the Chicago Examiner on February 28 was illegal and absolutely without warrant from any standpoint of International law or the contracts.

The report of the executive council, together with all data in connection with the walkout, was referred to the committee on subordinate unions. After a hearing covering the entire matter, the committee submitted the following report to the convention:

Your committee approves unqualifiedly the action of the executive council in regard to the illegal strike of February 28, 1911, in the offices of the Chicago Examiner and Chicago American, controlled by William R. Hearst, a gentleman whose cordial relations with and unfailing good will for the International Typographical Union should at least have prevented precipitate action, whatever may have been the grievance (real or fancied) against the institutions over which he has control.

On the coptrary, the record, as set forth fully in the report of the executive council, shows that the action of the Chicago union and its officers was in violation of the principles for which the International Typographical Union has stood for years—the arbitration of disputes between employer and employe, and the inviolability of contracts entered into in good faith.

Your committee would especially commend the prompt and vigorous measures taken by President Lynch and the executive council to secure compliance on the part of Chicago Union No. 16 with the contract obligations imposed upon them, not only by their local scale agreement, but also by the agreement with the national publishers' association.

Your committee is loath to believe, and does not believe, that the great majority of the membership of Chicago Union were cognizant of the circumstances under which the illegal strike was ordered, and the record justifies this belief, showing, as it does, that the efforts of No. 16's chief executive were directed not to the dissemination of all the facts among the membership, but rather to the concealment from the rank and file of the real state of affairs in connection with his action.

His action throughout the trouble deserves the severest censure.

The action of the executive council throughout every phase of the matter deserves the commendation of the convention, tending to prove to those with whom we enter into contracts that our organization is not only willing, but also is able to compel compliance with their terms.

While the report of the committee was under consideration by the convention an animated discussion took place in which Delegate Koop (Chicago) and former President O'Brien of Chicago Union defended the action of the officials responsible for the walkout, while former President Tole of New York Union, President Lynch and Secretary-Treasurer Hays justified the action of the executive council. Several delegates took the floor and,

without discussing the merits of the case, asked to be recorded as endorsing the action of the executive council. The previous question was ordered and the action of the executive council was unanimously endorsed.

LOAN TO UNITED HATTERS

In its report to the convention, the executive council referred to the fact that it had carried in the financial statement as an asset a loan that was made to the United Hatters of America during their great strike, the item amounting to $5,000. The hatters, in reply to a communication from Secretary-Treasurer Hays requesting payment of the obligation, under date of New York, July 19, 1911, said:

DEAR MR. HAYS: Your favor of the 14th inst. at hand, and note that your annual convention is to be held at San Francisco, Cal., next month.

Referring to the loan made by your organization to the United Hatters of North America during the lockout of 1909, for which you hold our note, I am directed by our general executive board to request your executive council to call this matter to the attention of your convention, and request that the note be canceled, and the amount considered as a donation from your organization. We negotiated for this note in good faith, and fully intended it would be paid back in the very near future, but as you are aware, the lockout dragged along for nearly a year, and finally resulted in the loss of seven of our largest factories, of which only two have since come back to union conditions. Our membership has not yet recovered from the great strain put upon them by the lockout, and the dulness of trade during the past year has materially affected our revenue, otherwise we would have taken up this note before now.

As you are aware, our organization has been in the thick of the fight for the past two years, and hardly a day went by that we did not have a strike, lockout or lawsuit to face, which meant considerable expense to our organization, and with all I am pleased to say that the note held by your organization is the only debt we owe to any labor organization.

If your organization could see its way clear to cancel this indebtedness, I am sure it would be highly appreciated by the officers and members of our organization; if not, we will appreciate it just the same and highly appreciate your kindness in making us the loan in time of need and being so patient about its return, and assure you that at the very first opportunity it will be paid.

Thanking you and the members of your organization for the many past favors rendered our organization, I am,

Respectfully yours,
MARTIN LAWLOR, *Secretary.*

The question was referred to the convention committee on returns and finances. This committee in its report to the convention said that the hatters had been under enor-

mous expense for strike purposes for a period of more than two years, and were still carrying heavy burdens. For this reason the committee recommended that the convention authorize the executive council to cancel and return the note of the hatters to the secretary of that body, with the compliments of the International Typographical Union, and that the secretary-treasurer be instructed to enter the item on his books as a donation to the strike fund of the hatters' union. The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESENTATION TO HUGO MILLER

During the progress of the San Francisco convention, on behalf of German-American Union No. 7, of New York, President Lynch read the following letter:

New York, August 4, 1911.

Mr. James M. Lynch, *President International Typographical Union.*

Dear Sir: Mr. Hugo Miller has been for the last twenty-five years the secretary of the German-American Typographical Union.

In order to show their high esteem the members of the German-American Union wish to award him with a token to prove their appreciation for the good work done by him in all these years.

They therefore most respectfully request you, both as president of the International Typographical Union and as a personal friend of Mr. Hugo Miller, to present this coat-of-arms to him in the name of the German-American Typographical Union at an open meeting during the convention.

You will receive this small, valuable package within a few days by express.

Hoping that you will bestow this great favor upon us, I remain,

Fraternally,

Paul H. Schubert,

Secretary New York German-American Union No. 7.

Mr. Lynch then presented the coat-of-arms referred to, and expressed his pleasure on having the honor of so doing. Vice-President Miller, in accepting the gift, said it was the greatest surprise of his life. He referred to the many obstacles encountered in his work and said that this gift more than repaid him for his labors.

THE BROTHERHOOD

From time to time throughout the history of the International Typographical Union various conventions have

passed resolutions and enacted laws having for their purpose the elimination of secret organizations or political machines alleged to exist for the purpose of influencing legislation and the election of officers of the organization, both local and international. At the San Francisco convention an amendment was offered to section 108, general laws, which prohibits membership in secret societies of printers. In the original section 108 it was provided that any member convicted of a violation of the law stood expelled from the union. The purpose of the amendment was to alter this section to provide that the penalty for a first offense be that a member so convicted should be ineligible for election or appointment to any office in the International Typographical Union, or any local union within its jurisdiction, and should be expelled only upon a second conviction. The particular section referred to, as amended, follows:

Section 108. It shall be unlawful for any member of any subordinate union of the International Typographical Union to belong to any secret organization, oathbound or otherwise, the intent or purpose of which shall be to influence or control the legislation or the business of such local union or of the International Typographical Union, the selection or election of officers of such local or International Union, or the preferred or other situations under their jurisdiction. Any member convicted of a violation of this section shall, for a first offense, be declared ineligible for election or appointment to any office in the International Typographical Union, or any local union within its jurisdiction, and upon conviction for a second offense shall stand expelled. All laws or parts of laws, constitutional or general, in conflict with this section, are hereby repealed.

In lieu of the above, the laws committee, to which the proposition had been referred, recommended the striking out of the entire section, offering as a reason that the matter was covered in the obligation which all members are required to take when admitted to the union. Following the committee's report, an animated discussion took place, which was intensified by reason of the fact that several meetings of an alleged secret character were known to have been held in San Francisco during the

convention week. On a roll call, the recommendation of the laws committee to eliminate the section was carried by 115 ayes, 102 noes.

Following the adjournment of the San Francisco convention, San Francisco Typographical Union initiated a referendum proposition to submit section 108 as amended to the membership. A sufficient number of endorsements were secured and a referendum vote was ordered to be taken on the 20th of March, 1912. Three propositions were submitted at this time. Summarized, the propositions, with the vote on each, are as follows:

First Proposition—Amend section 5, article vi, constitution; subsection b of section 3, article iv, by-laws, and section 3, article v, by-laws, more clearly defining the duties of the officers of the International Typographical Union in the care of funds, and to provide for their safe and profitable investment in government bonds, or approved, non-taxable, state, county, township, city or school bonds.

For, 21,707; against, 5,564. Majority for, 16,143.

Second Proposition—To provide for a new section in the general laws to take the place of section 108, stricken out by the San Francisco convention.

For, 18,756; against, 7,468. Majority for, 11,288.

Third Proposition—To provide for a new section in the general laws in lieu of the one proposed in the second proposition.

For, 12,004; against, 13,280. Majority against, 1,276.

Officers, 1912-1913 — At the biennial election of officers held on May 15, 1912, the following were chosen for the term beginning November 1, 1912: President, James M. Lynch, Syracuse; first vice-president, James M. Duncan, New York; second vice-president, Hugo Miller, Indianapolis; third vice-president, Charles N. Smith, New York; secretary-treasurer, J. W. Hays, Minneapolis. Delegates to American Federation of Labor—James M. Lynch (president), Syracuse; Frank Morrison, Chicago; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland; T. W. McCullough, Omaha; Hugh Stevenson, Toronto. Trustees Union Printers Home—James M. Lynch, Syracuse; J. W. Hays, Minne-

apolis; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs; Anna C. Wilson, Washington, D. C.; Michael Powell, Ottawa; C. L. Wood, Fort Worth; Walter E. Ames, Milwaukee. Agent—F. C. Roberts, Washington, D. C.

Convention at Cleveland

[1912]—The fifty-eighth convention of the International Typographical Union was called to order at Grays Armory, Cleveland, Ohio, August 12, 1912, by A. W. Thomson, chairman of the local entertainment committee of Typographical Union No. 53. Rev. E. R. Wright offered a prayer and Newton D. Baker, mayor of Cleveland, delivered an address of welcome. He was followed by Charles T. Scott, president of Cleveland Typographical Union; E. H. Baker, publisher of the Cleveland Plain Dealer; Joseph Weimer, representing the Cleveland Leader; H. N. Rickey, representing the Scripps-McRae League; David Gibson, a Cleveland journalist; and Harry D. Thomas, president Cleveland Federation of Labor. President Lynch responded on behalf of the delegates and visitors, and was followed by Secretary-Treasurer Hays, who presented a list of the delegates. After announcing the temporary officers of the convention, the president said that the convention laws provided for seven members for each committee, but that he believed the laws should be changed in order that more of the delegates could have a chance to serve on the committees. He said that he had placed eleven delegates on each committee, with the exception of the committee on laws, and asked the convention to endorse his action. An amendment to the convention laws providing for committees of eleven was offered by the laws committee and adopted by the convention, thus enabling the president to carry out his wishes in the matter.

Convention at Cleveland, 1912

The convention at Cleveland was the largest in the history of the union, 334 delegates being in attendance.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

In presenting his twelfth annual report as president of the International Typographical Union, President Lynch said that the parent body was further ahead from every viewpoint than it was when the previous convention had assembled. The Union Printers Home had been improved and beautified and was in magnificent condition. The technical education commission had continued successfully with the work committed to its charge. The campaign against tuberculosis and for sanitary composing rooms had progressed and the health of the members had been conserved. The label campaign had been pushed vigorously and the results had added patronage to union offices and provided additional work for members of the organization. The publicity campaign had been pushed earnestly and the union stood higher in public estimation because of its publicity policy than at any previous period in its history. Wages had been increased by millions of dollars, hours had been reduced whenever opportunity offered and working conditions had been bettered.

Speaking of the old age pension the president said that it could no longer be deemed a venture for it was on a secure and substantial basis. The mortuary plan, it was believed, from the short experience had, would prove successful in its operation. Speaking generally of the organization, the president said that the International Typographical Union in every one of its activities was adding to the comfort and happiness of its membership and therefore to the progress of the human family. No business venture had been more successful, no industrial organization more prosperous.

Referring to the importance of the reports of the vari-

ous officers and the duty of the delegates and the membership at large to keep in touch with the progress and development of the organization by reading the various reports submitted, President Lynch said that it was a part of the duties of the secretary-treasurer to print in pamphlet form the reports of the officers of the International Union and mail a copy of the volume to every delegate-elect a sufficient length of time in advance of the assembling of the convention to permit the members who make up the gathering to familiarize themselves with the subjects covered by the various reports. The theory was that each delegate would saturate himself with statistics and data, weigh carefully the arguments and statements made by the officers, and then come into the convention prepared to pass on proposed legislation with a full knowledge of the condition of the union and its future needs and possibilities. The reports in large measure included statistical literature and were not tinctured with the glamor of romance, nor was there the story of the triumph of the hero who ultimately achieved the vision of his dreams and no heroine appeared to resist the allurements and blandishments of the tempter in order that virtue might triumph, but running through the reports and standing out pre-eminently in every sentence and every paragraph was the story of the struggle of the wage earner to better his condition, to achieve the enjoyment of a greater measure of the possibilities of life and to leave behind him a heritage for his children to enable them to make of their lives a more satisfactory existence than their progenitors inherited. It was urged that the membership should familiarize themselves with the organization and take the same interest in their local unions as they did in all of their other affairs.

Facts and Figures — Some interesting facts and fig-

ures were included in the report of the president, as follows:

For the year ended May 31, 1909, members earned $40,293,738.
For the year ended May 31, 1910, members earned $45,602,944.
For the year ended May 31, 1911, members earned $49,770,668.
For the year ended May 31, 1912, members earned $53,378,902.
The average earnings per member per year for 1909 were $897.
The average earnings per member per year for 1910 were $953.
The average earnings per member per year for 1911 were $974.
The average earnings per member per year for 1912 were $992.
The average paying membership for 1909 was 44,921.
The average paying membership for 1910 was 47,848.
The average paying membership for 1911 was 51,095.
The average paying membership for 1912 was 53,807.

Strike of Chicago Web Pressmen — Early in May, 1912, difficulty arose between the Web Pressmen's Union of Chicago and the Chicago American and Chicago Examiner. A strike followed and later this strike was joined sympathetically by the stereotypers' union, which ordered its members out of the Chicago daily newspaper stereotype departments in violation of a general contract between the union and the publishers. After the difficulty occurred in the American and Examiner (Hearst) pressrooms the Chicago publishers claimed violation of the general contract between the pressmen and the publishers' association, and posted open shop notices. This was followed by a walkout on the part of all the union pressmen and later by the sympathetic action referred to on the part of the stereotypers and then by strikes on the part of the delivery wagon drivers and newsboys. At this stage in the development of the difficulty, efforts were made to embroil Mailers' Union No. 2 and Chicago Typographical Union No. 16. President Lynch, at the time the difficulty arose, was in an eastern city, but as soon as possible went on to Chicago and attended a special meeting of Mailers' Union No. 2 in which the strike situation in the other trades was considered, and a motion to support the strike sympathetically was defeated by a vote of 97 to 6. Then

a special meeting of Typographical Union No. 16 was held, the situation fully discussed, and the meeting adjourned until the following Sunday, when a resolution was adopted by a vote of 1,099 to 556, on a secret ballot, which referred all questions relative to the strikes of the pressmen, stereotypers, delivery wagon drivers and newsboys to the officers of No. 16 and the executive council of the International Typographical Union. Immediately No. 16, by the decisive vote above mentioned, announced its intention to abide by its contract with the Chicago publishers there began on the part of the representatives of the unions involved in the difficulty a campaign of falsehood, misrepresentation and intimidation aimed at the officers and members of Mailers' Union No. 2, Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 and of the International Union. This campaign was carried into the Chicago Federation of Labor, which was induced to espouse the cause of the men on strike regardless of the legality of the movement, its necessity, the broken contracts or the obligation resting on Typographical Union No. 16 to abide by its contract. The unions attacked through the Chicago Federation of Labor were refused the floor at the Federation meetings to explain and defend their attitude, and in every way possible it was sought to place the International Typographical Union and its subordinate bodies in a false and ununionlike position. This attempt, however, failed, as it was bound to fail. The position of the union that no violation of the contracts between it and the Chicago Publishers' Association be permitted was stoutly maintained. So virulent were the leaders of the striking unions that through one of their prominent associates they attempted to influence the result of the biennial election held by the International Typographical Union on May 15, 1912.

Convention at Cleveland, 1912

Referring to the Chicago difficulty and its relation to the fealty of contracts and the subject of closer affiliation with the allied trades, President Lynch submitted the following in his annual report:

This latest Chicago situation brings up the entire question of the value of contracts, the wisdom of entering into these covenants and our attitude after the agreements have been executed and signed. For more than a decade contracts have been a feature of the industrial policy of the International Typographical Union. They have assured to the union and to the employer industrial peace. With our first arbitration contract, approved by the membership, the local or labor contract became popular. Each year since that time thousands of these contracts have been entered into. So far as our unions have been concerned there have been but few violations of contracts, and this can also be said as to the employers parties to these contracts. The International organization has grown and prospered under the contract system; wages have been increased, conditions bettered and the number of hours making up the working day reduced. There is not a single business argument that can be advanced against the contract system. Indeed, with our allies in the printing industry, our sister international unions, contracts have been popular, and the advisability of entering into these agreements has never been questioned by them, except in periods of industrial stress similar to that through which we have just passed in Chicago. It can be asserted that with the four international unions in the printing industry with which we are associated there are as many contracts, proportionate to the number of offices in which the members of each international organization are employed, as are in effect between union offices and the subordinate unions of the International Typographical Union. Notwithstanding this, immediately the pressmen were in difficulty in Chicago and the other unions named joined issue with them in the struggle, there was an immediate demand that Chicago Typographical Union should go on sympathetic strike, notwithstanding that this meant violation of an agreement that had not in any way been violated by the employers party to it, an agreement which in varying form had been in existence for more than a quarter of a century. It meant more than this, for the unions that were on strike had made no preparation for the conflict, and all of them, more especially the principal international union involved, were without funds with which to conduct such a mighty conflict. The treasury of the International Typographical Union was then, and is, in magnificent condition, and if our local unions in Chicago had been allured by the sympathetic strike bait it would have been up to us to carry the struggle, not only in its industrial features, but also as to its financial requirements.

SUBJECT OF CLOSER AFFILIATION

The Chicago affair has again brought to the front the proposition for joint agreements and therefore joint action in case of difficulty. It is noticeable, however, that the apostles of this policy never allude to the machinery by which it is to be conducted. They shout from the house-tops approval of their ideas and carefully refrain from discussing so incidental a matter as the details under which the scheme is to be worked out. When we do finally pin these theorists down to facts, we invariably find, when their ideas are analyzed, that it is the International Typographical Union that is to bear the brunt of the conflict, both industrially and financially; we are to be the big brother, protector, and also the mint which is to supply the money. Needless to say, your officers have declined to enter into any such pact. We have always been

willing, and we are still willing, to go along with any proposition which will make the industrial burden rest with proportionate weight on the shoulders of each member of the five international unions. When this agreement can be worked out, and though it is confronted by many obstacles and will require time and patience, I still believe that it can be worked out, it must provide for every step in the proceedings, just as our arbitration agreement now provides for every step in the arbitration process. More especially, there must be an opportunity for the officers of the allied unions to act jointly in the attempt to evade trouble, and not to be called in after a strike has occurred. In our industry it has been demonstrated that, in the greater number of instances, where we can get an International representative on the ground when trouble threatens, the difficulty can be obviated if we can exert our influence before the trouble is actually on. When, however, a strike occurs and we then attempt to make a settlement, days and weeks, and sometimes months intervene before we are successful, and only too often the effort is not attempted with any kind of success. So of those who talk of joint agreement, and joint action, and closer affiliation, and solidarity of trade unionism, and all the rest of the stock arguments that are advanced in order to influence the inexperienced and unthinking, in applying their pet panaceas to the settlement of industrial difficulties, should be asked to explain in full the details of their schemes and especially the business end of their propositions.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Glancing back over the history of trade unions on this continent there can not be found a single instance in which an international union has been built up so that it has achieved a position of strength and stability where its policy has been faithlessness to its agreements and its contracts. If the history of the successful organizations is examined and analyzed it will be found that they have been successful for the reason that every effort has been made and every method has been applied to avoid instead of invite industrial difficulty. Compromises have been made even to the extent of partial nullification of union law; difficulties and obstacles have been overcome through patience and diplomacy; union ranks have been maintained in spite of opposition and persecution, not through resort to an unprepared for strike, but through constant negotiation and the battering down of prejudice and opposition against the trade union idea. This has been particularly true of the International Typographical Union. It has sought to avoid rather than to court trouble, but once in that trouble it has fought in the great majority of instances to a successful conclusion, and this without the aid of sympathetic strikes or the violation of contracts by affiliated organizations. Is it not wise, therefore, to continue in operation the policies justified by experience and which have made us great? The demagogue, the unthinking and irresponsible shouter, and those members who may be personally interested in fomenting trouble will always be with us, and while it is regrettable that we should have a situation such as that recently occurring in Chicago, yet it has served one useful purpose, and that is to arouse among inactive but conservative trade unionists a proper sense of the danger that can be incurred by the officer whose main qualification is abuse and whose main deficit is lack of ability to lead.

Benefit Features — In dealing with the general question of benefit features, President Lynch referred particularly to the old age pension law and the new mortuary benefit plan. The monthly statement appearing in the

Typographical Journal showed that the receipts for the old age pension fund exceeded the disbursements, with the result that a healthy reserve was being accumulated. While there was a goodly number of pensioners under the original pension law, quite an addition to the pension roll had been brought about because of modifications and extensions made in the law by the conventions at Minneapolis and San Francisco. The fact that this fund contained a substantial balance was looked upon as simply a guaranty of the permanency of the pension idea. If the number of pensioners ever became so large as to make the expenditures exceed the receipts, then the danger point in the proposition would be reached. So long as the receipts exceeded the expenditures, a healthy condition would be evident. It was also pointed out that it was to be expected that for some years the number of pensioners would gradually increase and that at a later date the number of pensioners would in all probability become stationary, based on a certain percentage of the members of the organization.

The mortuary benefit had been in existence only since April 1, 1912, so far as the increased amount of money paid at death was concerned, notwithstanding that assessments to create the fund began on January 1 of that year. The plan had been in operation for only a short time and while it was impossible to determine exactly how the proposition would work out, indications were that it would be entirely successful. On the basis of the first 100 deaths, the average amount per death claim paid was $336.48. Estimating the number of deaths for the year at 675, a number larger than in any previous year, allowing the excess because of increased membership, the amount to be paid out would be about $230,000, while the receipts for the same period would be about $275,000, thus leaving a substantial balance in the fund at the end

of the fiscal year. The president was strongly opposed to any change in the mortuary law by the Cleveland convention. In his opinion, another year, if not longer, should elapse before any change could be made that would be based upon exact and reliable data. The mortuary proposition was largely an experiment. It had been started on what was thought to be a safe foundation, based upon such facts as were in possession of the union at the time the law was passed, but whether the receipts of the fund were to equal the disbursements under the law could only be determined by actual experience. On the basis of the first 100 deaths the indications were reassuring, but after 500 or more benefits had been paid an opinion could be expressed regarding the cost of maintaining this benefit feature at the amounts fixed by existing law, and these amounts, compared with the receipts, could safely be used as a basis for amplification or modification of existing laws on the subject.

Arbitration — The arbitration agreement in effect with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, adopted by the San Francisco convention of 1911, had been accepted by seventy subordinate unions, covering 146 individual newspaper contracts. This was not as large a number of agreements as were in force under the arbitration contract during the previous five-year period. Some local unions had declined to assent to the execution of the new agreement, while some publishers and some associations of publishers had refused to execute the new compact. The reason for this, according to the president's view, was set forth in an address delivered before the American Newspaper Publishers' convention held in New York city in April, 1912, which is reproduced herewith. Notwithstanding that some unions and some publishers had refused to execute the new agreement, the president

was confident that it would be generally accepted before the end of another year.

In appearing before your convention today it seems to me that I may refer briefly to the history of the relations that have so far maintained between the International Typographical Union and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association—relations which, as you know, have covered nearly eleven years, and during all that time, with a few exceptions, we have managed to conserve industrial peace. There has not been an important newspaper strike in all those eleven years, and when we took up the negotiations for the new agreement we hoped that we might evolve an instrument that would be an improvement on the three that preceded it, and would even to a greater extent guarantee industrial peace for the coming five years. I thought when the new pact was agreed to that we had managed to put together such an instrument; that it was an agreement in one of its essential features that would give satisfaction to our local unions, and that was in giving them the right to say whether they would agree to issue new arbitration contracts or not—a right that was previously enjoyed by the local publisher. I believe if certain untoward occurrences had not taken place that that would have been a right that would have been more of a satisfaction to the local unions than one to which they would actually resort; that is, that all of the local unions that had arbitration contracts with local publishers heretofore would have made no objection, or, at least, no objection that might not have been overcome, to the issuing of new arbitration contracts. That would have been the result had not one of the largest local associations affiliated with this national association, even before the signatures were finally attached to the new arbitration agreement, sent out a notice to the publishers all over this country that this one associaion would not enter into arbitration agreements with the local unions affiliated with the International Typographical Union. It may have been the intention that this notice was to be confidential as between the publishers of this city that I speak of and the other cities throughout the country, but if that was the intention it did not work very well, because every one of our local unions, or at least members of these unions, in other cities became aware of the position taken by this large association. This was followed by a notice from another association affiliated with this national body, sent to publishers throughout the North American continent, that it would also decline to take out the new arbitration contract, and the opposition of this association became known to our local unions. And this attitude was taken, and these circulars sent out, notwithstanding that both of these associations had representatives on the committee of this body that negotiated with the executive council of the International Typographical Union for a new arbitration contract. As a result of all this, instead of 220 contracts that are at present in force, we have some ninety-seven agreements made at this time, with the prospect of the number being but slightly increased.

Now, as far as I am concerned, and as far as the International Typographical Union is concerned, we will manage to take care of our interests as we did before the arbitration contract was formulated and became effective. If these occurrences mean a disruption of the pleasant relations that have existed heretofore in any locality between our local unions and the members of this association, why, we will meet the issue when it arises and cross the bridge when we come to it. But as a sincere advocate of the arbitration method of settling disputes between employer and employe, as one who, in season and out of season, and before hostile gatherings of my own craft, and before gatherings of employers in other industries, has advocated arbitration, as we have

operated it for the settlement of these disputes between employer and employe, I want to say that I sincerely regret that, owing to the action and position of members of your association, we are now facing what may become an actual crisis in some localities, and what, if these crises actually take place, spells ruin for the arbitration idea, not alone in our industry, but, I am afraid, in many other industries of this country. Because, if this association, composed, as it is, of men who control the great mouthpieces of the country, and who, as they boast, are the men who form public opinion and guide it in the right channels, and this great International Typographical Union, composed, as it is, of the most skilled artisans on this continent, have made a failure of arbitration, surely there is very little encouragement for employers in other trades to take up a venture which as I have shown has received the stamp of disapproval of a number of the publishers and consequently of a number of the local unions. Let me say again, so far as I am personally and officially concerned, and so far as my attitude is concerned, while I remain an official of my organization I shall continue to favor the arbitration idea; but I want to say this, that my experience goes to show that where an employer and a group of employes organized in a trade union wait until the dispute actually arises before proceeding to arbitration, before providing the necessary machinery for arbitration, that arbitration rarely results; that the only safe method for preventing clashes between employer and employe lies in the formulation of an agreement, in the providing of the machinery and the necessary rules for arbitration long before the difficulties arise which finally go to arbitration, and thus insure industrial peace.

So, to those publishers who may be depending as a last resort on an eleventh-hour offer of arbitration, I want to say that perhaps they are leaning on a staff that is none too strong, and that when it is entirely too late they will realize the value of the agreements that have been built up with so much labor and carried out with so much patience by the gentlemen representing both organizations, who have been charged with their administration.

In concluding what I have to say, I want again to bear testimony to the efficiency—and, of course, that is a very dear term to the employer nowadays —the efficiency of the labor representative of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, a gentleman of tact and diplomacy, and above all a gentleman whose word once given, is taken, by me, at least, as one of the labor representatives, as absolutely good; who has helped to make the administration of the present arbitration contract since he has been in office, to my mind, a complete success. I thank you for your kind attention in listening to my views of the present situation, which I consider somewhat critical, and which I have tried to express to you as frankly as I generally express any opinion that I have. Again I thank you for your attention.

The chairman: "I wish to say, in response to Mr. Lynch's remarks in regard to the announcement that was sent out by the New York Association of Publishers, that he appears to attach too much importance to the expression of one body. The board of directors at the meeting we held last fall, I think it was, objected to that announcement. I think it was an error, and did not represent our body at all, and I regret very much that these unions should have attributed to the action of one association a matter of such great importance."

Union Printers Home — During the year covered by the report the property at Colorado Springs coming within the scope and title of the Union Printers Home had been improved and rearranged. The Home buildings

had been renovated and painted and the institution was in fine physical condition. Referring to the future of the Home, the president said that the old age pension, so successfully conducted by the union, had had its effect on the Home in that there had been a gradual reduction of the number of the older members seeking the Home as a refuge in their declining years. With the amended rule relative to the admission of patients to the tuberculosis sanatorium, there had been a gradual increase in the number of residents in that section of the Home. The requirement as to membership for this class of applicants had been reduced to a minimum in the belief that when the younger members contract tuberculosis they should not be asked as to how long they had been members of the International Typographical Union, but their applications for admission to the Home should be passed upon in view of the possibility for the recovery of the patient. Continuing, the president said:

I believe the Home has a new and greater career before it and that it should and will be converted into a printers' sanatorium, where all the members of the International Typographical Union, afflicted with disease of whatever nature, may find a home and a possible cure. Indeed, I would go further than this and establish an institution where our members who are exhausted and run down by the strenuous requirements of the composing room of today, might resort for a month, or two months, or six months, in order to build up a shattered nervous and physical system so that they may continue at their trade, useful members of society and supporters of families. * * * Why not, then, the Union Printers Home, converted into a great sanatorium and rest cure, where our enervated members may find that surcease from toil and worriment that will instil into their system energy and ambition and add to their years of usefulness. If this plan is eventually made effective, it will undoubtedly require some increase in the per capita that goes to the support of the Home, but after giving the proposal further study and consideration during the year that has just closed I am of the opinion that the board of trustees could gradually make the change and that as its wisdom and value were demonstrated, the membership would the more readily supply any additional moneys that might be required for the support of the great sanatorium idea. The library annex is complete with the exception of the interior finish of the two upper stories. It has not been found necessary to finish these two upper stories for the reason that, as stated, the number of residents in the main building has gradually declined. Why not, then, finish these two stories with the sanatorium idea in mind? The interior construction could be on the hospital basis, and then could begin the admission of applicants of the class covered in the quotation from my report of last year. At first it might be necessary to exercise discrimination as to the applicants admitted and to re-

ject applications filed by members with progressive diseases, especially so where these patients would require personal attendance. But the opportunity is present for a practical test and it is my belief that such a test should be made, for just as sure as the success of the pension idea continues, and it will continue, there will be further reduction in the number of the older members making application for admission to the Union Printers Home.

ADDITIONAL LAND SECURED

Some years ago the National Association of Letter Carriers gave encouragement to the proposition to build a home in Colorado Springs. We then had under lease, in the rear of the Home, 240 acres of state school land. This site was selected by the representative of the National Association of Letter Carriers for the proposed home for the organization and application was made to the State Land Board for its sale. In view of the fact that an organization of wage-earners was seeking to secure this land, the board of trustees of the Union Printers Home did not make objection, and when the sale was made there was but one bid, that of the representative of the letter carriers. After this transaction was completed, the National Association of Letter Carriers, by referendum vote, abandoned the home project. Immediately thereafter we began steps to again secure possession of the land, but we were not successful in this until many months had elapsed. Our effort to regain possession was bitterly contested by the representative in Colorado Springs of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and it was necessary for your president, as the representative of the board of trustees, to conduct a large volume of correspondence and make several trips to various points before we finally secured the land. These trips included one to Atlantic City to appear before the council of administration of the National Association of Letter Carriers; one to Rochester, N. Y., to appear before the convention of that organization, and another to Washington to again appear before the council of administration. At this last meeting agreement was reached under which the land was finally transferred to the Union Printers Home. The transfer was made by a commissioner appointed by the council of administration and the Colorado Springs representative of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and the cost of the land was $3,500. The tract embraces 160 acres, eighty acres of the original 240 having been secured by a state institution in Colorado Springs before we succeeded in bringing about a condition that permitted of the transfer of the land to the Home. However, the 160 acres secured are well worth the money paid, even as an investment, but to the Union Printers Home for the grazing of cattle the land is worth three times the amount that we paid for it. In all this transaction we avoided friction with the National Association of Letter Carriers. Indeed, it should be said here that the council of administration of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and especially President Kelly and Secretary Cantwell, did all in their power when their own project was abandoned to aid your president in securing the land for our Home. It might be well for the convention to pass a minute of appreciation of the attitude of the official representatives of the National Association of Letter Carriers on the land question as explained herein.

Typographia — Second Vice-President Miller, representing the German-American Typographia, said that three German unions gave up their charters during the year, due to the decline of German newspaper work in

this country. The remaining nineteen locals of the Typographia had, as usual, made substantial progress in increasing wages and improving the condition of their members. Several wage advances were secured during the year and the finances were in excellent condition. Expenses for out-of-work benefits were not excessive, as business had been fairly good throughout the period.

Mailers — Third Vice-President Smith, representing the mailers, reported one of the most prosperous years in the history of his branch of the International Union. It was the twentieth year of affiliation of the mailers with the parent organization and the third vice-president said that the mailers were proud of their parent body, and believed, with the substantial benefits derived therefrom, the mailers would never sever their connection with the International Typographical Union. Many new scales had been signed during the year and several unions organized.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report — The report of Secretary-Treasurer Hays began with a summary of the receipts and expenditures of the organization for the fiscal year. Receipts, including balance on hand at the beginning of the year, were $1,188,003.65; expenditures $532,461.01, leaving a balance on hand of $655,542.64. Of the balance $507,280.17 was credited to the pension fund. The amounts paid to the various unions for strike benefits and special assistance and other miscellaneous expense incurred under the direction of the executive council, were $22,743.10. Expenses of committees were $18,767.72; expenses of representatives, $27,819.97, making a grand total of $69,330.79.

Tuberculosis Campaign — Through the participation of local unions in the general war against tuberculosis, the International Union had become a recognized factor in

this important movement. Much publicity had been given to the union's work in different localities and it had been favorably commended. More than 50,000 tuberculosis folders were printed and distributed during the year. The expenses of the International Union during the year directly charged to the tuberculosis campaign were nominal.

Volume of Business — The summary of the daily record of mail and express matter sent out by the secretary-treasurer during the twelve months covered by his report showed a total of 119,759 letters and parcels. The volume of business of the secretary-treasurer's office was constantly increasing. This was the natural outcome of the added benefit features and the continued growth of the membership of the International.

Burial Benefits — Six hundred and fifty-five burial benefits were paid during the fiscal year. The record exceeded that of any previous twelve months and was sixteen more than were paid in the fiscal year of 1911. The benefits aggregated $74,698.85, or about $1.38 per member, based on the average paying membership. The death rate for the year was 1.217 per cent of the average membership, or a little more than 12 per 1,000. The average death rate since the establishment of the burial fund had been 1.25½ per cent, a little more than 12 per 1,000. The average age at death was 48.09 years. With a constantly increasing membership, the death rate had remained almost stationary and the average age at death had been extended eight years. In presenting this information to the convention, the secretary said: "Can better proof be offered of the benefits of shorter hours and sanitary workrooms on the health of the members?"

Membership — The receipts for per capita tax showed an average paying membership of 53,807 for the twelve

months ended May 31, 1912, being an increase of 2,712 over the year 1911, and 5,959 over 1910. During the year 16 charters were issued, 8 unions were suspended, 15 surrendered their charters, there being at the end of the year, 689 subordinate unions, of which 636 were English typographical; Typographia, 19; mailers, 29; newspaper writers, 4; typefounders, 1.

During the twelve months covered by the report, the receipts, monthly, from the pension assessment averaged $22,241.20, being 41.3 cents per member per month, or $4.96 per member per year. These figures meant that the total earnings of the membership during the year aggregated $53,378,902—$3,608,234 more than in the previous year—$992.04 per member, an increase of $17.91 per member, based on the average paying membership for the year. The figures for the year again demonstrated the International Typographical Union to be superior as regards the average wages of its members to all other organized trades, no matter where located, with an equal membership.

Pensioners — Since the establishment of the pension fund and up to May 31, 1912, 1,341 applications for the pension had been filed. Of this number 315 were handled during the fiscal year 1911-1912, 304 being approved and 11 disapproved. Seventeen petitions previously disapproved were reconsidered and approved under the amended law, making a total of 321 applications passed in the fiscal year. Thirty-eight applications were received from members over 70 years of age and who applied under the ten-year membership clause. Forty applications were received from members whose petitions for admission to the Home had been disapproved, and 67 were from members who became eligible to the pension through the amendment of the law by the San Francisco conven-

tion. There were 1,038 pensioners on the roll May 31, 1912. The secretary also included a tabulated statement of membership in his report, showing a grand total of 59,703.

Strikes — Strike difficulties to the number of twelve were reported during the year involving 161 members. Of these disputes, five were won, one lost and six were pending on May 31, 1912. Every effort was made in each instance to avoid an open rupture with the employer and a strike was ordered as a last resort.

Executive Council — The report of the executive council was a most important and interesting document, including such subjects as the Chicago pressmen's strike, the security of the union's funds, bonds of local officers, admissions to the Home, newsboys and newspaper solicitors' unions, newswriters' and roller makers' unions, special representatives, lithographers' and paper makers' unions, the amended pension law, mortuary benefit regulations, headquarters building, organizing employers, closer affiliation, assistance to local unions, and uniform scales.

Concerning the efforts to embroil the Typographical Union in the Chicago newspaper strike, the council said:

> The position of the executive council is that when our unions make contracts, these contracts must be faithfully carried out, and in addition, that the laws of the International Typographical Union governing strikes must be carefully observed by the local unions. The executive council would have been pleased to have been of assistance to the Chicago web pressmen had that assistance been requested before the strike actually occurred, and, indeed, would have cheerfully rendered such assistance if the council had been requested to do so any time after the strike occurred and up to the period when the officers of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the local officers of the stereotypers' union shifted their position and directed their main attack against Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 and the International Typographical Union. While they maintain this position, and they have maintained it from the inception of their assault on No. 16, the executive council is of the belief that its services are not desired and, furthermore, that it is not in a position to extend aid to a union the representatives of which, by innuendo, misstatement and deliberate falsehood, sought to place our local unions and our International organization in an unfavorable light.

The council discussed the amended pension law, and some of its conclusions were as follows:

At the close of the fiscal year for which this report is made there was $507,280.17 in the old age pension fund. To many of our members this seems like a very large balance, but when we take into consideration the fact that this fund is of a nature that makes it the guaranty of the pension plan for all future time then we can well determine that it is not too large, nor is it increasing too rapidly. The experience of the societies of older countries that have had old age pension provisions for many years is that as time passes the burden that must be carried increases and their experience has shown that they have been unable to maintain the standard on which their plans were started, although the pensions they have paid have been much less than those we pay.

It is hoped that our experience will be the reverse of this, but in order to insure us that it will be it is absolutely necessary that a large reserve fund be accumulated, one that will be sufficient to meet all emergencies.

Another thing that must not be lost sight of is that the receipts to this fund are based on a percentage of the earnings of our members. Since the law has been in effect we have been most fortunate in having practically all of our members working all of the time. Should we meet a season of general depression in the printing business the receipts to this fund will fall off accordingly, and should they fall below the expenditures the reserve fund must always be depended upon to meet the deficiency.

The pension now being paid, $5 per week, is as much as can reasonably be expected. The provisions of the law as to the necessary membership of an applicant are also very liberal. We would not at this time advise any change in the law.

Another important subject covered was the new mortuary regulations, the council concluding, in part:

At the close of the fiscal year we had been paying the increased mortuary benefit for a period of only two months. During this time benefits were paid on ninety-seven members, amounting to $32,848.85. Enough time had not elapsed between the time of starting the payments on the increased mortuary plan and the close of the fiscal year to warrant anything more than a prediction as to whether or not the plan is to be entirely successful and the funds collected sufficient to insure its perpetuity and the ability of the International to carry it out successfully. Comparing the amounts collected and paid out during the last two months of the fiscal year with our mortuary records for previous years, as set out in the reports to previous conventions, it would seem, however, that the plan will be entirely successful and the funds adequate. If, however, it should prove that the funds collected for the purpose of paying the mortuary benefits under the new plan were only just sufficient to meet the requirements of the law in the payment of benefits we would be able to maintain the plan with great success, for the reason that the 7 cents per capita which was previously used to pay the $75 mortuary benefit, and which now accrues to the general fund, could be used to meet any exigencies which might arise through disaster, or the prevalence of an epidemic in any locality. The executive council feels that in the adoption of the increased mortuary benefit the International Typographical Union has taken one more advanced step that will assist in keeping it far ahead of all other labor organizations, and that will also be of great benefit to it in maintaining the present good conditions exist-

ing for our members, and be of great assistance to it in securing further increases in wage scales and further betterments of the above-mentioned conditions.

REFERENDUM PROPOSITIONS

The Cleveland convention, while amending International law in many particulars, proposed but one amendment requiring the approval of the membership. This was a change in the constitution relating to copies of appeal papers, and it was adopted by a large majority. In addition to the constitutional amendment referred to above, however, resolutions were adopted which the convention decreed should be sent to the referendum for approval. These resolutions were so important and far reaching in their nature and intent that unusual interest was manifested by the membership at large, and a lively discussion was indulged in by delegates while considering the resolutions. They were adopted by a referendum vote of 16,601 ayes, 7,225 noes. The resolutions follow:

Proposition No. 134—By Delegate Strief (Sioux City):

WHEREAS the right of free speech is the dearest possession of a free people, and along with this priceless right goes the equally precious institution of a free press; and

WHEREAS the union printers of North America have always been and are the most zealous champions of free speech and a free press; and

WHEREAS we realize that the fullest and freest discussion of the affairs of any organization by the membership thereof is a vital necessity in the proper management and control of the organization, and that this is essentially true of the International Typographical Union, whose interests can only be safeguarded through the widest publicity; and

WHEREAS a tendency has developed among the members of the International Union to abuse the rights of free speech and free publication, recent campaigns for the election of officers having been attended by the publication and circulation of scandalous and defamatory charges, frequently of such nature as to be actionable as libelous and slanderous, and tending to bring into disrepute not only the individual so attacked, but to disgrace the International Typographical Union; and

WHEREAS while we are opposed to any effort having for its purpose the restriction of the proper exercise of the right of free speech or free publication, we reserve the right to reprehend at any time any abuse of these rights that may be flagrant or jeopardize the good name and reputation of our organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we deplore the dangerous tendency so manifest to abuse and transcend the rights of free speech and free publication by the circulation of scandalous and libelous matter, the making of indiscriminate charges and allegations affecting the private character as well as the union standing of individual members of our union, to the ultimate detriment of the whole membership; and, be it further

Resolved, That we demand that all members of the International Union shall refrain from the abuses of free speech and free publication that have made of our elections, both international and local, a reproach to the good name of our organization and a discredit to the trade union movement; and, be it further

Resolved, That this preamble and resolutions in their entirety be submitted to the referendum for endorsement.

CHICAGO PRESSMEN'S STRIKE

In the summary of the president's report to the Cleveland convention and included in this chapter is given a recital of the incidents leading up to the strike of the Chicago web pressmen, and in the executive council's report on that question is found a paragraph clearly defining the position of the council relative to the pressmen's strike and particularly with reference to the execution of contracts. The entire question was submitted to the convention's committee on subordinate unions, and that committee, after a thorough investigation and a full hearing, submitted a report to the convention which is printed below. During a discussion of this report an animated dispute ensued in which President Lynch stoutly defended his action and the action of the executive council during the pressmen's strike. At the conclusion of the debate, which extended over a period of several hours, the report of the committee on subordinate unions was adopted unanimously by a rising vote of the delegates. The committee's report follows:

GENTLEMEN: To your committee was referred those portions of the report of President Lynch and the report of the executive council covering the recent strikes in Chicago.

Your committee has given full opportunity to all delegates and convention attendants interested in the Chicago strikes to appear before the committee and present their views.

From the reports mentioned, and from information gathered from those who appeared before it, your committee finds that when the web pressmen's strike occurred on the Chicago Examiner and Chicago American, spreading to the other Chicago newspapers, and followed by strikes on the part of the stereotypers, wagon drivers and newsboys, Chicago Typographical Union was working under a contract with the Chicago local American Newspaper Publishers' Association, effective January 15, 1910, and running to February 15, 1915. Immediately after the strikes occurred, it was sought to involve No. 16 in sympathetic support of the strikes. This attempt was combated by President

Lynch, representing the International Typographical Union and its executive council, and by the officers of No. 16, representing that union. Special meetings of No. 16 were called, and it was finally decided by a vote of 1,099 to 655 to abide by the contract referred to.

Your committee finds that during the attempt to involve No. 16, and after the definite action taken by No. 16, the officers of the International Typographical Union and the officers of No. 16 were libeled and misrepresented by the officers of the unions that were on strike, and by the Chicago World, a morning and evening publication claiming to support the strikers, but in the opinion of your committee, really engaged in an effort to make capital out of the strike and to increase its circulation, prestige and influence because of the strikes, and to build itself up on the sacrifice and trade-unionism of the men who were on strike and who were combating for principles which they believed were right.

Your committee also finds that an effort was made on the part of the representatives of the unions out on strike to involve Mailers' Union No. 2 in sympathetic strike action, and that this effort was also combated by President Lynch, Vice-President Smith and the president of Chicago Mailers' Union. Your committee from its investigation is of the opinion that if Mailers' Union No. 2 had entered into a sympathetic strike, it would have meant the disruption and ruination of that union, for the organization is in no condition to withstand the dangers and difficulties that are incident to a strike. This union voted 97 to 6 not to enter into a strike.

Your committee is of the opinion that the position taken by President Lynch and the officers of No. 16 and Mailers' Union No. 2 was the only position that could be taken, and it recommends that the convention commend and endorse the action of the International president, the International executive council, and the officers of Typographical Union No. 16 and Mailers' Union No. 2, and also commend and endorse the action taken by these unions, in view of the contract under which one was working, and the condition confronting the other, in refusing to enter into sympathetic strike.

Under ordinary circumstances, your committee would not make comment on the wisdom or legality of the Chicago strikes, leaving these questions to the investigation and determination of the local unions involved, and their international organizations. Your committee finds, however, that one of the unions, the wagon drivers' organization, is an independent union, in open defiance to its international organization, the International Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Stablemen's Union. The newsboys have no national organization. Your committee also finds that the stereotypers' union, in entering into sympathetic strike, violated its contract with the Chicago publishers; that this action was immediately disavowed by the international officers of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, the union's charter revoked, and that the convention of this organization, held in San Francisco in June, upheld the officers in their action, and placed the Chicago situation in charge of the executive board with full power to act.

The Chicago trouble originated with the strike of the web pressmen in the pressrooms of the Chicago American and Chicago Examiner. Your committee finds from the evidence before it that arbitration was offered to the pressmen before they walked out, but that it was declined unless it was predicated on conditions laid down by the pressmen themselves. Your committee believes that had the proffer of arbitration been accepted by the pressmen and their international representatives, the difficulty with the Hearst papers could have been avoided; that no international union principle was involved, and that before any fair arbitration board the pressmen would have secured a verdict that would have safeguarded the interests of the men employed in the Hearst pressrooms, and whose positions were in jeopardy owing to the attempted re-

duction of the number of men manning each press. If, therefore, this strike, which brought about strikes in the other newspapers and which resulted in the latest Chicago situation, could have been avoided by the exercise of patience and diplomacy, it follows that it should never have taken place. To permit such a strike to occur and then to involve other trade unionists in the warfare, and to propagate and support this warfare, bringing about industrial chaos and individual suffering, is, as No. 16 justly termed it, a blunder worse than a crime.

Your committee also finds that the international officers of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union went over the heads of the officers of the International Typographical Union, carried their campaign for a sympathetic strike into the local unions, and personally urged these unions to participate in the strikes, thus violating, not only international ethics and courtesy, but also violating the course that has been followed heretofore, and the method recognized as proper by the five international unions of the printing trade.

Your committee can not too strongly condemn the methods and tactics used in Chicago, and to which it calls attention, and your committee believes that not only should the International officers of our organization be commended for the course they pursued, but that they should be instructed, in the future, to see to it that every renewal of the attempt to embroil us in needless difficulties, made by any other international union, is promptly exposed and combated.

It has been asserted that the section in the contract between Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 and the Chicago local of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association reading: "This contract may be declared null and void in the case of strike or lockout hereafter of a union now affiliated with the International Typographical Union; *provided*, that such strike or lockout occurs after all efforts of arbitration have failed through the fault of the proprietor, the determination of which latter fact, however, shall be referred to the national board of arbitration provided for in the arbitration agreement now existing between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union, if so requested by either the publisher or manager of the newspaper affected, or by Chicago Typographical Union No. 16." would have justified a sympathetic strike on the part of No. 16, but in the opinion of your committee, if this section means anything at all, it means that the effort at arbitration must be made before the strike on the part of the affiliated union occurs, and not after the strike is on, as was the case in Chicago. Your committee is also of the opinion, as expressed by our international president, that in instances where industrial strife confronts our allies, and they are desirous of the assistance of the International Typographical Union, that assistance should be sought before a strike is permitted to occur, if such opportunity presents itself, and not after the strike has been actually put into effect. For, as our president points out, if our influence is of any value, it is of the greatest value when it can be exerted while industrial peace maintains, rather than after industrial warfare is actually in effect.

Your committee has reached its conclusions after a long and painstaking examination of the history of the Chicago strikes, from their inception to the present time, and earnestly recommends this report to the convention for its approval and adoption.

ADDRESSES BY DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

On the morning of the third day's session, President Lynch announced that the time had arrived for hearing from the representatives of various associations to whom

the privilege of the floor had been granted at the first day's session. The chair said: "There being no objection, I will now introduce to you a gentleman who has addressed several of our conventions, and with whom a number of you are acquainted, and who is known in the printing industry all over the continent, and is held in high esteem by the printing trade artisans in the city in which he conducts a large printing establishment, and I take pleasure in presenting to you, therefore, Mr. Charles Francis, president of the Printers' League of America, who will now address you." Mr. Francis spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Brethren of the Printing Fraternity: It gives me great pleasure to be with you this morning, and to congratulate you upon the very large gathering that has gotten together here in the city of Cleveland, to attend the business which the best institution of labor in the country can do, which is the International Typographical Union. They have shown the greatest regard for the employer as well as for the employe, and it has always been my idea that the employer and the employe's interest are one and the same, where we are inclined to be fair one with the other.

I want, in beginning my remarks, to thank you for the presence of your president at a dinner which was tendered to myself before leaving for an extended trip, and for his remarks at that dinner, which were very complimentary not only to myself but to the cause which I represent, the Printers' League of America.

I would like to say just a few words about your own organization. I am a pretty close reader of the Typographical Journal. Perhaps some of you may think that the employer ought not to read the Typographical Journal. I think there has been that kind of a feeling sometimes, and yet if our interests are identical, why shouldn't we look into what one another are doing?

Now, regarding the progress of the International Typographical Union, I find that the earnings per member from 1909 to 1912 have increased from $897 to $974, an increase of 10 per cent, or a total of $3,600,000 per year, and that the membership has increased 20 per cent in that time. Now, that is a very roseate view for your own organization, and I want again to congratulate you upon this assurance of your members that you are doing a work that is necessary for them.

Now, in the Typographical Journal I also noticed a little paragraph by your president; since making these remarks I find that one of my confreres is going to talk upon the same subject, but perhaps he won't talk the same as I do. Your president says: "One association of commercial printers will mean much for the industry, if advancement is with the unions and not against them." I might interpolate there that if the advancement is against the unions it will also be against the employer, because the majority of the employes means the unions; they must work together. Printing trades unions working under agreement with such an association can be of immense assistance in placing the book and job industry on a profitable basis. That the unions are ready to assist in this way is indisputable. All that they desire is fair treatment under a working agreement, and they will carry their share of the load.

Now, under the agreements made by the Printers' League I want to say to

you here that I have found that to be the absolute fact. We have received a great deal of assistance from the unions themselves whenever we could show reason for that assistance, and there are some times when the unions don't exactly catch the thought that would come if they got it from the employer, but as a rule the International Typographical Union has seemed to catch that thought.

Now, the question of the necessity of the employes getting together goes without saying, but it remains to be seen whether they will or not. There is another article in the Typographical Journal which I shall not read, which has a great deal of talk about the typothetæ. Now, I know very well that you and the members of the typothetæ have not been very good friends for quite some time, but there are some things that ought to be before you, and I think it will not be detrimental to the interests of everybody if we understand that there has been a change in the membership and in the sentiments of the typothetæ. What is said in that article is perfectly true in a great many instances. It speaks of $60,000 being expended by them for the purpose of organization, but for the purpose of organization is also to get cost information, and cost information is a very necessary thing for the printer. All of you have heard of it throughout the country in the last little while, and the work of the typothetæ in that direction is not to be derided. It will eventually help the organizations to which we belong. That is not a large sum. I understand they are spending even more this year, but it is for the purpose of installing a cost system. It is not for a defense fund, as was the purpose prior to 1906, and the newer members which they are getting in are broader and have a higher motive than those who were the old members of the typothetæ; and I want to say that the complexion of the typothetæ has changed considerably, and the best thing we can do is to try and help it to change some more.

Now, I would like to say just a few words about Denver. A number of us went out to Denver for the very purpose that I was speaking of just now. We wanted to get together, and the United Typothetæ of America appeared to be the only strong national organization of America, and the Ben Franklin Clubs of America had a large membership, but were all locals, therefore they couldn't offer anything collectively. The Printers' League of America had a national organization, but it was so small and so infinitesimal that it was impossible for us to cut very much of a figure in the proposition. I am sorry to say this, because I believe in the Printers' League of America, and I believe the progress is only the progress that might be looked for. It is not any worse than the International Typographical Union had at its start. We haven't been in existence very long, and we haven't made the progress that I think we ought to make, but we have made progress, and I have very encouraging words from a number of the larger cities that will become members of the Printers' League and enter into the collective bargaining proposition, the co-operative proposition.

In that convention there was a meeting called, of which I was made chairman. We had four representatives from the Ben Franklin Clubs and five from the typothetæ, and we went to work and we made practically a new constitution and by-laws for the typothetæ, or, rather, for the one organization that was spoken of, but subsequently adopted by the typothetæ, which changed very largely their old constitution and placed new matters before them, bringing in a paragraph by which they would allow collective bargaining by their members. Don't mistake one thing, and that is this, that was a large step in advance for them. The Benjamin Franklin Club of America, at its first annual convention in this city, adopted that very same constitution and by-laws with a little more liberal clause than was put in by the typothetæ, and from what we have at the present time we believe that the Benjamin Franklin Club and the Printers' League, if they can not amalgamate with one another, will in the future be found working side by side with a mutuality of interest which will very greatly

enhance the effectivencss of the Printers' League, and I think will also do the same thing for the Benjamin Franklin Club. I feel in my bones that it is almost impossible at the present time for that one organization to be put through. I hope it will be. I would be willing to concede a good deal that was not against my positive principles to see it put through, but we as a committee —I am on that committee of organization—but as a committee if we agreed to deliver over something that we could not deliver, what would be the use of making the agreement? And I think it is almost impossible for us to undertake under certain conditions to turn over the Ben Franklin Club to the Printers' League, or either of them, into the typothetæ, because I don't believe the rank and file would stand for it. I hope that will not come about.

I am going to Chicago in September, and I shall work with the greatest earnestness for the purpose of getting them together, but only with the purpose that the principles for which I stand and for which my organization stands, for which the Ben Franklin Club stands, shall be maintained.

There has been a great deal of talk about the name. Now, what is in a name? The principle is what you want to stand for? It matters very little about the name, and personally I wouldn't care whether they called it the typothetæ or some other name, except for this reason, that that name has become obnoxious to a certain number of people, and it would be almost impossible to have them understand that this is an old name with a new principle; therefore, I think a new name would be better than the old name. It was suggested to me this morning that this was not a matter to be brought before you, but I think you are very much interested in it, and I think what you want to see is to have the employers get together. What I want to see is the employes get together more closely than they ever have been, and then see the employers get closer together than they ever have been, and then see the employes and employers get together, and then we will have a condition by which we can get more dollars than we could in any other possible way. If we are going to have profit we must have harmony between ourselves, and the only way to have harmony is to be fair on both sides.

Anything that tends to decrease output or anything of that description, or any loafers in the office, are loafing on the man who produces, not upon the employer so much as he is upon the man who produces, because there is only one way to pay a man and that is upon the basis of what he produces. The employer is entirely dependent upon you for his salary or profit, because if you don't produce that salary or profit it is absolutely impossible for him to get it.

I have said before that the employes are half partners in every business, and I hope you will understand me as talking from the commercial end of the business, because I don't know very much about the newspaper end, although I have run a newspaper. I am talking from the commercial end. In the commercial end the employe is, after all, a half partner, because according to my experience he takes the first half of the money, and has to have his whether the employer gets anything or not. That makes him a half partner, and if he don't produce his half it is impossible for the employer to get his half. As the work goes through the only thing we can quarrel about is the rake off that the employer will get. That hasn't been so much in the last few years as it ought to be in any business, but we can congratulate ourselves on this, that the business has increased wonderfully. We have made strides until we have become the sixth industry in the United States, and the second in the state of New York, and if we have any luck in the state of New York maybe we will get to the top in a few years. We have climbed up a long way to be the second industry in the state of New York, and we hope to be at the head of the list.

The principal thing that I have to say I am through with, but there is one

thing I want to quote from the Typographical Journal again. I saw a paragraph in there where the employers of the United States were paying $100,000,000 to secure themselves against liability to accident to the employe. Now, that is a necessary business precaution, but it seems a shame that so much money should be wasted. I delved into that myself, and found that $52,500,000 of that money goes into the treasuries of the insurance companies and never comes out; $30,000,000 of it goes to Europe; that leaves $17,500,000, and by the time that it is trimmed off by the lawyers and the courts, and one thing or another, the employe gets $10,000,000 out of that amount, at 10 cents on the dollar. I have learned since I came here that the state of Ohio has taken up the very matter that I had on my mind. The state of Ohio is practically going to charge the employer the same rates as he would pay to the insurance company for that protection, and see that the employe gets the dollar instead of the 10 cents. It will not go through these legal processes, and a man will not have to wait ten years before he can get his award for anything that may happen.

The suggestion that I wanted to make before I heard of this was this: that the employer and the employe agree upon a plan by which this amount that they would pay to the insurance companies should go into a trust fund for the purpose of being awarded in case of accidents, so that instead of the employe getting 10 cents, he would get at least 90 cents out of every dollar that is paid in; then I think there would be enough to pay for these accidents at the ratio they ought to be paid for. I am going to leave that with this convention, and I should like to see a committee appointed to look into this matter, and if possible I think this state arrangement may be the best, this Ohio state arrangement—if they get it through—but otherwise I think it would be well to get into a compact with the employer and employe that that amount of money should be placed into a treasury and awarded by an award committee of employes and employers. In anything that will tend to the harmony of the employer and the employe, you can always count on me.

The chair then introduced W. J. Hartman, president of the Ben Franklin Clubs of America. Mr. Hartman said:

Mr. President and Delegates to the International Typographical Union Convention: This is the first time that I have ever been called upon to talk to the employes in the printing trades. I want to assure you that I esteem it a very great honor to be asked to talk to the men whom we meet every day in our business.

Your president has asked me to talk on one international organization of employers. That is something that we have been hoping for for the past two years, but up to the present time we have not accomplished what we tried to do last year in Denver. The United Typothetæ of America has been in existence about twenty-five years; it started out and was organized in the first place when you gentlemen made demands on the employers, and for some time they made contracts with you. Those contracts, I believe, were lived up to on both sides, but when you demanded the eight-hour day you split, and you were at loggerheads, and you were fighting, which was detrimental to the printing industry of this country, both to you and the employer. What we want in the printing business is co-operation between the employes and the employers, a square deal. If it were possible to organize one great big organization of employers, so that we could make contracts with you that were fair, contracts that would give you good big wages and enable us to make some money out of our business, that would be something that everybody would welcome.

You know, if you will look along back in the years, that the master printer has not been successful as a rule, he has failed nine times out of ten after going into business, and the reason of that was that he did not know the business end of the game, and I will tell you why he didn't know it. The average employer was an employe, came out of the shop, and did not know anything about the business end of the game, and he imagined, as we did twenty-five or thirty years ago, that if we could sell hand composition at 60 cents an hour, and pay you 40, we were making 20 cents an hour. We have discovered, since we have got a scientific cost-finding system, that we must multiply your wages practically by three to get the cost of hand composition. You may not believe that is true, but in that hour we have to take care of the foremen, we take care of the distribution, we take care of the errand boys and all those things, the selling expense, the administration, the rent, the power where used, light, heat, insurance, taxes, depreciation and interest on investment. Now, when we first started out in our shop to demand a daily time ticket from the employes, they imagined we were trying to check them up, trying to get a line on them. We were, for the purpose of finding out the cost of our production, so we could see it at a profit, and afterward to pay you good wages. You who have been in the game as long as I have, know that there are many master printers today that are going along only getting an existence out of the game. Many of you possibly who are here today have started small shops, and were satisfied with a day's wages if it was possible to earn that much. You disregard your investment, you disregard your investment of machinery and type, and you were responsible, to a great extent, in reducing the profits of the master printer.

I want to see one organization of employers, and if possible, one organization of employes, working in harmony, working for the best interests of the trade, and when we get it up to a point where we can afford it, you can all get more money every time, without a great deal of trouble.

I have been interested a great deal in the system in vogue in Germany. They have zones there, both for wages and prices of printing. Now, I may be saying something to you that you have heard a great many times. We in the large cities like Chicago have a high scale of wages. Within forty or fifty miles of Chicago your scale may be 25, 30 or 40 per cent less than ours. Now, I do not believe that is right. I think a man's work in any town is worth just as much, say, in Joliet, in Aurora, or in Elgin, as it is in Chicago, because he has got to put in the hours and give the best that is in him while he is at work. On the same basis, a job of printing is worth just as much in a small town as it is in big towns, and I would like to see you establish zones, get your wages more uniform, so as to give us in the large cities a better chance to compete with the country printer.

A great many of you no doubt come from small towns, and some of you are working for a great deal less than we pay, and I believe that you are interested in getting that scale up where your scale is low.

I am getting away from the subject your president said I was going to speak on. We expect to meet a committee of the United Typothetæ of America in Chicago on September 1, for the purpose of talking amalgamation. As Mr. Francis told you, the membership in the typothetæ has changed a good deal in the last two or three years. We who have been in the very forefront of the Ben Franklin movement eliminated the labor proposition from our platform, and let a man run any kind of a shop he wanted to, and that is why we were successful in building up a membership in a short time. We started out to educate the master printer, but the vast majority of men in the Ben Franklin Clubs today are employers of union labor; they are fair, they are broad minded, they have the sympathetic spirit that Benjamin Franklin taught, and we hope when we see that committee that we will be able to bring about that amalgamation on such broad lines, under whatever name, and that you gentlemen will

assist to build up the greatest industry in this or any other country, the printing business.

If I were talking to the master printers, gentlemen, I could entertain them a good deal better that I can you, because I am familiar with that subject, but I have been asked to talk about something that I haven't given any great amount of study; but I hope that one great big organization will be brought out, that harmony will prevail between the employer and the employe, and if that is accomplished and business is brought up to the point where it should be, you will all be enjoying bigger envelops on pay day, and you will all be happy. I thank you.

President Lynch stated that the previous speaker, referring to the equalization of wage scales, had said that in his opinion the wage should be as high in Joliet and Aurora and Elgin as in Chicago. The amalgamation of employers' associations into one association, said the president, and the changed spirit that was animating these various associations, might make an effort at the equalization of wage scales easier of accomplishment than it had been in the past, for in the past, whenever the union tried to equalize the wage scales in Joliet and Aurora and in towns contiguous to New York and the other large cities, the employers in New York and Chicago, who were vitally interested in having competition placed on a fairer basis, assisted the employers in the small towns to combat the raise in the wage scale.

"In introducing the next speaker," the president continued, "I have to say that we have had our differences with the association that he represents; we fought those differences out, and I believe that aside from the other good results from that campaign, that the clarifying of the atmosphere in the printing industry was one of the best things that could have happened, for I believe that all recent progress that has been made in the commercial industry dates from the establishment of the eight-hour day in the industry, and that this applies equally to employer and employe, for it certainly brought the employer to a realization of the senseless basis on which he was doing business. I had occasion to refer to that the

other day when I explained the manner in which we give out the printing of the International Union. I am happy to say that friendly relations now exist between the International Typographical Union and the United Typothetæ of America, and I attribute that largely to the attitude and the efforts of the gentleman who is about to address you. After he became secretary of that organization, it was not very long until the president of the International Typographical Union and the secretary of the United Typothetæ of America were able to write letters to each other, and then we got to know each other, and found that neither one was very bad, and finally we got so we can do business right along, when there is business to do in relation to both organizations. This is the first time, to my knowledge, at least in recent years, that the United Typothetæ has sent a speaker to our convention, and I hope that this is also an augury of better relations between the employers and employes in the printing industry and better conditions in that industry. I take great pleasure, therefore, in introducing to you Mr. Franklin W. Heath, secretary of the United Typothetæ of America." Mr. Heath said:

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: I realize that it is an event in the history of the International Typographical Union that the secretary of the United Typothetæ of America should be present with you at one of your meetings, and it certainly is an event in the life of the secretary. A few years ago it would not have been possible, and I don't think it would have been safe.

I am not going to make an extended address. I am only here to give you greetings, and to express the pleasure I feel in being with you for the first time—and I hope it will not be the last—and to leave just a word with you when you go home.

The fact of the matter is that the preceding speakers have taken away some of my thunder. They both made good typothetæ speeches, but I want to go into it a little more deeply. You represent the employes and I represent the employers; we don't always agree, we don't always look at things from the same point of view, but we are certainly getting together, and if we were not I would not be here today. You have probably all of you had experience in trying to better your conditions, especially in the matter of wages. I have in the earlier days, and sometimes I got the raise and sometimes I didn't, but I always get a strong protest and a holler from the boss. Now that I have been representing the employers, and I think I have met most of them in the United States in the last four years, I begin to realize that the employer had pretty

good grounds for putting up a protest whenever an increase in his expenses confronted him, whether it was in wages or rent or material.

An epoch in the history of the International Typographical Union and in the life of the secretary of the United Typothetæ is when the latter addresses a convention of the former.

It is an occasion that a few years ago would have been thought not only unlikely, but impossible.

The first time representatives of international unions ever appeared at a typothetæ convention was in 1898, when J. H. Bowman, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and George W. Harris, organizer of the International Typographical Union, addressed the delegates in Milwaukee, when assembled in our twelfth annual meeting. The subject of their addresses was the nine-hour day. Mr. Bowman remarked on leaving the hall that he was fortunate to get through alive; and yet neither Mr. Bowman nor Mr. Harris was roughly handled.

The occasion of the appearance of Mr. Bowman and Mr. Harris led to the Syracuse conference in October of 1898, when committees from the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders met with a committee from the United Typothetæ of America to confer upon the subject of the shorter workday, and how it might be made practicable. As many of you know, the result of this meeting was that the fifty-seven-hour week or nine-and-one-half-hour day, was inaugurated, to go into effect in November, 1898, and the nine-hour day, or fifty-four-hour week, in November, 1899; it was hoped then that a new era had been inaugurated for the settlement of difficulties between the allied printing trades and the employers.

Six years later it was found that the new era had not entirely arrived. But the employe is getting closer to the employer all the time; he is co-operating with greater interest, loyalty, faithfully and true; he is a broader man, and he knows that his interests are better conserved by faithful application to his employer's concerns than by indifference and lukewarm interest in the work in which they both are mutually interested. Self-interest naturally predominates—it is human nature.

Some of you may question how such faithful application to the affairs of your employer is to your personal advantage. It is very simple, because the employer usually profits and advances in the same ratio that his employes co-operate and assist in building up his organization; if the organization consists of honest, well-meaning men, who labor faithfully in their endeavors to stop leaks and deliver an hour's labor for an hour's pay, then that employer is going to enjoy a greater prosperity, and is enabled to treat his employes more liberally and with greater consideration.

On the contrary, a shop loosely organized with careless, indifferent workmen can not prosper, can not do for the men as the proprietor would like, but he leads the hand-to-mouth existence that is the lot of so many printing-house proprietors in the land today. So I say, "Co-operate, help build up the business, and recognition is sure to come."

The printing industry is the sixth in commercial importance in the United States; but where does it stand in credits?

A Wall street statement recently issued put the printer next to the bottom of the list; I'm almost ashamed to tell you who that last man was; he was the saloon keeper, but the printer was next door to him.

The country has too many printing offices; in every city in the United States there probably exists an over-equipment of at least 30 per cent; is it any wonder the printer has a hard time of it? Since the workday reduced from ten hours in 1898 to the present eight-hour day the cost of production has increased nearly 50 per cent. Think of it! It costs about one-half more

today to produce a catalogue as it did in 1898, and yet the selling prices remain nearly stationary. Prices are now increasing though gradually and slowly the printer is coming into his own; but he needs your help and I think it will be found that usually he is ready to divide his good fortune and prosperity; when he has intelligent, wide-awake people working for him and with him, he realizes their value to him, and in the end they lose not by their attention and faithfulness. This is not a fairy story.

The United Typothetæ of America has during the past two or three years installed in printing offices in the United States fully 2,000 or more standard cost systems and this is going to prove the solution of the problem—a cost system properly installed and operating, upheld by the workmen.

The cost system is not intended as a check upon the workman. It is a check upon the hours. The proprietor has nothing to sell but hours. He buys them by the week, and he sells them singly. Of eight hours he buys, he is rarely able to dispose of more than five and one-fourth, say 65 per cent. The rest of it, two and three-fourths hours that he buys and pays for, he can not sell, because it is spent in foremanship, errand boys, distribution and other non-producing work; the cost system is designed to separate this productive time from the non-productive, so that the proprietor can tell at the end of the week just how many of the hours he has bought have been sold, and thus he can arrive at his actual cost per hour.

So much has been printed about this subject in the trade magazines that you are doubtless familiar with it. Two or three years ago the prevailing rate for selling composition was 60 cents to 75 cents an hour; the cost system shows it costs from $1.16 to $1.25 per hour; the average cost last year throughout the United States was $1.20. Is it any wonder then that the printing house proprietor has never made but a struggling existence ever since printing has been a commercial industry? Is it any wonder he fights against reductions of hours and increase of wages? To make these things possible, to put the employer in a position where he is financially able to meet reasonable requests from his employes for the improvement of their conditions the employe must co-operate to the fullest extent possible. He must watch the leaks, make every minute count, for the minutes make up the hours, which the proprietor buys and sells, and he can never in the best regulated shop sell all he buys.

When such co-operation is practiced the condition of both the employed and the employer will improve and life will be the pleasanter and happier for it.

At the conclusion of Mr. Heath's remarks, President Lynch said that on Monday, at the opening exercises, the convention was welcomed by the president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and that the president took occasion at that time to express his high regard for that association and its officers, and continued: "I now have the pleasure of being able to present to you the labor representative of that association, a gentleman who has the most intimate relations with the presidents of four of the great international unions that operate in this industry. You have all met him, I think, all of those who have attended conventions, and you all know of him. I

take pleasure in introducing Mr. H. N. Kellogg, labor commissioner for the American Newspaper Publishers' Association." Mr. Kellogg said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure for me to be here this morning. I want to say to you, however, that Mr. Lynch is slightly mistaken in saying that I represent solely an employers' association, because some of our members have stated that our committee is the tail of Mr. Lynch's kite. If that is the case, perhaps we represent the International Typographical Union in some respects.

I have been very much interested in listening to the remarks of the gentlemen who represent the organizations of commercial printers. I have no doubt they will ultimately succeed in organizing an international association or amalgamating the various associations. They will then be in a position where, as the publishers' association has done, their association will be enabled to follow the lead of the lion and the lamb, the publishers being the lamb.

Of course, when they refer to the equalization of scales, we expect, when that halcyon day shall come, that the newspaper scales will be equalized down to the jobmen's scales. I understand that a member of a local union met Mr. Lynch on the street and said: "Say, Jim, where do these publishers get all the money we take away from them?"

When I had the pleasure of addressing you a year ago in that charming metropolis of the Pacific coast—San Francisco—my remarks related principally to the new arbitration agreement between your organization and our association, which was to be considered by you. I believe we should congratulate each other on the fact that that contract is now in effect, and that we are thus assured of industrial peace and the continuance of harmonious and pleasant relations between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union for another five-year period. After that agreement had been fully executed by authorized representatives of both parties, a contract identical in its terms was concluded by our representatives and the executive board of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union. This agreement was ratified by referendum vote of the stereotypers and approved by a very substantial majority. Therefore, we are assured that peace and harmony will prevail between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union for the next five years. A contract on similar lines, though differing somewhat in detail, between the American Newspaper Association and the International Photo Engravers' Union has also been concluded, and we are confident that friendly relations will prevail with that organization for five years more. An arbitration agreement was also negotiated by representatives of the American Publishers' Association and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. The representatives of this organization explained that their action in negotiating the agreement must be submitted to the referendum vote of the membership of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. The meetings between representatives of our association and the officers of the international pressmen's union during which the terms of the new arbitration agreement were decided upon were held at my office in Indianapolis in January of this year. The directors of the international pressmen's union agreed, at the close of our conferences, that the referendum vote upon the arbitration contract would be taken in February. About ten days after the meetings referred to I received a letter from the president of the international pressmen's union in which the statement was made that the directors of that union had found it impracticable to have the vote upon the arbitration contract taken during February. The letter stated, however, that the matter would be

submitted to the membership in March, and I would be officially informed of the result during the latter part of that month. I objected to the delay, but was unable to induce the directors of the pressmen's organization to comply with their original agreement, and have the vote taken during February. Bear in mind that I had the written assurance of the pressmen's organization that the vote would be taken in March, and he would inform me of the result during the "latter part of that month." On February 28 I received the February number of the American Pressman, which, as of course you know, is the official journal of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. It contained a copy of the new arbitration contract with instructions to local unions to vote upon it and to see that their reports on this matter reached headquarters at Rogersville not later than the first day of May. I supposed, of course, this was a typographical error, and immediately took the matter up with Mr. Berry. I was astonished to receive a reply that the date as printed in the American Pressman was correct. I protested vehemently against this delay and pointed out the fact that this would result in an interim during which we would have no arbitration agreement, and proposed, since it was stated the delay was unavoidable, that the arbitration contract then in effect be continued in operation for ninety days after May first. The suggestion was made because that agreement contained a clause permitting such a course. The directors of the international pressmen's union declined to accept my suggestion, but assured me the delay in taking the vote would make no difference. The referendum vote on the arbitration contract was reported in the May number of the American Pressman, which was issued during the latter part of that month. It gave the vote as 2,020 against the agreement and 1,569 for it. A majority against it of 451, less than 3,600 votes being reported, though there are nearly 23,000 members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. The published list of local unions voting on the proposition did not contain the votes of the largest locals in the country, those of New York city, although shortly before the vote was announced an officer of the international pressmen's union told me personally the three largest New York unions had voted in favor of the agreement. You are thoroughly familiar with the local phases of the pressmen's strike, which occurred in Chicago on May 1, as your officers in their reports have covered this difficulty most thoroughly. You may, however, not be aware that shortly after the strike occurred telegrams were sent to local pressmen's unions all over the country directing them to be ready to call sympathetic strikes in the offices of our members everywhere. These orders were sent broadcast throughout the country in utter disregard of the fact that nearly all the unions that were ordered to strike had contracts with the newspaper publishers in their cities. This of course explains the action of the directors of the international pressmen's union in delaying the referendum vote so that on the first of May there would be no arbitration contracts in effect between members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. You know that it has been charged that the pressmen in Chicago were "locked out." If there is any one present who up to this time has had any doubt in his mind on this point, I am sure what I have said will remove that doubt, as it clearly indicates the officers of the international pressmen's union last February fully expected there would be a strike in Chicago on or about May 1. This is further confirmed by the fact, as explained in your officers' reports, that the Chicago Stereotypers' Union, on two occasions prior to May 1, voted that if the pressmen struck on that date they would strike in sympathy. Fortunately nearly all the local pressmen's unions declined to violate their contracts and go out on sympathetic strikes. There were only two cities in which this action was taken; namely, Atlanta and San Francisco. In Atlanta the pressmen remained out less than a week and then resumed

work. In San Francisco the pressmen are still on strike. Efforts have been made to boycott the San Francisco Examiner, and everything possible has been done to embarrass that newspaper, regardless of the fact that the officers of the local union have assured the management they have no grievances whatever. Though there can be no denying the fact that the web pressmen's union in San Francisco went out on sympathetic strike because it was ordered to do so by the international officers, the July number of the American Pressman contains repeated statements to the effect that the pressmen in Chicago and San Francisco had been "locked out."

You no doubt know statements have been sent broadcast throughout the country that the American Newspaper Publishers' Association has decided to inaugurate an "open shop" policy, and that it proposes to destroy all the unions of the printing trades. These statements are almost too foolish to deny. The fact that we have negotiated arbitration contracts with four international unions, that three of them are in effect, and that the fourth one is not in effect because it has been rejected by the membership of the fourth union, clearly disproves the allegation. The American Newspaper Publishers' Association desires to continue dealing with labor unions if it can be assured unions will respect their agreements and international officers will deal honestly with the representatives of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The American Newspaper Publishers' Association, however, believes that unions which follow the lead of men who openly assert they would "break any contract," and that they believe "the ethics of trade unionism demand the violation of the best contract ever made if necessary to assist a union in distress," must inevitably meet with disaster. Such remarks you will recollect were made by the president of the international pressmen's union during the trouble in Chicago, as stated in the report of Representative Colbert.

In this connection, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association heartily and sincerely appreciates the action of President Lynch and the executive council of the International Typographical Union, and the action of the Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, in standing firmly for the right and upholding the integrity of contracts during the stress of the recent storm in Chicago. I can not let this opportunity go by without also expressing our sincere appreciation of the action of President Freel and the executive board of the Internationad Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, in standing for the right.

We are also gratified at the action of President Woll and the officers of the International Photo Engravers' Union, in preventing sympathetic strikes by local photo engravers' unions. This applies also to the officers of Mailers' Union No. 2.

In closing, I wish to congratulate you on having re-elected for another two years' term the international officers who have labored so long and faithfully and have accomplished so much in your behalf. I thank you for your kind attention.

When Commissioner Kellogg had concluded his remarks President Lynch introduced James J. Freel, one of the officials who had been much in the public eye in connection with the pressmen's strike in Chicago. Mr. Freel spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am much pleased to have the opportunity to again appear before your convention, and tender on behalf of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union their congratulations on the magnificent showing that the International Typographical Union has

made during the past year. I read the reports of your officers with a great deal of satisfaction, and, realizing as I do, that the International Typographical Union is one of the largest organizations that make up the great American Federation of Labor, I appreciate the fact that if you progress it certainly means progress for the trade union movement in general throughout this North American continent. I do also know that, being the largest organization in the printing industry, any progress you may make in that industry directly affects the interests of the other four international printing trade unions, and I think that that was very thoroughly demonstrated when you successfully inaugurated the eight-hour day. I believe, and I don't think any other international trade organization will deny the fact, that it was a great benefit to them latterly in securing what you had first secured, the eight-hour day.

Your president has requested that I briefly outline from the standpoint of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union the unfortunate condition at present existing in the newspaper industry in the city of Chicago. In connection with this matter I desire to call your attention to the fact that this subject has been very thoroughly, and let me say with as much emphasis as I can, truthfully presented to you by the president of your international organization, by the executive council of your international organization, by Typographical Union No. 16 of Chicago, Ill., by Representative Colbert, and by the representative of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, who represented our union on the ground after I was obliged to go to our convention in San Francisco. Let me again emphasize that you have that before you in the report of your officers, and that it is absolutely truthful.

It will, therefore, not be necessary for me to take up your time in attempting to further enlarge upon that subject, but I feel that as the representative of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, it is my duty, it is my obligation, to present to you officially the views of our organization in a brief manner in regard to this unfortunate affair. So that you will thoroughly understand it, it will be necessary, I believe, for me to go back and state some ancient history that perhaps some of the younger delegates to your convention are not familiar with.

In 1898, in the city of Chicago, we had a stereotypers' organization, and at that time the stereotypers and electrotypers were affiliated with the International Typographical Union, that is, as a subordinate body. We had two organizations, but I want to refer particularly to the stereotypers' organization. We had a 100 per cent stereotypers' organization in that city. There was not a non-union stereotyper in the city of Chicago at that time, and a dispute arose between the newspaper publishers in the city of Chicago and the stereotypers' union over a new wage scale. I believe the stereotypers were asking for an increase in wages and a reduction in hours. Fortunately, at that time there was no agreement in existence. The stereotypers had no agreement with the publishers at that time. I won't go into the details particularly of what transpired between the two parties that were negotiating, but I will tell you what happened. On July 3 or 4, 1898, at the time of the battle of Manila, a lockout occurred which resulted in the Chicago newspapers, that is, all the large newspapers, suspending publication for three or four days, if you remember. They suspended publication, I presume, for the reason that they were unable to obtain stereotypers. I call attention to the fact that we had at that time a 100 per cent organization, and there were no non-union stereotypers in Chicago. They suspended publication for three or four days; at the expiration of the third or fourth day they finally reissued, and I believe they reissued by publishing four-page papers, and improved until they were able in a very short time to publish the requisite number of pages that they had always been doing, and the reason was that the stereotypers in the city of Chicago were absolutely defeated, and we had a non-union condition

in every newspaper office in that city. That occurred in 1898. In 1902 the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union was organized, and from 1898 to 1904, with the assistance of the International Typographical Union—and I want to give them all the credit for that—we made every possible effort to unionize the city of Chicago and restore the union conditions that had existed in those newspaper offices previous to the strike or lockout of 1898; and in 1904 we succeeded in doing that, and we did it largely through the able assistance rendered by your present president, and when the final negotiations were concluded, and while they were on, we had the assistance, as your president's representative, of Michael Colbert, who is now one of your representatives, and we succeeded in organizing that entire newspaper industry, in unionizing every paper, and we restored the conditions that had been in existence previous to the trouble. At the time of the trouble the stereotypers were getting $3.25 a day, and the agreement that we made in 1904, or six years afterwards, provided for a scale of $3.75 a day, an increase of 50 cents over the previous wage scale. Not only that, but we made an agreement that would be in effect for three years, or until June 1, 1907, and in order to prevent anything occurring again like what had occurred in the past, we provided in that agreement that in the event of the publishers and union being unable to agree upon a scale, that the matter would have to go to arbitration. In other words, we provided that in Chicago, in future, a strike could not occur. As a result of that provision, when the scale expired in 1904, the publishers and the Chicago Stereotypers' Union endeavored to get together on a scale by conciliation or negotiation, but were unable to do so, and they finally decided to go to arbitration, and they got, as a result of that arbitration, one of the best awards I ever heard of a trade union receiving. The scale, as I stated at that time, was $3.75. The arbitrators decided that the scale should be immediately increased to $4.25 a day. That was an increase of 50 cents over the scale, and a year afterwards it was provided to be increased to $4.50. They were working ten hours on Saturday night in those newspaper offices, and the arbitrator decided that the Saturday night work should consist of eight hours. They negotiated for almost a year, and went to arbitration, and the arbitration proceedings took almost a year. The matter was pending for about two years altogether, and it was not until June 1, 1909, that it was settled. When the arbitration matter was taken up in 1907 it was agreed that any award that was made would date from June 1, 1907, and the result was that every stereotyper in the city of Chicago that held a situation got about $300 back pay. They got back pay for the ten hours on Saturday nights for two years. They had a provision so far as apprentices were concerned that every office should have one apprentice for ten men, two for eleven men, and three for twenty-one men. The arbitrator decided that every office should have one apprentice for ten men, the second when they had the major portion of twenty, and the third when they had the major portion of thirty-one. In other words, they could not have the second apprentice until they had sixteen men, nor the third apprentice until they had twenty-six men. We felt that that award was a very fair one, and the international representatives felt that we would never have any more trouble in the city of Chicago.

At that time Hearst had no newspaper in Chicago. He did not have a newspaper in 1900, and when he established a newspaper he made a blanket contract with all the unions in that city. Hearst had a separate agreement which expired May 1 last. Our local had agreements with all the other newspapers, which did not expire until 1915. Some dispute occurred between the pressmen and the Hearst newspapers, and it was a matter of pretty general knowledge in the printing industry that the pressmen proposed to force Hearst to sign a contract that would be satisfactory to them on May 1. We were not aware that there was any dissatisfaction, so far as our stereotypers'

organization was concerned, until I received an official communication on March 23 last, in which the local union in Chicago requested the sanction of the international union to strike the Hearst newspaper offices on May 1 in conjunction with the pressmen. I would like to say that as a result of this communication, our Vice-President Sumner and myself visited Chicago and attended a meeting of the local union on April 21. We investigated and found that the Hearst newspapers had offered the same contract to our men that they had with the other newspapers, and that they refused to accept that contract. On behalf of our international union we notified the members of the Chicago union that we would not sanction a strike in the city of Chicago. After we left the hall, however, we learned that they had taken a strike vote and decided to strike on May 1, 1912. Whether we sanctioned it or not, they were going to strike anyhow. I simply want to make that point, so you will understand that they were determined to do this thing whether we sanctioned their action or not. That occurred on April 21. On April 30 the Chicago Stereotypers' Union held a meeting, and rescinded the action they took on April 21, and appointed a committee, and authorized that committee on behalf of the union to go to the Hearst newspapers and sign up an agreement permitting them to become parties to the agreement we had with the other newspapers, which did not expire until 1915. That committee met the representatives of the Hearst newspapers, and signed the contract to that effect, consequently on April 30 we had signed contracts with all the newspapers, guaranteed by our national organization, which did not expire until 1915, and we made up our minds that there was not any possibility of contract violation in Chicago. I want to say to the members of the International Typographical Union that we have about 200 contracts in various parts of North America that have been guaranteed by our international organization. Previous to the unfortunate occurrence in Chicago, our international organization had never violated a contract. Very much to our surprise we learned on May 2, that a lockout or strike of the pressmen had occurred on the Hearst newspapers, and immediately afterwards all the pressmen either struck or were locked out on the other newspapers. And up to that time, I want to say to the representatives of the International Typographical Union assembled here, we had no official communication with the president of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union. He never officially communicated with our international organization at all, but on May 2, when his men were out on the street, I received a telegram requesting support. In all his dealings he dealt with our local union in that city. We were not aware that he required or wanted any assistance from us. On May 3, the day after the pressmen's strike or lockout occurred, I received over the long distance telephone word that our local in Chicago had struck in eight newspaper offices, and I was requested to declare just what the attitude of our international organization would be under those circumstances. The eight newspapers were the following: Tribune, Record-Herald, Inter Ocean, Daily News, Journal, Evening Post, American and Examiner. In all those offices we had contracts that the local union had negotiated and that our international union had underwritten and guaranteed.

I have a statement here of our executive board that perhaps will make the matter a little more clear. I just want to explain our position in regard thereto:

"Disregarding the laws of this union and in direct violation of section 69, general laws, also in violation of the terms of an agreement which it had negotiated with most of the daily newspapers of Chicago, Ill., under date of June 1, 1909, and continuing until February 1, 1915, which agreement was underwritten and guaranteed by this union, Stereotypers' Union No. 4, of Chicago, Ill., did, without any notice to, and without the sanction of this

union, on the night of May 3 last, illegally call and institute a strike in the stereotype departments of the following Chicago Newspapers." I have already given you their names.

"Immediately upon receiving notice of such strike (early on the morning of May 4, shortly after it occurred), the president of this union called up by long distance telephone President Straube, of Stereotypers' Union No. 4, of Chicago, Ill., and informed him that the strike was illegal, and ordered the members of No. 4, who had struck, to immediately return to work. President Straube, of No. 4, flatly refused to obey this order, or instruct the members of his union, who struck, to do so.

"The president of this union then sent telegrams to President Straube and Secretary Conklin, of No. 4, declaring the strike illegal, and ordering No. 4's members involved to immediately return to work, but until May 7, at 5:20 P. M., no reply was received from No. 4.

"On May 6, at 9:00 A. M., President Freel and Vice-President Sumner reached Chicago, and on behalf of the executive board of this union used every possible endeavor to promptly meet President Straube and No. 4's local committee, but were unable to do so until about 2:30 that afternoon, when we located President Straube at the office where he is employed."

Imagine the president of the union, with almost one hundred members on strike in eight newspaper offices, holding down his situation under those circumstances! I again quote:

"President Straube stated he could not meet us until 5:00 P. M. that evening, at which time he appeared with No. 4's committee and representatives of pressmen and other unions on strike."

I would like to say that we requested a meeting with the president of the Chicago Stereotypers' Union and the committee who had charge of that strike, who had agreed to meet us, and did come to the hotel where we were, and very much to my surprise, they had with them the president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and the secretary, and a Mr. Kennedy, representing the wagon drivers or newsboys. As soon as they were seated I said we desired to meet only the representatives of the stereotypers' union in Chicago, for the reason that we had no jurisdiction over any other organization, and the president said that if we desired a meeting we would have to meet the representatives of these organizations who were with him, inasmuch as it was a joint matter, and he absolutely refused to meet us any other way. The statement says further:

"He also admitted that the telephonic and telegraphic orders issued by the president of this union, declaring the strike illegal and ordering the members of No. 4 to return to work, had been received by him, but had not up to that time been communicated to the membership of No. 4, but were communicated to No. 4's committee.

"President Freel then reiterated the decision of the executive board of this union, that the strike was illegal, and ordered the members of No. 4 to return to work, which President Straube and No. 4's committee refused to obey."

I would like to say, too, that we immediately requested a meeting of Stereotypers' Union No. 4, so we could go before them and order them to go back to work, and the president refused to permit us to meet them, and said the only way to meet them was collectively. There were about one hundred stereotypers and many wagon drivers, pressmen and newsboys affected. Of course, we refused to do that, and insisted on having a meeting of our own people, and he absolutely refused to permit that. To quote from the statement:

"The representatives of this union, being debarred from meeting No. 4 and its membership, did everything possible under the circumstances to induce the members of No. 4 whom they were able to reach to return to work, and being unsuccessful, did, on the afternoon of May 9, suspend the charter of

Stereotypers' Union No. 4, of Chicago, Ill., for striking illegally in violation of the laws of this union, and in violation of existing agreements, etc., as stated above."

They absolutely refused to return to work, and we waited until May 9 and then suspended the charter. Now, according to our laws, when a charter is suspended by the executive board of the international union, the suspended union has the right of appeal to our convention, and they did appeal to our convention, and they did send three representatives to present their side of the case to our convention, and I assure you that the representatives at that convention considered it a most important matter, for the reason that we gave them every possible opportunity to present their side of the case. They took it, and the discussion of the Chicago matter took up the first five days of the meeting of our international union in San Francisco, and the final result was that the action of the executive board of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union in suspending Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4, was unanimously endorsed, and the matter was placed in the hands of our executive board with full power to act. I would like to say that we have acted, and have chartered a new union of stereotypers and electrotypers in Chicago.

I would like to call your attention to the fact that I see in the records that the privilege of the floor was asked for the man who was formerly president of the Chicago union, and who is responsible for the unfortunate conditions that exist in that city. I refer to Mr. L. P. Straube. I want to say to you gentlemen that it is entirely up to you to give the privilege of the floor to any one, but Mr. L. P. Straube is no longer a member or representative of the local No. 4, and anything that he would say he would not say as a representative or member of that organization.

I want to say further that I understand everything that was done in Chicago, I know that every possible effort was made to induce union No. 16 to violate their contracts, I know that they were abused, vilified and called everything that honest men should not be called, designated as strikebreakers, but to their honor and credit be it said that they maintained the true principles of organized labor.

Now, gentlemen, there is no one who more deeply regrets the unfortunate conditions that exist in Chicago than I do. When Vice-President Sumner and myself went to Chicago on May 6, we felt that we would have liked to be in the position to get behind our local union in that city. We much prefer to be in that position than to oppose them. We did not want to declare that strike illegal, it was against our desire to do that, but our international union had made the contract, which had been violated, and there was nothing else for us to do. It was a great crisis in our history. I want to say if our international union in San Francisco had refused to sustain our action that I would as an official have severed my connection with that body. I don't want to have any official connection with any organization that won't keep a contract it has made.

The unfortunate condition that exists, so far as our organization is concerned—and I am only speaking for the stereotypers' union of Chicago—I haven't any desire to criticise any other organization in the printing industry, but I have the right to speak for our organization—that the trouble in Chicago was caused entirely by violation of contract. Another thing, while I was in Chicago, and while your president was in Chicago, two papers there that are supposed to represent the trade union side, deliberately and maliciously misrepresented my position and misrepresented the position of your president, and they accused me of committing every crime possible against the trade union movement; they accused me of doing things that none but a degenerate would be guilty of. I want to say as emphatically as I can that the only thing I did in the city of Chicago was to get our people to return to work, and to keep their contract with the publishers in Chicago, which they had violated.

HUGO MILLER, INDIANAPOLIS

Typographia Vice-President International Typographical Union, 1894 – 19—, Secretary-Treasurer German-American Typographia, 1886 – 19—

Deutsch-Amerikanische
Typographia

Deutsch-Amerikanische Typographia

By HUGO MILLER
Second Vice-President International Typographical Union

SOON after the close of the civil war, in 1865, the German printers in a number of cities of the United States organized local unions, or typographias, as they are called. But these organizations were instituted more for social and benevolent purposes than for the extension of trade union principles, and therefore did not have a solid foundation.

In July, 1872, the Gutenberg Society of Philadelphia, composed of German printers, addressed a circular to the other unions of German printers in this country, with the object of bringing about a closer affiliation. The Typographia of New York, which was organized in 1869, at once endorsed the project and requested the Philadelphia Union to send two delegates to its next general meeting, for the purpose of discussing the subject. This was done and a committee composed of members of both unions was created. This committee, in December, 1872, addressed an appeal to all German printers of the United States, and all the local unions, to organize a national union of the German printers of the United States. This appeal was so well received that the joint committee decided to call a convention, or "Buchdrucker-Tag" (Printers' day), to be held in Philadelphia, beginning April 22, 1873. The order of business in this call was stated to be: (1) Framing of a general constitution; (2) founding a general sick or benevolent fund; (3) starting a printers' journal; (4) to discuss the advisability of affiliating with the International Typographical Union. The delegates to this convention also were requested to

bring with them statistics relating to the number of German printers in the different cities and the wages paid them.

The convention met on the date mentioned, with nine delegates present, representing the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and St. Louis. The Typographias of Buffalo, Cleveland and Detroit had expressed their willingness to join in the proposed national union, but were not represented by delegates. The convention was in session for three days and adopted a constitution (which in its main features is in operation to-day), and a platform, as follows:

FIRST. Forming of printers' unions to elevate and promote their calling, by obtaining and maintaining a scale of prices.

SECOND. The regulation and improvement of the apprenticeship system.

THIRD. Union with other trade organizations to obtain, by way of political activity, laws for the protection of labor and the abrogation of those detrimental to it.

FOURTH. Supporting members in case of sickness or when unable to obtain work or when on strike; also at the death of a member's wife, and paying the stipulated amount to the heirs of a deceased member.

FIFTH. Support in the event of starting co-operative printing offices.

SIXTH. Elevating and promoting the intellectual capacity of members by collecting libraries, instruction by scientific and technical lectures and discussion of the labor cause in general.

SEVENTH. Close union of members during all conditions and dangers of their calling.

It was decided at this convention to establish a monthly journal bearing the title, "Deutsch-Amerikanisches Journal für Buchdruckerkunst" (German-American Journal

for the Printing Art), and this publication is now the oldest trade union paper in this country, with a continuous existence of forty years on July 1, 1913. The convention also recommended that the local unions should avoid strikes in so far as it was possible, in order to strengthen the organization and build up its treasury. Philadelphia, as the originator of the movement to bring the several organizations together as an affiliated body, received the first number in the allotment of charters, and the other numbers were drawn for, with the following result: No. 2, Cincinnati; No. 3, St. Louis; No. 4, Buffalo; No. 5, Detroit; No. 6, Cleveland; No. 7, New York.

The Philadelphia convention selected Cincinnati as the place in which to hold the next session, the first-named city to be the headquarters (Vorort) or seat of the executive board, the members to be selected from the roll of the local body. In the matter of affiliating with the International Typographical Union, the executive board was instructed to address a communication to that organization, asking for the interchange of certificates of membership, and the members of the typographias were advised to advocate the adoption of the plan among the English-speaking printers in the various jurisdictions. It was at this convention that a resolution was adopted demanding the abolition of night work in printing offices.

The total membership of the seven unions which formed the National Typographia was 316. It may seem strange that such a small number could undertake and carry through a great enterprise of this character, but it should be remembered that most of these men had been trained in the printers' union movement in Germany, which organization had a strong, well-founded and far-reaching beneficial system in operation.

The first number of the official paper, Journal für

Buchdruckerkunst, was issued in Philadelphia on July 1, 1873. It was not compulsory on the part of the membership to subscribe for the publication, so it was necessary to depend on voluntary subscriptions and advertisements to insure its existence. The paper was first issued as a monthly, but at the end of a year's time it was changed to a semi-monthly publication.

The new organization at once started off at a lively pace. Although the first convention had warned the membership against strikes, it was necessary that several industrial battles be fought during the first year of existence of the affiliated typographias, with the result that the organization gained both in numerical strength and in number of subordinate bodies. Four new local unions (Newark, Chicago, Milwaukee and Baltimore) were added during the first year, and as a consequence the membership increased to 499. In October, 1873, Typographia No. 7, of New York, established the first out-of-work (or employment) bureau for German printers.

Nothing of great importance to the membership was enacted at the second convention at Cincinnati, in May, 1874, except that it was decided to hold conventions biennially, instead of annually, and to receive the cards of German printers coming from Europe.

In the year 1874 there was a panic throughout the country, and the printers' unions had to struggle hard for existence. But the young Typographia stood up well under the fire, and held its ground firmly, losing only one union (Newark, N. J.) and twenty-five members up to the time of holding the third convention, at St. Louis in June, 1876. On May 1, 1875, a union of German printers was organized at Indianapolis, composed of twelve men from that city, nine from Fort Wayne, and one each from Logansport and Terre Haute. But in April, 1876, the printers of the Telegraph at Indianapolis

were compelled to go on strike, in order to uphold the union rules. The strike was lost and the union was dissolved.

In October, 1875, the officers of the different locals were instructed to compile statistics covering the number of printers, apprentices, etc. Of course, these statistics were far from being complete, but nevertheless the compilation is worth while mentioning. It showed that in 179 German printing offices in this country 724 journeymen were employed (about one-fifth of them pressmen) and 447 apprentices. Although quite a number of the so-called apprentices were running small platen presses, the enumeration of apprentices was enormous in comparison with the journeymen employed, and it shows the conditions the Typographia had to contend with at that time. The price paid for 1,000 ems ranged from 30 cents in Cleveland to 60 cents in San Francisco. The hours of labor worked were not given in detail, but were from thirteen to fourteen on daily papers and from ten to twelve in book and job offices.

At the third convention, held at St. Louis in June, 1876, eleven delegates, representing eight unions and 409 members, were present. It was resolved to tax the members 10 cents per month for the creation of a defense fund, out of which $6 per week should be paid to members on strike for a period of four weeks. The convention further decided to remove the seat of the national executive board and its official journal from Philadelphia to New York and to change the name of the paper from "Journal für Buchdruckerkunst" to "Buchdrucker-Zeitung, Organ of the German-American Typographia, Published Under the Control of its Executive Board," and to furnish the same free of cost to every member. The convention also went on record as favoring the alphabet, or letter, system, instead of the old and unjust em system

for piece work, with 22 cents and 24 cents per 1,000 letters and a minimum scale of $15 per week for ten hours' work per day. The convention also declared in favor of creating a board of arbitration, but it took many years before this object was accomplished.

During the panic years from 1876 to 1879 the Typographia was hard pressed by the publishers and had to go through strikes at Cincinnati, Chicago, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Detroit, which reduced both the ranks and the treasury. At Cincinnati the German printers refused to work on July 4, 1876, because, this being centennial year, they wanted to celebrate this glorious day also. The men were locked out, and as the national executive board could not sanction the strike, it was lost and the union went to pieces. At Chicago a strike on the Illinois Staats-Zeitung against a reduction in wages was lost. At Detroit the German printers lost interest in the organization, so they left the national union and only survived thereafter as a benevolent society. At New York the union called several mass meetings of all the German printers, union and non-union, and by harmonious and energetic action they were strong enough to stem the tide against trade unionism until the trouble had passed. Under the circumstances the executive board decided to postpone the next convention, which was slated for June, 1878, until May, 1879, so that its enemies would not so plainly see the weakened condition of the Typographia.

The German printers of St. Paul organized in March, 1878, as Typographia No. 13, but dissolved in December, 1879. The German printers of Louisville had organized as No. 12 in October, 1877, but this union could not live longer than seven months. At the end of 1877, No. 4, of Buffalo, dissolved, and in November, 1878, No. 10, of Milwaukee, went out of existence.

At the fourth convention, held at Chicago in May, 1879, only six local unions (Philadelphia, Cleveland,

New York, Chicago, Baltimore and St. Paul) were represented, showing a total membership of 306. Here it was decided to hold regular conventions in the future every five years only. The establishment of a central burial fund was decided upon, and the old age pension discussed, but action upon both plans was postponed. It was also decided to send organizers to several cities east of the Mississippi, where a sufficient number of German printers were employed to form a local union, and to make every effort for the reduction of the hours of labor.

The year 1880 found the German printers with renewed courage. Increases in wages were gained in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. In December, 1880, No. 9, of Chicago, proposed the calling of a special convention for the purpose of centralizing the sick and out-of-work funds, which then were under control of the different local unions. Two-thirds of the affiliated unions favored the plan, and the special convention was called for July 7, 1881, at Philadelphia. This convention decided to centralize the several beneficial funds, with equalization at stated periods, and again postponed action on the inauguration of an old age pension. But all the work of this convention was useless and the money expended for that purpose was wasted, because at the referendum the majority of the local unions rejected the proposed new laws.

Notwithstanding this setback, the Typographia now made a good advance. No. 10, of Milwaukee, was reorganized in April, 1881; No. 2, at Cincinnati, and No. 12, of Louisville, soon followed the example, so that at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1881, the national union had grown to 579 members. In November of the same year the German printers of Pittsburgh were organized as Typographia No. 16, but this union never showed real life, because the Knights of Labor, at that time very strong in Pittsburgh—and, in fact, in the whole

country—succeeded in organizing a German printers' assembly, and No. 16 dissolved in October, 1882. No. 15, of Evansville, was organized in the spring and No. 13, of St. Paul, was reorganized in October, 1883, and at the same time the German printers of Newark, N. J., who had belonged to No. 7, of New York, again started their own union, No. 8.

In May, 1883, the matter of the centralization of funds, adopted by the special convention of 1881, but afterward defeated by the membership, was again submitted to the referendum and at this time was adopted by a good majority, to take effect July 1, 1884. Many battles were fought with employers during the years 1881 to 1883; some of them the union won, in some of them the men were defeated, but the organization kept on growing, and when the sixth (and last) convention was called at New York in May, 1884, all the eleven local unions then in existence were represented by sixteen delegates, showing a membership of 684. This full representation was made possible by the creation of a general fund, out of which part of the expenses of the delegates was paid.

At this convention the long-sought-for recognition of the Typographia by the International Typographical Union was again tried. The convention adopted the following, which was confirmed by the thirty-second convention of the International Typographical Union, held at New Orleans at the same time—first week in June, 1884:

[Mutual agreement entered into by the German-American Typographia and the International Typographical Union of North America at the sixth convention of the German-American Typographia, held in New York city, May 28 to 31, 1884, and confirmed by the thirty-second convention of the International Typographical Union, held on June 2 to 6, 1884, at New Orleans, La.]

First. The International Typographical Union recognizes the certificates of the German-American Typographia, and the latter recognizes the cards of the International Typographical

Union. This recognition shall entitle the members of either union to join the other without paying initiation fees, and gives them the privilege to work in any office controlled either by the English or German union without being obliged to join both unions. In cases where the validity of a certificate of membership is doubtful, an acknowledgment of the same from the secretary of the union to which the member belongs has to be furnished. Members of either organization that have left or wish to leave their union to join a union of the other organization must pay their dues to the union they leave up to the date of their withdrawal.

SECOND. Where there is a German department in an English union office, or single members of the German union are working, or *vice versa,* where there is an English department in a German union office, or single members of the English union are employed, the members of both unions shall act in unity in all disputes about wages, or possible strikes, after having reported the case to their respective unions, and having obtained the permission of the authorized officers, as the constitutions of both organizations may provide.

If a strike results from such action, and it becomes necessary to pay relief money to members, the following maxim shall prevail: the union which orders the strike shall also pay the relief to the members of the sister union it orders out.

In reference to chapel organizations, the following rules shall be binding to both parties. Those members of a union that are in the minority in an establishment shall subordinate themselves to the majority of the other union in all matters pertaining to the common interest of union members there employed. If there is a separate department for the members of the unions, they may, even if they are in the minority, have a separate chapel, but they must adopt such rules and regulations that unity of action is insured in all cases where the common interest is at stake.

THIRD. It shall be the rule that German compositors not belonging to either union, setting German in an office controlled by the English union, shall be compelled by the chairman to join the German union. English compositors in a German union office, not yet belonging to either union, shall be compelled to join the English union.

Unfortunately, some of the English unions—especially

"Big Six," in New York—refused to abide by this mutual agreement, claiming the convention had no power to adopt the same.

At the New York convention it was resolved to do away with regular conventions altogether, and only to call a convention when, on the motion of three local unions, a majority of the membership by referendum vote should decide in favor of holding one. Since that time (nearly thirty years) the Typographia has managed to get along without conventions and had all its important transactions, including its amalgamation with the International Typographical Union, accomplished by referendum after discussion at the meetings and in the official journal. Several times the question of holding a convention has been before the membership and twice was voted on by the referendum, but was defeated both times. This convention also decided in favor of one general fund for all the beneficial features of the Typographia (out-of-work, sick, traveling and burial), which fund should be kept in the hands of the different local unions, but should be equalized every six months. Later on this was changed to every year. By this action a strong foundation of the Typographia was built. Unfortunately, No. 9, of Chicago, where at that time the radical or anarchistic element was very strong, withdrew from the national organization and tried to induce other locals to do likewise. In this effort No. 9 did not succeed. A small number of its members remained loyal to the national union and formed local No. 16. This union, in the course of time, gained more strength than the independent union, and at the beginning of 1891 both Chicago unions were reunited as No. 9.

In the fall of 1885 the labor movement of this country received a great impetus, which had its climax in the eight-hour movement of May 1, 1886. The Typographia

stood in the front rank of this movement and undertook an aggressive campaign. By energetic action and making use of the boycott—at that time a powerful weapon—No. 7, of New York, gained one office after another and increased from 198 to 322 members. Other locals followed this example, especially Milwaukee, which union, by energetic work, climbed up from eighteen to seventy-six members, and nearly everywhere the German unions increased their scales and their membership. It was a glorious period, a period that stands alone in the labor history of this country. So great was the enthusiasm of its members and the success of the Typographia, that in May, 1886—the time set for the inauguration of the eight-hour day in all the German printing offices of this country—the fight had practically been won, and the great achievement was accomplished without much trouble. At New York, the proprietors of the German book and job offices got together quickly and tried to form a defense organization, but were unsuccessful. So the eight-hour day of the Typographia was established by one concerted movement and without any reduction in wages. On the contrary, in New York, Newark and other cities, the scales were increased, direct, and in the whole jurisdiction indirect by substituting the alphabet system for the old and disadvantageous em system.

But, of course, the proprietors of German printing offices had a hard struggle to compete with the proprietors of the English offices, the men working only eight hours in the German offices and the others working ten hours in New York and some other cities for the same wages. In order to protect the German eight-hour offices, the Typographia adopted the first printers' union label used in any country, which label bore the inscription "Union Printer" and was soon well known and well supported by the progressive element in the labor movement and the

public in general as the eight-hour label, and did an immense amount of good, until the other printing trades unions succeeded in gaining the eight-hour day also, some twenty years later, when the old eight-hour label of the Typographia was withdrawn in favor of the allied label, the former having accomplished its purpose.

Only one reverse marked the great eight-hour struggle of the Typographia in May, 1886, and this was in Cincinnati. Here the union had neglected to join in the movement on the date named, and went into the battle at the end of May, at a time when the employers in the printing industry, as well as in other industries, had gained new courage to stop the onward march of the victorious working masses. The strike on the German newspapers of Cincinnati in 1886 was therefore a failure, and the union lost many of its members, retaining only the German department of the Methodist Book Concern and a few small offices. But some of the striking members of No. 2 started a German daily labor paper on the coöperative plan, and with its assistance the union was kept afloat until it could gain renewed strength.

Another dark spot in the glorious period of 1886 should be mentioned to make a true history of the Typographia. This was a lockout of the union men on the Philadelphia Tageblatt (a German daily with socialistic theories). It would require too much space to go into the details that led to this trouble, but the fight was very calamitous, the united German trade unions of Philadelphia taking the side of the Tageblatt against the Typographia, while the central labor union of that city stood by them. The management of the Tageblatt had engaged non-union men prior to the lockout, and thereby the paper could continue publication, while the Typographia issued a lively boycott paper to fight the Tageblatt. The non-union men on that paper formed a "fake" union under

the name "Gutenberg Society," and also tried to get into the Knights of Labor, an organization very strong at that time. In order to prevent this, some of the members of the Typographia formed a German printers' assembly and obtained a charter from the Knights of Labor before the "rats" on the Tageblatt could do so. The battle lasted more than a year, until it was ended by a board of arbitration (composed of two members of the executive board of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers and P. J. McGuire) in favor of the Typographia.

Despite these two obstacles occurring in Cincinnati and Philadelphia, the national union flourished during the next few years up to 1890 and gained new or reorganized locals at Indianapolis, Belleville, Ill., Buffalo, Cleveland, St. Paul, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Omaha, Detroit and San Francisco, making a total of twenty-one locals with 1,233 members. Only a few strikes occurred during that time, the principal one being at St. Louis in the summer of 1890 on two of the German papers of that city, which lasted for some time, until an agreement could be reached.

The next chapter in the history of the Typographia is the most important one since its formation, being the first cause for the amalgamation of this organization with the International Typographical Union. At New York city, where Typographia No. 7 had control of all the German printing offices, the proprietor of the English daily Morning Journal, on September 1, 1890, started also a German daily under the title "Morgen-Journal." The foreman of the Morning Journal had picked a force for the new German daily from among the German printers belonging to "Big Six," and wanted the office to be placed under the jurisdiction of that union. Against this Typographia No. 7 protested, claiming jurisdiction over all the German papers in New York. The management of the Morgen-

Journal, in order to avoid trouble with any labor organization, recommended that the matter of having jurisdiction over this office should be decided by arbitration. All three parties agreed to this, and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was unanimously appointed as arbitrator. But after he decided in favor of the Typographia, the members of "Big Six" refused to accept his decision, claiming their officers had no right to agree to such an arrangement. So the members of No. 7, working at the Morgen-Journal and refusing to join No. 6, were discharged, and replaced by members of the latter union. No. 7 then started a vigorous boycott against the paper and a fierce struggle between the two unions was waged for several months, with the result that at last a conference committee agreed that the office of the Morgen-Journal should come under the jurisdiction of the Typographia, but that this union should take out a charter from the International Typographical Union. This was done and the New York Typographia received charter No. 274 of the International Typographical Union, but at the same time remained as No. 7 of the Typographia until this organization as a body amalgamated with the International Typographical Union in 1894.

The onward march of the Typographia continued until the summer of 1891, the greatest victory being gained in New York, where the price of 1,000 letters was raised 4 cents for day and 5 cents for night work, and the time scale to $18 for book and job offices, $20 for evening papers and $24 for morning papers, at eight hours per day. The first obstacle was struck at Buffalo, in 1891, where the Volksfreund agreed to the new scale of No. 4, but not to the recognition of the union, and therefore its printers did not join the ranks. On the other German dailies of Buffalo—Demokrat and Freie Presse—a strike

was declared and all the members, with the exception of two on the Demokrat, came out. But with the help of a number of apprentices and the use of many plates both papers managed to make their appearance. No. 4 then started a lively boycott against this paper, but in the course of time went out of existence, and it was February. 1895, before the union could get a new foothold, and soon after regained its old strength.

The boycott during that time played an important part in the warfare of the Typographia, and battles at Cincinnati, Evansville, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Kansas City and Chicago were won through the energetic use of the boycott.

The year 1892 witnessed heavy battles on the part of the Typographia. The first one was with the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, which office, although partly employing union men, and as a rule paying the scale of the union, had up to that date never been a union office. This condition could not be tolerated any longer, as the Typographia could not run the risk of losing the other German papers of the city as strictly union offices. So, on February 22, 1892, No. 7 decided to call its members out of the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung. Of the forty-three men employed there, only twenty-six came out; seventeen members and ten non-members remained at work. Through this treacherous action the publication of the paper continued and No. 7 again started a lively boycott against it. Every effort was made to make this boycott effective. Committees were sent to all German societies, mass meetings were called at Cooper Union and other places, and the city was placarded with boycott circulars and posters. A weekly paper, "O. O." (named after the proprietor of the Staats-Zeitung, Oswald Ottendorfer), was published by No. 7 and did good work. But the wealthy Staats-Zeitung was in a condition to hold out,

with the assistance of linotype machines installed shortly before and during the fight. The publication of an evening edition was started in order to make up for the loss. An understanding was then reached that the men out on strike on the Staats-Zeitung should be employed on the new evening edition, and the strike was called off after a duration of seven months.

While this great and expensive battle was going on in New York, No. 9, of Chicago, had to stand an attack of the proprietors of three daily papers and one weekly paper, the latter having combined, thinking this a good time to kill the union. But the members in Chicago made a good fight. They also issued a boycott paper, the Agitator, and received able assistance from the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly and organized labor in general. After one of the dailies had been compelled to give in, a settlement was reached with the others by which the Typographia again secured control over all the papers, but promised to whitewash some of the "rats."

Having shown its courage and great resources during this battle, the second half of the year 1892 turned out to be better for the Typographia. No. 2, of Cincinnati, regained its foothold and obtained jurisdiction over all the printing offices of that city. The unions at Columbus, Rochester and Chicago raised their scales. The unions at Indianapolis, Cleveland, Milwaukee and Pittsburgh followed their example in the early part of 1893. But soon after another great battle had to be fought, at this time with the Cincinnati Freie Presse, whose proprietor had installed linotype machines and wanted to get rid of the union. Another lively boycott was inaugurated against this paper, which lasted for years and even reached the courts, but at last No. 2 regained control over this office also.

The plan to amalgamate the Typographia with the International Typographical Union had now ripened, and the proposed treaty of amalgamation, agreed upon by the executive boards of both organizations, was adopted by referendum, with 840 for and 224 votes against, while the motion to call a convention for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements was defeated by a vote of 627 for to 435 against. Later on it was agreed that the amalgamation should take effect on July 1, 1894.

The fiscal year from July 1, 1893, to June 30, 1894, was the worst ever experienced in the history of the Typographia. Typesetting machines were installed in a great number of offices, and owing to the slack condition of business in general, a number of German newspapers consolidated and others went out of existence. The treasury of the Typographia and the good will of its members had to stand a great pressure. The dues had to be raised and extra assessments levied to meet the great demand on the out-of-work fund. Statistics compiled in October, 1893, showed that out of 1,350 members 270 (or over twenty per cent) were out of work. The worst showing was made in Cleveland, where, through the amalgamation of two German dailies and the introduction of typesetting machines, two-thirds of the membership were unemployed for a while. During this period the general fund of the Typographia paid $17,262 in out-of-work benefits, and benefits paid out of the local treasuries of some unions for the same purpose brought this amount up to $23,000 for the fiscal year. It is very doubtful if there is another trade union in this or any other country which could have stood such a great stress. Nevertheless, the Typographia never lost courage and continued its battle for the betterment of its members and the laboring people in general. Strikes at Detroit

and Pittsburgh were won, but a strike on the California Demokrat at San Francisco was lost and the union in that city went out of existence in June, 1894.

At Chicago the German printers employed in the office of Simon Brothers, which furnished plates to a large number of German papers in this country, refused any further to pay the high dues in effect at that time and had, therefore, to be suspended from the union. They then started an assembly of the Knights of Labor, under the name "D. A. Typographia No. 1, L. A. 1037." Later on the printers of the Chicago Freie Presse joined this "fake" union, which led to an energetic boycott against the paper that lasted for some time and cost a large amount of money, but was won in the end, as were all the other battles which the Typographia had to fight.

On July 1, 1894, the new constitution, necessary under the treaty of amalgamation with the International Typographical Union, went into effect. The old executive board of the Typographia, located in New York and elected by that union, adjourned *sine die,* and the general secretary of the Typographia, who had been elected since 1888 by referendum, moved the headquarters of the Typographia and its journal in October, 1894, after the convention of the International Typographical Union at Louisville, from New York to Indianapolis, where the headquarters of the International Typographical Union are located. Under the agreement he became fourth vice-president of the International Typographical Union and automatically later on third and second vice-president, as the pressmen and the stereotypers left the International Typographical Union. The secretary-treasurer of the Typographia, who is also the editor of its official journal, Buchdrucker-Zeitung, in accordance with the agreement made with the International Typographical

union, then took general supervision of the German branch. He is supported by an advisory board of three (now five) members who are elected from the three (now five) largest local unions of the Typographia.

The fiscal year 1895-96 started out well. All the non-members of the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung, forty strong, joined the union, and this was made a strictly union office, and has so remained since. The unions at Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Columbus raised their scales without trouble. At Toledo, No. 24 was organized in November, 1895, and at Wheeling, No. 25 in March, 1896. In order to take better care of the great number of unemployed printers, the Typographia in December, 1896, decided by referendum vote to reduce the working time in all newspaper offices using typesetting machines to five days per week. In New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis and several smaller cities this decision was enforced while a number of other cities remained passive on this important subject, owing to local contracts or other circumstances. The year 1896-97 was very quiet, only a few small strikes occurring. In August, 1897, a revolution in the German newspapers of St. Louis took place. Two dailies, Tageblatt and Tribüne, went out of existence, and later the Anzeiger des Westens was consolidated with the Westliche Post. This threw a number of German printers in St. Louis out of work. Some of them found situations on the Volks-Zeitung, a daily paper started by workingmen, but this paper did not exist very long. At Philadelphia the daily Gazette was gained for the union, after the men employed there had been organized. But at the same city the daily Volksblatt went out of existence in May, 1898, and at Milwaukee the daily Seebote was consolidated with the Herold. Twenty-five years had passed now since the formation of the Typo-

graphia, and this occasion was celebrated in the spring of 1898 with great enthusiasm by all the local unions of the Typographia.

In October, 1900, No. 1, of Philadelphia, was compelled to order a strike on the Philadelphia Demokrat for violation of union rules. This strike, in which the boycott again played an important part, lasted for over five years, until the office was regained. But the paper had been hit so hard by the boycott that it did not live much longer and was consolidated with the Philadelphia Gazette in May, 1907. At Chicago, in June, 1902, the daily Illinois Staats-Zeitung was bought up by Mr. Michaelis, an arch enemy of the Typographia, and he discharged all the union men formerly employed on that paper. Again the boycott was enlisted in the assistance of the Typographia, and the office of Mr. Michaelis was unionized in October, 1902. The office of Simon Brothers had been unionized prior to that date, and the typographia printers' assembly, Knights of Labor of Chicago, mentioned heretofore, went to pieces. No. 20, of Omaha, dissolved in February, 1901. A new union, No. 23, was formed at Winnipeg in March, 1906, and another one, No. 20, at Davenport, Iowa, on New Year's day, 1907.

From 1902 on nothing of great importance occurred in the Typographia. It had a one hundred per cent organization now and covered almost the whole field. The consolidation and suspension of German papers in this country went on, the trade in German book and job offices also slacked, and therefore, slowly but steadily, the membership of the Typographia decreased. But nevertheless all its locals showed the old spirit, and one after the other succeeded in raising the scale from time to time, with only a few and very short strikes.

For the first time in the history of the Typographia,

arbitration was tried in the dispute between the combined publishers of the German dailies of Greater New York and Typographia No. 7 in 1903. These arbitration proceedings were conducted in accordance with the agreement between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the International Typographical Union. Commissioner Driscoll acted for the publishers, Organizer McLoughlin for the Typographia, with Bishop Potter, of New York, as umpire. The decision was mostly in favor of the union, giving the men an increase of 30 cents per day and the five-day system for evening papers. Previous to this time the men on evening papers worked five days in one week and six days in the other. The decision included the proviso that the men should set 22,500 ems per day on the linotype, but owing to the fact that no man can accomplish more than what is in his power, this proviso remained a dead letter.

When the great eight-hour battle of the International Typographical Union began in the fall of 1905, the Typographia, being a part of the organization, of course had to help carry the burden of the battle, and contributed $66,445.05 to the strike fund. Having gained the eight-hour day twenty years before, it was only necessary to call small strikes of German printers at St. Louis and Milwaukee, where some of the book and job offices had not lived up to the eight-hour rule, owing to the competition of the English offices and the withdrawal of the German eight-hour label. At Toledo the men in the book and job room of the Express, a German daily, who belonged to No. 63, went on strike for the eight-hour day. Later on the members of Typographia No. 24, who worked on the paper mentioned, were called out in support of No. 63; but several of them "ratted," the strike was lost and the union had to dissolve at the end of the year 1906 and the Toledo Express has been conducted as

a non-union office ever since. Another strike had to be called at Buffalo in March, 1910, in order to enforce a new and increased scale; but this strike was won in a very short time. All the other increases obtained by the different locals of the Typographia during the past few years were granted without serious trouble.

In July, 1911, the German daily at Wheeling, W. Va., suspended publication and No. 25 had to be dissolved. At the end of the year 1911 No. 18, of Belleville, Ill., and No. 23, of Winnipeg, also went out of existence, there not being sufficient German work in those cities to justify the further existence of German unions.

This, briefly, is the history of the Typographia during its thirty-nine years of existence, from July, 1873, to June, 1912. A study of this chapter will show that the German printers of this country, although small in number, have been very active and aggressive during all that time, and that they have made their mark in the trade union movement of America. The organization was founded in 1873 by seven local unions with 316 members. In 1877 the list showed ten locals, but only 270 members. The year 1881 showed nine locals and 579 members, and from then on made a steady increase, until it reached its high-water mark, with twenty-one locals and 1,382 members in 1892. Then the decline began, and the end of the fiscal year 1912 showed nineteen locals with 887 members.

The first general secretary of the Typographia and editor of its journal was Charles G. Bachmann, who held office from July 1, 1873, to June 30, 1876. Then followed Jean Weil, of New York, from 1873 to 1883; then Frederick Milke, of New York, from 1883 to 1886, and then came Hugo Miller, also of New York, who holds the office up to the present time.

Before closing this chapter, it would be well to say a

few words regarding the beneficial system of the Typographia. As stated in an earlier part of this history, the first convention made it compulsory on the locals of the Typographia to establish out-of-work and sick benefit funds; then came a joint burial fund, and later on the traveling fund. In 1884 all the different funds were centralized, with yearly equalization of the money in the treasury of the different locals; the general secretary-treasurer having the fund only for administrative purposes in his hands, but he keeps control over all the benefits paid by the different locals. The present benefits are the following:

Five dollars sick benefit per week in case of sickness for fifty weeks and fifty weeks more at $3 per week, a total of $400 sick benefit.

Six dollars out-of-work benefit per week, the maximum sum allowed in one fiscal year to be $96, in periods of $24.

Seven dollars old age pension per week ($5 from the International Typographical Union and $2 from the Typographia).

Five dollars strike benefit per week for single men and $7 for married men or heads of families. (This is paid out of the treasury of the International Typographical Union).

Burial benefit of from $75 to $400, according to the length of membership.

Burial benefit of $50 for the deceased wife of a member.

Admission to the Union Printers Home, under the rules of the International Typographical Union.

The traveling benefit has been discontinued since 1908, there being no further necessity for such benefit under existing conditions in the printing trade.

Since July 1, 1884, the time when the funds and benefits of the Typographia have been centralized, until June, 1912, a period of twenty-eight years, the amount

of benefits paid to its members and their families is as follows: Out-of-work benefits, $173,645.91; sick benefits, $120,906.75; burial benefits, $87,840; strike benefits, $37,790.54; traveling benefits (up to 1908), $8,317.01; old age pensions (for four years), $18,951.00, making a total of $447,508.21. Add to this the contribution of the Typographia for the eight-hour struggle of the International Typographical Union ($66,445.05), making a grand total of $513,953.26, or in other words, the Typographia in a period of twenty-eight years expended more than a half-million dollars for beneficial purposes, with an average membership of about one thousand, certainly a good showing. But high benefits, of course, demand high dues. The members of the Typographia are paying now forty-five cents per week into the general fund, besides the local dues and the one per cent assessment for the pension and burial fund of the International Typographical Union. However, these high dues bring them very high returns in the form of shorter hours and better wages, clear proof that a trade union is the best savings bank for the workingman.

Technical Trade Education

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Union Printers Home

Technical Trade Education

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Secretary International Typographical Union Commission
on Supplemental Trade Education

Does not the beauty and grandeur of our country—aye, the lives of the people—depend more on the efficient handiwork of the tradesmen than on all other vocations? Why then should not the trades receive even more protection from incompetency than the professions? Other trades look to you, in a measure, to lead the onslaught against incompetency. Are you equal to the emergency?—*Mark L. Crawford, President International Typographical Union for the fiscal year 1883–4.*

THUS spoke Mr. Crawford to the thirty-fourth session of the International Union at New Orleans, in June, 1884. It is the first appeal for a trade educational system that can be found in the records. It was prefaced by a review of the situation that has now become so familiar as to be regarded as a matter of course. The president declared that the future of the organization depended on the wise treatment of apprentices, and he asserted "our unions are being filled with incompetent men," making a burlesque of the claim that a union card is sufficient evidence of competency. He emphasized the fact that the International had declared time and again as being in favor of an indenture system—a system that would bind both parties in such a manner that a higher grade of workmanship would unquestionably be obtained. He repudiated the charge that the unions were responsible for the incompetents in their ranks, placing the blame primarily on employers who exploited rather than taught apprentices, and who afterward "are only too willing to use these incompetent men to cut our throats when occasion arises," thus compelling the unions "for self-protection to admit those men to membership."

Mr. Crawford conceded that machinery had "to a great extent revolutionized matters," but maintained that the fundamental fault was the lack of stringent apprentice

laws which would compel employers to do their duty toward apprentices. In support of his plea the president regretfully stated that in trades other than printing the positions of importance were held by men hailing from countries where the laws required indenture systems. It would appear the training of apprentices was one of Mr. Crawford's hobbies, as the first article in the first issue of The Inland Printer (October, 1883) was from his pen on that subject under the caption of "An Era of Botches." There were other articles along similar lines and a lively discussion persisted for months and years which probably reflected the state of mind of union printerdom on the issue more than the official proceedings of conventions.

Always there has been more or less controversy about the education of apprentices and the competency of journeymen. In the early eighties, however, the situation had become acute from the standpoint of those interested in sustaining the reputation for skill of union members. Then apprentices were coming from offices that had grown large and in which modern specialization methods were beginning to bear fruit—in the shape of printers who knew naught of presswork and could set only straight-matter or small jobs. In the eyes of some of the members who participated in this discussion—men who, like the late William J. Kelly, were an authority on either presswork, straight or job composition—these applicants were too poorly equipped to call themselves printers. This writer's case is an illustration of the change that had been effected in the trade within a short period before 1883. When he made his timorous bow to the industry, coming from the office in which he commenced the trade, the force numbered not more than ten to fifteen men, all on one floor, and the apprentice worked on a press or at the case, as suited the convenience of the foreman. In 1883 that office employed more than a hundred and fifty

persons, and though the same man was superintendent few composing-room boys ever got a "look-in" at presswork, and to put a pressroom boy at the case was unthinkable. In the composing-room specialization was even then having its effect on apprentices. There was a book room on one floor with a job room on another, and where the boy started there he stayed. That was in a comparatively small city, where industrial development was slower than in the great centers which were in the eyes of Mr. Crawford and others who figured most prominently in shaping union policy. Specialization of this kind became more general as old-established offices became larger, and employers starting in business found it necessary to secure equipment to do specialty printing, and thus developed a condition which made it impossible for many employers to teach boys the trade, even if they were ever so willing.

The instances in which circumstances compelled neglect of education were so numerous that neglect soon became the normal state. Those offices which were in a position to educate apprentices did not feel that they should carry the burden of providing good men for the trade, and there was no one to call them to account, even if their position was not a reasonable one when viewed from a business standpoint.

New working conditions tended to make it more difficult for journeymen to maintain an interest in the youths with whom they worked. Devices for lowering the cost of production compelled journeymen to show results in profit-making work, which led to the abandonment of all systematic attempts to teach boys.

The youths were not without friends willing to protect them. Almost every person connected with the craft recognized conditions and many bemoaned the inevitable results. There did not seem to be a remedy. The craft

floundered; employers were inclined to blame the unions when they spoke collectively or officially. Of course, as the union does not hire boys, it is not responsible for the competency or incompetency of apprentices, so the superficial conclusion was that employers were wholly blamable, and many union resolutions said as much. Among employers and employes who sought a remedy, a number proposed a reversion to the old-style indenture system. This was not feasible, however, as employers regarded the obligations imposed as too onerous and profitless, for it is a question in many offices whether the employment of boys is profitable. The greatest obstacle, however, was the attitude of the public mind and of the boys toward an indentured apprenticeship. It came to be regarded as a species of slavery, incompatible with modern conceptions of the rights and liberties of youth. Everybody knew that the haphazard methods would lead nowhere, but everybody would rather have that than curtail the liberty and privileges which an advancing civilization bestows on the young.

Slowly but surely the world began to realize that the shop apprenticeship system had broken down. Some other system was required. Looking at other commercial countries where the opportunities are less spacious, it was found that in order to develop good mechanics and artisans training supplemental to the work in the shop was a necessity. This fact was brought strongly to the attention of the American public in 1902, when the United States commissioner of labor issued a voluminous report on the subject. A first fruit of this publication was the formation in 1907 of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education.

In the same year the International Typographical Union took the initial step toward answering the question asked by President Crawford a quarter of a century before: "Are you equal to the emergency?" This tardi-

ness was due to the fact that for most of the intervening period there was no clear idea about what could be done, and when it was discovered that supplemental education was the most practical remedy it was found that apprentices and journeymen, worked to the point of exhaustion, were not in the proper frame of mind to absorb instruction during their limited leisure.

In 1907 the eight-hour workday had been established and the union was preparing to institute new, attractive features. The convention was held at Hot Springs, Ark., and on "talkfest day" the writer was asked to make a few remarks to the assembled delegates. He took for his subject the need of technical education, pointing out that the reduction in the hours of labor had made it possible for all but a very few to put in some time at perfecting his knowledge of the trade. The delegates adopted a resolution authorizing the executive council to appoint a commission "whose duty it shall be to formulate some system for the technical education of our members and apprentices."

President Lynch appointed as members of the commission, A. H. McQuilkin, editor of the Inland Printer, of Chicago, Ill.; Frank M. Walker, of Houston, Tex., who resigned and was succeeded by Robert E. Darnaby, of Indianapolis, Ind., and W. B. Prescott, of Chicago, Ill., with the president serving ex officio.

The commission and executive council met in Chicago in joint session on December 9 and 10, and, to quote the report published in the Typographical Journal, "thoroughly canvassed trade education as it is applicable to the compositor's art and the welfare of the union."

After the conclusion of their deliberations the members of the executive council and the commissioners in a signed address to the membership said:

"The decadence of the apprenticeship system under which the employer took direct personal interest in the

youth is now generally recognized, as modern shop conditions and the specialization of labor place it beyond recall. The problem before the commission and the union officials was how best to fill the void, and, if possible, lay the foundation for a system of trade training that will in the light of present-day conditions prove more helpful to the craftsman than the apprenticeship system could be.

"Obviously, the first suggestion would be the establishment of schools equipped with material at which instruction could be received. This was rejected on the score of expense and the fact that its benefits would be limited to those living in the larger printing centers. Several unions—notably those at Indianapolis and Los Angeles—have established classes for instruction in typography—an effort which merits the approval of the commission, which will at all times be willing to coöperate and aid such schools or classes. The paucity of men fitted to act as teachers—for the capable workman is not necessarily an efficient instructor—convinced the commission that it would fall far short of meeting the requirements of the craft if it placed its chief reliance on such methods, dependent wholly on local enthusiasm and local talent for their success. It should also be noted that these commendable efforts are confined to the education of apprentices, while there is need for some means whereby journeymen may improve themselves and thereby increase their earning capacity, by keeping in step with the advance of the graphic arts.

"Heartily as the commission approves of such agencies, their cost and the experimental nature of the venture warned it that some other method must be adopted. The Inland Printer Technical School has in preparation a correspondence course consisting of more than thirty-six lessons, ranging from elemental details to the most advanced methods of artistic display. Other efforts to

import similar knowledge by correspondence have not been successful, but it is the conviction of those competent to judge that the causes of previous failures have been largely anticipated.

"Certain that the widest possible appeal could be made by the correspondence method and that the course in preparation would be as nearly perfect as possible, the commission devoted its attention to devising ways and means whereby the student could receive the instruction as close to cost price as possible. The Inland Printer Technical School undertakes to furnish the course—which shall be known as 'The I. T. U. Course of Instruction in Printing'—for $20, payable in monthly installments. This will include personal examination and written criticisms of the work of each student by experts, as well as the necessary apparatus — drawing-board, pencils, ink, rulers, etc. The scholarships are interminable. Scholars have the aid of the school for an indefinite period; in other words, the scholarship lasts a lifetime.

"Though $20 is a low price for the course, the commission, in the hope of stimulating interest in this comparatively new but important work, decided to offer a prize of $5.00 to every student who, in the opinion of the commission, is deserving. Briefly, the qualities which will determine the awarding of these prizes will be proficiency and assiduity.

"This plan of reward was adopted for the purpose of reducing the cost to the average man, who is the object of the union's solicitude and who suffers most by reason of inadequate educational facilities, in preference to the common one of granting a small number of large prizes to a few of the most advanced students.

"At this writing, the system on which the prizes will be awarded can not be given, but the rules will be drafted in accordance with the most approved educational meth-

ods. In addition to the prize of $5.00, and as a further incentive to all to take advantage of the plan, the commission will make special arrangements for tuition fees with needy apprentices and others who may desire to take the course.

"Full details relating to the correspondence course will be furnished later; this is but a brief outline of what the commission had to present to the membership, though it by no means exhausts what it has in view, and of which this is the initial step. Those interested in the welfare and advancement of our members, especially those engaged in job and ad composition, have been impressed by the invasion of the commercial artist or designer in the domain that once was exclusively the printer's. The tendency of this innovation has been to reduce the compositor to the position of a mere copyist. Some few exceptional workmen have maintained the traditional place in the art, but the great mass can not make good under existing conditions. Not only is this prejudicial to the worker as a craftsman, but it prevents the best possible results in product and consequently retards the development of the craft and its followers. As a rule, the commercial artist or designer who directs is not understood by the printer who does the work. The commercial artist's conception is never fully grasped by the mind trained in mechanics and accustomed to working with type, while the commercial artist fails to acquire an adequate idea of the possibilities or limitations of the material with which the mechanic does his work. Here we have a waste of effort and imperfect work, which should be obviated. But how? Manifestly not by making printers of the commercial artists or vice versa. The commission believes the solution is to be found in the printer acquiring an elemental knowledge of pertinent art principles, which, when applied to his daily work, will make him master

of the typographic field. Mechanical skill and artistic conception combined in one person will result in the curtailment of wasted effort, produce better work and greatly enhance the economic value of the worker, who, with this knowledge, becomes in truth an artisan.

"The arrangement made with The Inland Printer Technical School places the complete faculties of that institution and the services of its experts under the control and at the disposal of the commission."

It will be seen from the foregoing that the commission endeavored to give an ocular demonstration of the two principal factors in trade education, namely: (1) the whole purpose of the course is to bestow benefit on the student, all other considerations being secondary to his advancement, and (2) the application of the best and most advanced educational methods to trade training. As intended, the object lesson in these features given by the I. T. U. Course have had a decided influence on the general discussion of industrial education.

The March Typographical Journal contained the first advertisement of the "I. T. U. Course of Instruction in Printing," and the world was told that a trade union had quit talking about industrial education and was putting its resolutions into effect under novel auspices. Had the Course been put on the market as a commercial venture by The Inland Printer it would cost $50 or $60 at the lowest, but owing to the liberality of the union, compositors could secure the instruction for the net cost of $15. The price—$20—was found to be too low, and was subsequently raised to $23 for cash and $25 if paid on the installment plan.

The second meeting of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education saw the Course almost ready for students, and at that session the first public exposition of the methods to be employed was given.

Progress was slow when compared with other activities in which the union had identified itself, for, as an illustration, an augmented burial fund is diffusing benefits within a few months after the scheme is adopted. After making its bow, the commission found itself confronted by the justifiable suspicion of the correspondence method of instruction, and the natural and commendable hostility to some of the phases of trade education that are paraded as technical training or industrial education, in which the productiveness rather than the advancement of the student is the prime consideration.

Another impediment was the trade tradition that the office was the place to learn type composition, and also the wholly foundationless belief that the commission was trying to make more printers. That would be preposterous, for there is a sufficiency of printers, many of whom could be more efficient workers if given an opportunity to learn what they had no opportunity of learning when serving their apprenticeships.

By dint of much reasoning and persuasion, printers began to realize the principles underlying display work could be taught by correspondence, and that a knowledge of those principles was of great advantage when applied to everyday work. Some of the most accomplished compositors were induced to take the Course and declared it good.

When the Boston convention met in August, 1908, there was a respectable display of work done by students, and the convention endorsed enthusiastically a system of trade education that gave such promise and was devoted solely to the advancement of the student and not for the purpose of piling up fortunes or otherwise exploiting the ambitious learner.

As with some of its other features, the policy of the Typographical Union quickly demonstrated its utility and

practicability. Those not in close touch with the labor movement expressed amazement that a trade union should be interested in industrial education, and incidentally they learned the lesson that there were several different kinds of industrial education, some of which should be opposed vigorously, while others were entitled to support. Naturally, the influence of this movement first became manifest in printing trade organizations. The International Pressmen's Union took up the subject and quickly made a move toward establishing a technical school. Simultaneously the photo engravers' organization and the bookbinders' brotherhood became the forums of pertinent discussion. These organizations were not as fortunate as the typographical union in that they did not find a system of education already developed and awaiting the best method of application. The photo engravers and bookbinders were constrained to content themselves by conducting in their official papers departments devoted to technical subjects while hopefully developing more effective methods of instruction.

The ever-expanding circle of the influence of the Course was demonstrated by the American Federation of Labor, which appointed a committee on industrial education composed of its most influential and prominent members. They gave unqualified endorsement to the efforts of the typographical union and their report on industrial education was in consonance with the general principles that had governed the commission.

Slowly, but surely, employers began to take more interest in this effort. Some have gone so far as to give increased wages to any I. T. U. students, and others deal liberally with apprentices who take the Course. The most significant action on the part of organized employers, however, is that of the Chicago Employing Printers' Association, which entered into an agreement with Chi-

cago Typographical Union No. 16, whereby apprentices are required to take the Course during the last year of their apprenticeships, a special increase of wages being provided for this purpose.

Throughout our jurisdiction the preachings of the commission and literature distributed in behalf of the Course have quickened the union's conscience regarding apprentices. A common form of expression is to have the union pay all or a portion of the apprentice's tuition fee, and not the least important is the fact that where this has not been done, men are organizing committees for the purpose of protecting the interests of the youths of the trade. Five years after the enrollment of the first student it is not an exaggeration to say that no working hour passes in which some person is not advised to take the Course, and the relation of the craft to apprentices and journeymen of limited skill is discussed as never before.

Outside union circles and in foreign lands the Course has duplicated the cultural success it achieved among its own people and at home. The commission has two exhibits and a series of stereopticon slides showing the work of students. These have been displayed in a number of cities and at gatherings of employing printers and publishers. In many cases employers and buyers of printing display more interest than do compositors, though there are now thousands of enthusiastic I. T. U. Course men.

The education department of New South Wales secured permission to use the principles employed by the I. T. U. Commission and changed its studies in composition to conform to our methods.

Instructors in technical schools of Great Britain, France, Germany and Australia have taken the Course and are commending it to their countrymen.

The Fourth International Congress on the Relation of Art to the Crafts, held under the auspices of the Ger-

man government at Dresden in August, 1912, afforded a demonstration of the excellence of the Course and its far-reaching effects. The American committee selected the Course as being the best and most informing example of the application of art to the crafts. At the earnest solicitation of this committee of prominent educators the commission was represented by an exhibit and Chief Instructor Trezise, who explained in detail the instruction given students. Eulogistic comment was unanimous, and a delegate from South Africa spoke on the value of the education from observing a student in his home town.

Noticias Graficas, the leading trade paper of South America, has translated the advertising matter and the enthusiastic editor has had some specially printed so that patrons could benefit from illustrations showing the lessons.

At home more than four thousand compositors have enrolled as students. They range from the teens to the sixties, and include men who have won fame as compositors as well as those who never had an opportunity to set a display line. Men who were formerly indifferent workers are now designing work; others have become advertising men, while in every nook and corner of the jurisdiction there are men to whom life is sweeter and better because of the knowledge gained through the Course.

And that is how the union of 1913 answers the question of President Crawford in 1884—"Other trades look to you to lead the onslaught against incompetency—are you equal to the emergency?"

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

J. J. SULLIVAN, Washington, D. C.
International Typographical Union Copyright
Representative, 1897 - 19—

Public Copyright Acts Passed by Congress

International Typographical Union Copyright Legislation, with a Resume of the Work Connected Therewith

By J. J. SULLIVAN

International Typographical Union Copyright Representative
Washington, D. C.

THE International Typographical Union builds wisely. In its broad constructive policy it includes every feature that has a bearing on the interests of its members. Not only the essentials but the non-essentials are included in its policy. Its work not only embraces all the prime factors of trade unionism generally, but it also contemplates educational features of a practically scientific and necessary character in order to meet the requirements exacted of the up-to-date typographer, as well as beneficial features that insure substantial aid and comfort to its sick, aged and superannuated members.

Legislating wisely and with the broadest scope within the walls of its own conventions, the International Union also found it necessary to secure from congress such national legislation as it deemed necessary for the protection of its membership. This feature of its work, conducted solely upon trade union lines, has been devoted to copyright legislation, bearing directly on what is termed the mechanical or manufacturing features of copyright law. Nearly a quarter of a century ago the attention of the International Union was directed to the question of American copyright on account of the important bearing that that subject had on the printing industry in the United States, and for twenty-five years copyright legislation has been included in the work of the International

to which it has given close and constant care. The International Union has been broad and generous in its policy in dealing with this subject, for it not only legislated for its own members but for all the organized workers in the printing industry in the United States. It alone has borne all the expenses of copyright legislation. No other international union in the printing trades has expended a dollar to secure the copyright legislation, equally beneficial to all the workers in the printing industry, which it has taken the International Typographical Union twenty-five years to have incorporated in the law. For years it maintained a copyright committee in Washington, and upon the elimination of that committee, with many other of the old standing committees, a copyright representative was appointed to continue the copyright work.

The early struggles of the International to secure a copyright act beneficial to its members, and its persistent efforts in protecting the workers in the printing trades in the United States by the enforcement of the copyright acts, is a long story. It was a struggle of twenty-five years, but the International won. Previous to the drafting of the copyright act of 1891, the president of the International appointed a delegate to represent the interests of the organization in the construction of that bill, for that was the first copyright act that contained any provision covering the interests of the members of our craft. That act contained a provision, known as the "manufacturing clause," which required that in order to secure an American copyright on a book the same must be printed from type set or plates made within the limits of the United States. We thought that this was a fairly good provision, but we soon found that it contained some defects. We discovered in the case of stereotype plates for books printed abroad that were afterward reproduced in American edi-

tions that the type was set and the mats made abroad and the mats were then imported into the United States from which plates were made from which books were printed that carried American copyright. The manufacturing clause of the copyright act then in force required that in order to secure an American copyright on a book that the said book be printed from type set or plates made within the boundaries of the United States. The purpose of the law was in the case of a book bearing American copyright that the typesetting and the plate making of said book should be done in the United States. Some publishers imported mats from Europe from which plates were made in this country, and claimed they were complying with the provisions of the law. An amendment was added to the copyright law that required, that in order to secure American copyright that "the type must be set either by hand or machine *within the borders of the United States*, or from plates made from *type set within the borders of* the United States. By this addition the law was greatly strengthened. When it is understood that the wage of the American printer is about 75 per cent higher than the wage of the printer in any of the countries abroad with which we have to compete, the above statement relative to making two sets of mats or plates will not seem so remarkable. But there are stranger features than this to relate.

From a compilation of public copyright enactments prepared by Mr. Thorwald Solberg, register of copyrights, under the direction of Mr. Herbert Putnam, librarian of congress, we find that there have been thirty-one public copyright acts passed by congress, the first in 1790 and the last in 1909, covering a period of 119 years. These acts are given in chronological order with a brief synopsis of each. The copyright act of March 4, 1909, which is the principal act relative to our craft, as well as all the

other organized workers in the printing industry in the United States, is not included in this list. The full text of the "manufacturing clause" contained in that act is later given in this article.

PUBLIC ACTS RELATING TO COPYRIGHT PASSED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1790 TO 1905, INCLUSIVE.

May 31, 1790 [Original Copyright Act], First Congress, Second Session, Chapter 15:

An act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned. (Statutes at Large, vol. 1, pp. 124–126.)

April 29, 1802, Seventh Congress, First Session, Chapter 36:

An act supplementary to an act entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints. (Statutes at Large, vol. 2, pp. 171–172.)

February 15, 1819, Fifteenth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 19:

An act to extend the jurisdiction of the circuit courts of the United States to cases arising under the law relating to patents [and copyrights]. (Statutes at Large, vol. 3, pp. 481–482.)

February 3, 1831 [First Revision], Twenty-first Congress, Second Session, Chapter 16:

An act to amend the several acts respecting copyrights. (Statutes at Large, vol. 4, pp. 436–439.)

June 30, 1834, Twenty-third Congress, First Session, Chapter 157:

An act supplementary to the act to amend the several acts respecting copyrights. [Requiring the recording of assignments of copyrights.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 4, p. 728.)

August 10, 1846, Twenty-ninth Congress, First Session, Chapter 178, Section 10:

An act to establish the "Smithsonian Institution." [Requiring the delivery of one copy of book, etc., to the librarian of the Smithsonian Institution and one copy to the Librarian of Congress.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 9, p. 106.)

March 3, 1855, Thirty-third Congress, Second Session, Chapter 201, Section 5:

An act making appropriations for the service of the postoffice department during the fiscal year 1856. [Providing for the free transmission of copyright deposits.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 10, p. 685.)

August 18, 1856, Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Chapter 169:

An act supplemental to an act entitled "An act to amend the several acts respecting copyright," approved February 3, 1831. [Securing the sole right of representation in the case of dramatic compositions.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 11, pp. 138–139.)

February 5, 1859, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 22, Sections 6 and 8:

An act providing for keeping and distributing all public documents. [Providing for the removal of all copyright deposits and records from the department of state to the Department of the Interior.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 11, pp. 380–381.)

Public Copyright Acts Passed by Congress

February 18, 1861, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 37:

An act to extend the right of appeal from decisions of circuit courts to the supreme court of the United States [in copyright cases]. (Statutes at Large, vol. 12, pp. 130–131.)

March 3, 1865, Thirty-eighth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 126:

An act supplemental to an act entitled "An act to amend the several acts respecting copyright," approved February 3, 1831, and to the acts in addition thereto and amendments thereof. [Extending copyright protection to photographs, etc.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 13, pp. 540–541.)

February 18, 1867, Thirty-ninth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 43:

An act amendatory of several acts respecting copyrights. [Imposing a penalty of $25 for failure to deposit copies in library of congress, and providing for the free transmission by mail of "copyright matter."] (Statutes at Large, vol. 14, p. 395.)

July 8, 1870 [Second Revision], Forty-first Congress, Second Session, Chapter 230, Sections 85–111:

An act to revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to patents and copyrights. (Statutes at Large, vol. 16, pp. 212–217.)

June 8, 1872, Forty-second Congress, Second Session, Chapter 335, Section 184:

An act to revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to the post-office department. [Providing for the free transmission through the mails of copyright matter addressed to the librarian of congress.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 17, pp. 283, 306, 307.)

December 1, 1873 [Third Revision]—Revised Statutes, Title 13, The Judiciary, Chapter 7, Section 629; Chapter 11, Section 699; Chapter 12, Section 711; Chapter 18, Section 972:

(Statutes at Large, vol. 18, part 1, pp. 110, 111, 130, 134, 135, 183.)

December 1, 1873 [Third Revision]—Revised Statutes, Title 60, Chapter 3, Copyrights:

(Statutes at Large, vol. 18, part 1, pp. 957–960.)

June 18, 1874, Forty-third Congress, First Session, Chapter 301:

An act to amend the law relating to patents, trade-marks, and copyrights. [Notice of copyright required; fees, registration of prints for articles of manufacture at patent office, etc.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 18, part 3, pp. 78–79.)

March 3, 1879, Forty-fifth Congress, Third Session, Chapter 180, Section 15:

An act making appropriations for the service of the postoffice department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes. [Providing against transmission through the mails of any publication which violates copyright.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 20, p. 359.)

August 1, 1882, Forty-seventh Congress, First Session, Chapter 366:

An act to amend the statutes in relation to copyright. [Position of notice of copyright in the case of decorative articles.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 22, p. 181.)

March 3, 1891 [So-called International Copyright Act], Fifty-first Congress, Second Session, Chapter 565:

An act to amend title 60, chapter 3, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to copyrights. [Extending copyright in certain cases to works by foreign authors.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 26, pp. 1106–1110.)

February 9, 1893, Fifty-second Congress, Second Session, Chapter 74, Section 8:

An act to establish a court of appeals for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. [Providing for a writ of error or appeal from the court of appeals of the District of Columbia to the supreme court of the United States in all copyright cases.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 27, pp. 434, 436.)

March 3, 1893, Fifty-second Congress, Second Session, Chapter 215:
An act relating to copyrights. [Enabling act, giving the same effect to copies deposited prior to March 1, 1893, as to copies deposited "on or before publication."] (Statutes at Large, vol. 27, p. 743.)

January 12, 1895, Fifty-third Congress, Third Session, Chapter 23, Section 52:
An act providing for the public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents. [Providing that no government publication shall be copyrighted.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 28, p. 608.)

March 2, 1895, Fifty-third Congress, Third Session, Chapter 194:
An act to amend section 4965, chapter 3, title 60, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to copyrights. [Providing damages in cases of infringement of photographs and works of art.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 28, p. 965.)

January 6, 1897, Fifty-fourth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 4:
An act to amend title 60, chapter 3, of the Revised Statutes, relating to copyrights. [Enacting that unauthorized representation, wilful and for profit, is a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 29, pp. 481–482.)

February 19, 1897, Fifty-fourth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 265 [Section—Library of Congress]:
An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive and judicial expenses of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes. [Providing for the appointment of a register of copyrights.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 29, pp. 545, 546.)

March 3, 1897, Fifty-fourth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 392:
An act to amend title 60, chapter 3, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to copyrights. [Providing penalty for printing false claim of copyright and prohibiting the importation of articles bearing false claim of copyright.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 29, pp. 694–695.)

April 17, 1900, Fifty-sixth Congress, First Session, Chapter 192:
An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, and for other purposes. [Copyright office.] (Statutes at Large, vol. 31, p. 95.)

January 7, 1904, Fifty-eighth Congress, Second Session, Chapter 2:
An act to afford protection to exhibitors of foreign literary, artistic, or musical works at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. (Statutes at Large, vol. 33, part 1, pp. 4–5.)

March 3, 1905, Fifty-eighth Congress, Third Session, Chapter 1432:
An act to amend section 4952 of the Revised Statutes. (Statutes at Large, vol. 33, part 1, pp. 1000–1001.)

None of these acts had any bearing, either directly or indirectly, on the interests of our craft, except the acts of 1891 and 1909. As previously stated, in the act of 1891 a provision was included covering the interests of typographers only, which required that in order to secure an American copyright on a book the same must be printed from type set or plates made within the boundaries of the United States. After some time we found that this pro-

vision was being violated by the importation into the United States of practically perfect plates under the head of "old type metal," from which books were printed and American copyright secured, and also by the importation of "mats" from which plates were made.

Under the tariff act of July 24, 1897, passed by the Fifty-fifth Congress, it is provided under section 533 of the free list that:

"Old copper, fit only for re-manufacture, clippings from new copper, and all composition metal of which copper is a component material of chief value not specially provided for in this act, shall be admitted free of duty."

Section 403 of the same act provides that:

"Books of all kinds, including blank books and pamphlets, and engravings bound or unbound, photographs, etchings, maps, charts, music in books or sheets, and printed matter, all the foregoing not specially provided for in this act, shall be dutiable at 25 per cent ad valorem."

Many of the American publishers have branch houses in Europe, and if an American publisher who brought out a copyrighted book in Europe wished to bring out an American copyrighted edition of that book it was decidedly to his interest to have the plates from which the European edition was printed shipped into the United States under the head of "old type metal" free of duty, instead of having the type reset and the plates remade in this country as the law required. I do not wish to be understood as saying that this practice was general, for there are hundreds of honest, legitimate American publishers who would not stoop to such methods, but we do know that the practice was carried on extensively. This information was obtained from members of our own craft in various book printing establishments and from other

reliable sources. It used to be an easy matter to secure copyright in this country previous to the copyright act of 1909. All that was necessary for an author or publisher who wished to secure copyright was to fill out a blank application stating, for illustration, that John Jones, of No. 12 Park Row, New York city, desired copyright on his book entitled "The Lost Key," and forward two copies of the book and one dollar for registration fee to the register of copyrights at Washington. Upon the receipt of the application by the register of copyrights, the title of the book, the name and address of the applicant for copyright were recorded and John Jones was informed that his application had been registered, and this procedure granted him full copyright on his book. It was not the duty of the register of copyrights nor of any other designated official to inquire when an application was made for copyright whether the provisions of the copyright act under which copyright was desired had been complied with or not, nor is it the duty of any official to do so now, but we have so strengthened the manufacturing clause of the present copyright act as to make this almost unnecessary, as will be seen when we quote this act later on.

Year after year we contended with the chief of the customs division in Washington that the manufacturing clause of the copyright act, referring to the act of 1891, was being vitiated and the government defrauded of its just revenue by the continued importation into this country of practically perfect plates and "shells" under the head of "old type metal," but we could not get the customs official to agree with our contentions. On different occasions we secured a set of plates showing the perfect plate, the slightly imperfect plate, and the battered or worthless plate, and these we presented to the chief customs officers in Washington to demonstrate our contention that all the

plates shown with the exception of the battered or worthless plate were practically perfect and should be made dutiable, but we failed in every instance to carry our point. The reply always was: "Old type metal; free of duty." We doggedly persisted in our efforts and finally through Mr. Charles Montgomery, law officer of the customs division in Washington, who fully agreed with our contention, succeeded in reaching the secretary of the treasury, who at that time was Hon. Leslie M. Shaw. We demonstrated to the secretary with a set of plates what our contentions were relative to perfect plates and "old type metal," and it did not take the secretary thirty minutes to agree with us in every respect. We respectfully suggested to the secretary that he ought to issue specific instructions to the collectors of customs at all ports in the United States relative to perfect plates and "old type metal," and that the subject ought to be illustrated by the reproduction of the plates shown him, so that the customs officials at all ports would be able to distinguish between perfect, slightly imperfect and imperfect or worthless plates. The secretary agreed to do this later on, but in order to expedite matters we had a set of halftones made reproducing the plates we wished to demonstrate and furnished them to the treasury official in charge of the printing division of the treasury, and the next month the secretary of the treasury issued a special official circular in which the plates were shown with instructions relative to them, and these circulars were sent to the collectors of customs at every port in the United States. This put a stop to a great extent to the importation of slightly imperfect but practically perfect plates under the head of "old type metal." A plate could be made slightly imperfect, but practically perfect for the purpose for which it was intended, by punching a hole in the blank space pre-

ceding a chapter page, or in the blank space concluding a chapter, or by mashing a word or two which could be easily remedied.

The official circular issued by the treasury department is herewith reproduced.

[Stereotype and Electrotype Plates and Shells, fraudulent entry of.]

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
WASHINGTON, July 3, 1906.

To the Collectors and Other Officers of the Customs.

It is represented to this department that perfect stereotype and electrotype plates and "shells" for printing, which are dutiable, are imported into the United States and entered as fit only for remanufacture and passed free of duty under paragraph 533 of the tariff act of July 24, 1897. It is also alleged that by this method the provision in section 4956 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the act approved March 3, 1891, requiring the two copies of books delivered or deposited for copyright purposes to be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom, is violated, in that not infrequently books delivered and deposited in the copyright office for registration are printed from the plates and shells manufactured abroad and so imported. See in this connection T. D. 20404 of December 10, 1898.

There are printed herewith fac-similes of plates and shells perfect in all respects, plates and shells slightly imperfect, but which may be made perfect at trifling expense, and a plate or shell which is in reality fit only for remanufacture; all properly designated.

A "shell" is defined to be "a thin film of copper which forms the face of an electrotype, and is afterward backed with type metal to the required thickness."

Plates and shells entered as fit only for remanufacture, free of duty under paragraph 533, *ante,* should be carefully inspected and compared with the fac-similes herewith, and whenever it appears that plates or shells so entered are, in fact, perfect plates or shells, or plates or shells which may be made perfect without remanufacture, or that they are imported in violation of section 4956 of the Revised Statutes, as amended,

you will apply the provisions of sections 6 and 9 of the act of June 10, 1890, relating to false and fraudulent declarations, invoices, etc.

LESLIE M. SHAW,
Secretary.

Mindful of the easy manner of securing copyright under the copyright act of 1891, we endeavored when the present copyright act was under consideration to so broaden and strengthen the manufacturing clause of the act as to secure the full protection to our craft which that provision was intended to give. Under the copyright act of 1891, the first act which contained any provision relative to our craft, only typographers were included in the provision. When the act of 1909 was under consideration all the other crafts in the printing industry sought protection under its provisions. That bill was under consideration for two years. Numerous conferences were held, but the only representatives present were those from the lithographers and typographers, and on one occasion the president and secretary of the bookbinders. At the request of the officers of the other crafts and under instructions from President Lynch, who has always taken a keen interest in copyright matters and who has given the International copyright representative his warmest support, we were instructed to represent all the crafts not represented and endeavor to have the manufacturing clause in the proposed new act broadened so as to provide that in order to secure copyright in this country the complete manufacture of the book must be done in the United States. This feature we succeeded in having incorporated in the act. We also sought to have the method of securing copyright made more secure by requiring that copyright could only be secured by the applicant filing with his application for copyright an affidavit under the seal of a registered notary that the provisions of the manufacturing clause had been complied with in all respects, and that

the two copies of the book required to be filed with the application had been produced under the provisions of the manufacturing clause of the law. Great opposition was offered to this provision, the publishers claiming that such a requirement would subject them to annoyance and expense. The publishers would not stand for the affidavit feature. We would not stand for anything less. Just at this critical time there was imported into San Francisco from Japan a large consignment of school books of the standard American series then used in our public schools. This same class of books was selling on the American market at from 45 to 70 cents per copy. The same class of books imported into the port of San Francisco were invoiced at 7 cents per copy. The collector of the port held up the books on the ground that they were improperly invoiced. Upon a further examination of the books he found the imprint of a prominent Philadelphia publisher on the title page, and on the back of the title page a notice of American copyright by the same publisher. The treasury department was notified and I was called into the case. Under the copyright act of 1891 the owner of the copyright had to be notified and given thirty days to reply. The Philadelphia publisher replied that he was the owner of the copyright and that all the plates had been stolen. That story was about as thin as a knife blade and is in line with many more stories that have come up during my experience in copyright matters. Every honest man will say that the Philadelphia publisher entered into an arrangement with some Japanese publisher to have the plates shipped to Japan, the books produced there, and then a bold attempt made to import them into the United States. Under the copyright act the books were not allowed entry into this country and had to be returned. But it is a safe proposition that they found their way into the United States at some other port. This fact was

called to the attention of the publishers at the next conference on the present copyright act and it opened their eyes pretty wide. We told them that it would not take many years under such conditions to put the American publisher out of business, and we further told them that in legislating for the typographers we were also legislating for the publishers. The affidavit feature went through without any further opposition and the honest, legitimate publishers of the United States are just as stanch advocates of the manufacturing clause of the current copyright act as the printers, and they desire to see every provision of that clause observed. The copyright act of 1909, which is the current act, follows:

SECTION 15. That of the printed book or periodical specified in section 5, sub-sections (a) and (b) of this act, except the original text of a book of foreign origin in a language or languages other than English, the text of all copies accorded protection under this act, except as below provided, shall be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, either by hand or by the aid of any kind of typesetting machine, or from plates made within the limits of the United States from type set therein, or, if the text be produced by lithographic process, or photo engraving process, then by a process wholly performed within the limits of the United States, and the printing of the text and binding of the said book shall be performed within the limits of the United States; which requirements shall extend also to the illustrations within a book consisting of printed text and illustrations produced by lithographic process, or photo engraving process, and also to separate lithographs or photo engravings, except where in either case the subjects represented are located in a foreign country and illustrate a scientific work or reproduce a work of art; but they shall not apply to works in raised characters for the use of the blind, or to books of foreign origin in a language or languages other than English, or to books published abroad in the English language seeking ad interim protection under this act.

SEC. 16. That in the case of the book the copies so deposited shall be accompanied by an affidavit, under the official seal of any officer authorized to administer oaths within the United

States, duly made by the person claiming copyright or by his duly authorized agent or representative residing in the United States, or by the printer who has printed the book, setting forth that the copies deposited have been printed from type set within the limits of the United States or from plates made within the limits of the United States from type set therein; or, if the text be produced by lithographic process, or photo engraving process, that such process was wholly performed within the limits of the United States, and that the printing of the text and binding of the said book have also been performed within the limits of the United States. Such affidavit shall state also the place where and the establishment or establishments in which such type was set or plates were made or lithographic process, or photo engraving process or printing and binding were performed and the date of the completion of the printing of the book or the date of publication.

SEC. 17. That any person who, for the purpose of obtaining registration of a claim to copyright, shall knowingly make a false affidavit as to his having complied with the above conditions shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, and all of his rights and privileges under said copyright shall thereafter be forfeited.

It is a well-understood proposition that the workers in the printing industry in the United States cannot compete with the workers in the printing industry of Europe. That is the reason that we have followed copyright legislation for years in order to secure protection from the competition of European typographers. That is the reason that we contended that on every American book bearing copyright, and on every American edition of a foreign book applying for copyright, the same should be printed in the United States.

The United States Bureau of Labor in September, 1904, in Bulletin No. 54, in an article prepared by Mr. G. W. W. Hanger on wages and hours of skilled workers in the United States and Europe, included a table and chart relative to compositors in the United States and four European cities. With three of these cities we come

in direct competition in the printing of books. These cities are in Great Britain, Germany and France. The table and chart are herewith produced:

COMPOSITORS

YEAR	WAGES PER HOUR				
	United States (b)	Great Britain	Germany (Nuremberg only)	France	Belgium
1890	$0.3980	$0.1572	$0.1065	$0.1207	$0.0788
1891	.3997	.1651	.1048	.1207	.0756
1892	.4013	.1689	.1109	.1207	.0772
1893	.3933	.1692	.1141	.1207	.0762
1894	.3796	.1693	.1153	.1207	.0790
1895	.3827	.1689	.1238	.1207	.0794
1896	.3897	.1695	.1215	.1207	.0796
1897	.3925	.1697	.1295	.1207	.0825
1898	.3934	.1697	.1282	.1255	.0820
1899	.4086	.1699	.1294	.1255	.0825
1900	.4071	.1699	.1299	.1255	.0833
1901	.4252	.1730	.1364	.1255	.0820
1902	.4352	.1768	.1369	.1255	.0907
1903	.4467	.1795	.1411	.1303	.0955

COMPOSITORS

YEAR	HOURS PER WEEK				
	United States (b)	Great Britain	Germany (Nuremberg only)	France	Belgium
1890	53.15	54.33	57.40	60.00	60.00
1891	52.62	52.67	57.78	60.00	60.00
1892	52.58	52.17	57.32	60.00	60.00
1893	53.13	52.17	57.10	60.00	60.00
1894	52.75	52.17	56.36	60.00	60.00
1895	52.73	52.17	53.41	60.00	60.00
1896	52.58	52.17	53.60	60.00	60.00
1897	52.47	52.17	51.16	60.00	60.00
1898	52.06	52.17	51.13	60.00	60.00
1899	51.26	52.17	51.47	60.00	60.00
1900	51.09	52.17	50.80	60.00	60.00
1901	50.37	51.67	50.47	60.00	60.00
1902	49.96	50.83	51.21	60.00	54.00
1903	49.81	50.00	51.08	60.00	54.00

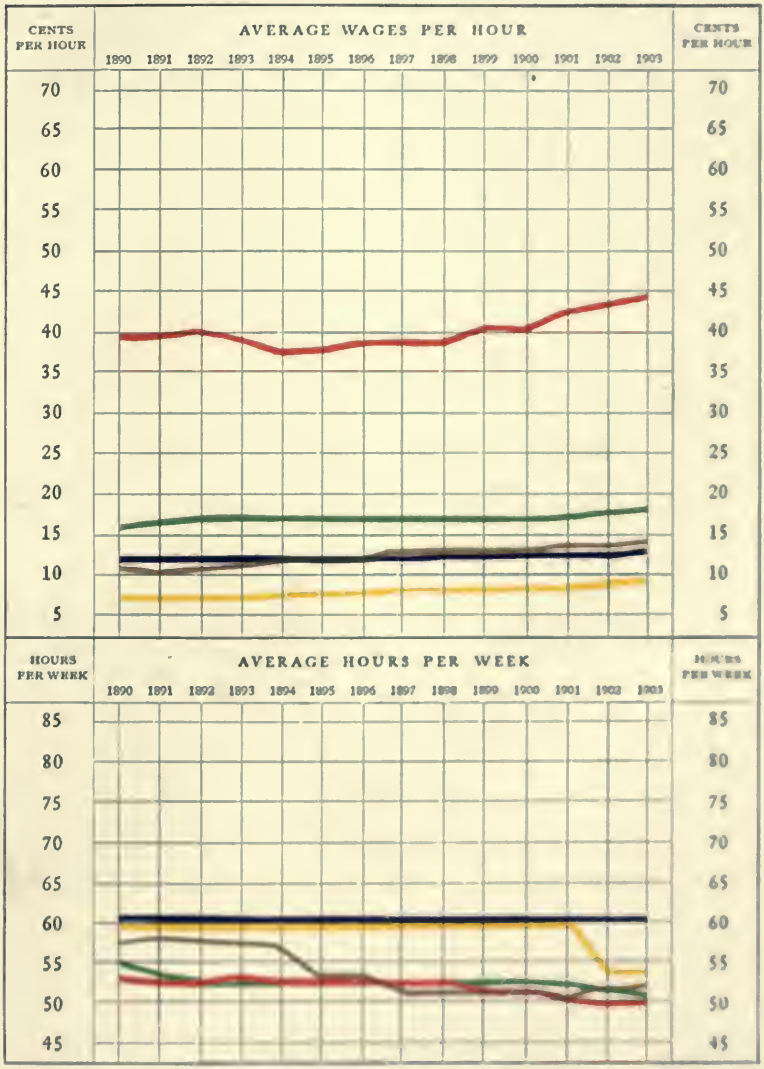
This table covers a period of 14 years, from 1890 to 1903, inclusive. These data were secured for compositors generally, regardless of their union or non-union affiliations, and therefore include both union and non-union

men. If the data had been secured for union compositors the rate shown would be materially higher. Coming down to the last year shown in the table, 1903, we find that the wages of compositors in the United States were 44.67 cents per hour, those in Great Britain 17.95 cents per hour, those in Germany 14.11 cents per hour, those in France 13.03 cents per hour, and those in Belgium 9.55 cents per hour. Bringing these figures down to a percentage basis, we find that the wages of compositors in the United States in 1903 were 60 per cent higher than those in Great Britain, 68 per cent higher than those in Germany, 73 per cent higher than those in France, and 79 per cent higher than those in Belgium. I believe it will be readily seen that we can not compete with the typographers of Europe. Our rates have advanced very materially and our hours have been materially reduced since 1903, so that the rates shown do not represent the wages or hours of our craft. They are given for comparative purposes, viz.: to show the rates and hours of compositors in the United States and Europe. The accompanying chart shows the average wages per hour for the same years and the average hours per week. The chart is very simple and needs no explanation.

Under the present act the duration of copyright is twenty-eight years, with a renewal at the end of that period of twenty-eight additional years, so that the length of time of American copyright is fifty-six years. During the life of an American copyright on a book all foreign importations of that book are prohibited under section 30 of the act of 1909, which is herewith given. There are some exceptions to that prohibition which are also given and herewith follow:

SECTION 31. That during the existence of the American copyright in any book the importation into the United States of any piratical copies thereof or of any copies thereof (although

Wages and Hours of Labor
United States and Europe—1890 to 1903
COMPOSITORS



authorized by the author or proprietor) which have not been produced in accordance with the manufacturing provisions specified in section 15 of this act, or any plates of the same not made from type set within the limits of the United States, or any copies thereof produced by lithographic or photo-engraving process not performed within the limits of the United States, in accordance with the provisions of section 15 of this act, shall be, and is hereby, prohibited: Provided, however, That, except as regards piratical copies, such prohibition shall not apply:

(a) To works in raised characters for the use of the blind;

(b) To a foreign newspaper or magazine, although containing matter copyrighted in the United States printed or reprinted by authority of the copyright proprietor, unless such newspaper or magazine contains also copyright matter printed or reprinted without such authorization;

(c) To the authorized edition of a book in a foreign language or languages of which only a translation into English has been copyrighted in this country;

(d) To any book published abroad with the authorization of the author or copyright proprietor when imported under the circumstances stated in one of the four subdivisions following, that is to say:

First. When imported, not more than one copy at one time, for individual use and not for sale; but such privilege of importation shall not extend to a foreign reprint of a book by an American author copyrighted in the United States;

Second. When imported by the authority or for the use of the United States;

Third. When imported, for use and not for sale, not more than one copy of any such book in any one invoice, in good faith, by or for any society or institution incorporated for educational, literary, philosophical, scientific, or religious purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts, or for any college, academy, school, or seminary of learning, or for any state, school, college, university, or free public library in the United States;

Fourth. When such books form parts of libraries or collections purchased en bloc for the use of societies, institutions, or libraries designated in the foregoing paragraph, or form parts of the libraries or personal baggage belonging to persons or families arriving from foreign countries and are not intended for sale.

Under the above provisions, which are known as the privileged sections of the law, there will be seen under paragraph three, a reference to libraries, literary societies, etc. These public libraries and societies are allowed to import one copy at any one invoice of a prohibited book. When it is understood that there are over 10,000 public libraries and literary societies in the United States, the magnitude of their importations of prohibited books can be better understood.

While these institutions can import only one copy at any one invoice, there is nothing to prevent them sending out invoices continually. We know of a number of cases where librarians have publicly stated that they purchased a great many books abroad on account of their cheapness. It was never intended by congress that public librarians should exploit books from abroad to the detriment of the American publisher and printer. They were only supposed to purchase a book abroad when the same could not be found on the American market, but it is a pretty well-known fact that some librarians are purchasing books from abroad for the profit there is in it for themselves. This is the one feature that violates the manufacturing clause of the present copyright act, and it is a feature that we are giving close attention to. We have followed this matter for some time and we have put plans under way which we believe will give us a direct line to what extent these libraries and societies are importing books from abroad. When we have these data, if the facts warrant it, we intend to ask congress to withdraw the privileged provisions relative to public libraries, etc. With this amendment added to the current act we believe that we will have finally secured a copyright law that will insure to the members of our craft the protection that we have so long sought to obtain.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

CHARLES DEACON
Superintendent Union Printers Home
Colorado Springs, Colo.

Historical Sketch of The Union Printers Home

IN May, 1857, the first proposition to establish a home, or asylum, for invalid, aged or infirm union printers, was made to the National Typographical Union at its session in New Orleans, La. The proposition, however, did not meet with serious consideration and was dropped until 1860, when it was again discussed, but no action taken. Ten years elapsed when the question was renewed at the eighteenth annual session, held at Cincinnati in 1870, but the delegates of the International Typographical Union deemed the measure impracticable. Similar action was taken in 1877, and the subject was lost sight of until the session of 1882, when a committee was appointed to consider the advisability of devising ways and means for the maintenance of a home for disabled union printers, on the plan of the national soldiers' homes. Nothing came of this action, and the consummation of the project seemed as far off as ever, until George W. Childs and A. J. Drexel presented the International Typographical Union with a check for $10,000, at the thirty-fourth annual session, held at Pittsburgh in 1886. The gift was accepted and the disposition thereof was referred to a special committee of five.

At the next session of the International Typographical Union, held in Buffalo in 1887, the trustees of the fund reported $11,020.04 in their possession. At this meeting, S. J. Triplett, of Austin, Tex., presented an offer from the mayor and council of that city, in which they agreed to donate seven acres of ground, provided the International Typographical Union would erect thereon a Home for sick and indigent printers. The communication was referred to a special committee and they deemed it advis-

able to establish such a Home, provided the plan could be demonstrated to be feasible, a point which it was impossible for them to determine in the limited time given for consideration. John D. Vaughan, one of the members of the committee, made a report to the Kansas City convention in 1888, in which he suggested that the fund be used to endow hospitals at Austin, Tex.; Denver, Colo., and Los Angeles, Cal., and have wards assigned to sick printers. The report was received and ordered placed on file.

Thus the matter went over to the Denver convention of 1889, before which Will Lambert appeared and asked that the Home be established in Austin. In addition to the proposition of Mr. Lambert, four others were presented, one of the most important being that of Charles S. Semper, of Semper, Jefferson County, Colorado, who proffered the International Typographical Union eighty acres of land, nine miles north of Denver, for a Home site; but the proposition made by Louis R. Ehrich, of Colorado Springs, Colo., was the most popular. On behalf of the board of trade of that city, Mr. Ehrich offered to deed to the International Typographical Union eighty acres of land one mile east of Colorado Springs, conditioned:

That the International Typographical Union would commence the erection of a Home on said tract within two years, to cost not less than $20,000, and to be completed within one year from date of commencement.

Mr. Ehrich addressed the convention at length on the subject of locating the Home at Colorado Springs. He directed attention to the fact that the leading physicians of the country had agreed in characterizing Colorado Springs as the most perfect sanatorium and health resort in the world for the cure of all forms of throat and lung diseases—diseases to which printers were especially

liable—and urged that the establishment of such a home, in the highway of trans-continental travel, would naturally attract the attention of many wealthy and charitably disposed citizens, and prove a source of strength and influence to the International Typographical Union.

At the conclusion of Mr. Ehrich's remarks, a resolution recommending "that a committee of three be appointed, consisting of the president, second vice-president and secretary-treasurer, to arrange the details to formally accept the proposition, and to take such legal steps as may be necessary in connection therewith," was adopted.

Pursuant to the provisions of this resolution, the committee proceeded to carry out its instructions, and on June 22, 1889, an agreement for the transfer of the land was entered into between the committee, as trustees of the International Typographical Union, and A. A. McGovney and F. L. Martin, the latter gentlemen representing the board of trade of Colorado Springs. The question of finally accepting the proposition was voted upon by the membership of the International Typographical Union in the fall of 1889, and the action of the Denver convention was ratified by a vote of 4,828 to 1,532, only about one-third of the members voting.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MEMBERS SOLICITED

At the Denver convention the sum of $21,689.45 was reported in the hands of the trustees of the fund. The convention having made no provision for the raising of additional money to erect a Home, an appeal for voluntary contributions, to be applied toward the building of the institution, was immediately issued to the members, in which it was stated that under the terms of the gift it would be necessary to commence the erection of a building by June 22, 1891. The appeal was responded to by many unions and members, and at the time of the

meeting of the Atlanta convention, in 1890, the contributions amounted to $4,199.55, which was turned over to the Home corporation, the creation of which was authorized at this session.

The Atlanta convention also ordered the Childs-Drexel fund transferred to the new board of trustees of the Home, to be used for building and maintenance; that a per capita tax of $1.00 be levied, collectible at the rate of 10 cents per month, to be applied to the Home fund; and that the board of trustees should have power to regulate and determine the uses and purposes of the Home. On September 24, 1890, the trustees filed articles of incorporation in the office of the secretary of state of Colorado.

HOME BUILDING DECIDED UPON

At a meeting of the board of trustees, on November 19, 1890, it was determined to build a $50,000 edifice, and a building committee was appointed to have charge of the work. On March 17, 1891, this committee awarded the contract for the main building at a cost of about $60,000.

A recommendation that an assessment of 10 cents per month be levied on the membership, to be applied to the building and maintenance of the Home, was submitted to the Boston session of the International Typographical Union, in 1891, by the trustees, and was adopted by the convention. It was further decided that the anniversary of the birthday of George W. Childs, May 12, 1892, should be celebrated by the dedication of the Home.

THE DEDICATION

As previously noted, May 12, 1892, was set aside for the dedication of the Home. The city of Colorado Springs was crowded with people from all parts of the state, and many distant points. The trade unions and civic societies joined in a monster parade through the city, after which they adjourned to the Home, where the visitors were

received by a committee of ladies from Denver and Colorado Springs. The exercises were held in the open space in front of the Home. Vice-President Aimison, of the board of trustees, opened with a short address, and was followed by Rev. James B. Gregg with a fervent prayer of dedication. The Colorado Springs band and the Pueblo Cowboy band rendered several selections, after which Governor Routt, of Colorado, was introduced. His speech was brief but appropriate. Following him came Mayor Ira G. Sprague, of Colorado Springs, who delivered a short address, in which he paid a high tribute to the printer and his work, and extended a cordial welcome to all strangers present. James McKenna, first vice-president of the International Typographical Union, responded to the mayor's address of welcome. The most conspicuous figure on the platform, Mr. George W. Childs, was then introduced. Cheers greeted his introduction and followed the conclusion of his talk. Leon Hartigan, a Creede printer, read a specially prepared poem by Eugene H. Munday, the poet-printer. August Donath gave an interesting history of the Home, and was succeeded by Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, of New Hampshire, an old typo, who delivered the principal oration of the day. Short talks were made by Mr. Capeller, president of the National Editorial Association, and Bishop McLaren. Letters were received and read from John G. Whittier, George W. Curtis, and the acting editor-in-chief of the New York World, expressing good wishes. The benediction by Dean A. R. Keifer, of Grace Church, Colorado Springs, fittingly closed the services of the day, after which the building was opened for inspection.

Colorado Springs, where the Home is located, is a city of 30,000 inhabitants, situated upon a plateau about 6,000 feet above the sea. Electric cars will take you to the mountains only a few miles away. The charms and fasci-

nations of the surrounding mountain scenery have furnished a theme for many pens. Who has not heard of Pike's Peak, of Manitou, with its health-giving springs and picturesque villas, of the Garden of the Gods, Glen Eyrie, and Cheyenne Canon? All these and many more are close at hand, affording a never-failing delight at each visit. Medicinal springs, with healing waters, bubble up amid the foothills, and a light, dry atmosphere, with an abundance of clear weather and brilliant sunshine, has been and is doing wonders for thousands of invalids who seek health and life in this vicinity.

The surface of the townsite is almost flat, with a gradual slope to the south. The annual precipitation—rain and snow—averages about fifteen inches. The sun shines almost constantly, and days are infrequent, summer or winter, when it is not pleasant out of doors. The shade affords relief from the summer sun, and the nights are always cool; and though the mercury sometimes drops below zero in winter, the dryness of the atmosphere prevents the low temperature from causing extreme discomfort.

THE HOME SITE

On a commanding eminence, overlooking Colorado Springs and the surrounding plains, stand the Home buildings. They face the west, and from this point we have a panoramic view of the Rocky Mountains from Castle Rock on the north to the Spanish Peaks on the south, a distance of 120 miles. To the west the land slopes down to the city, and to the southwest to Prospect Lake. To the south and east the land inclines to a dry creek. The soil is dry and loose, but produces abundantly when properly irrigated.

On each side of the driveway, extending from the gateway to the main building—a distance of 650 feet—there is a broad cement walk; bordering it and surround-

ing the Home are lawns comprising an area of twelve acres. These lawns abound in flowers, shrubs and trees, maple and elm alternating in front and along the driveway.

The main building is of white lava stone, with red sandstone trimmings. The main edifice is 144 feet long by 44 feet wide, with a wing in the rear of the north end 85 by 40 feet. Porches extend from the wing to the south end of the building on the first and second stories, affording easy access to any part of the building from the rear. Each story contains a central hall the entire length of the building, every room opening into the main hallway, in addition to having outer windows. A broad stone stairway, protected by heavy balustrades, leads up to the massive archway of the portico. From the vestibule the open portals of the main entrance invite to spacious parlors, reception rooms and chambers on either side of the main hall. Above the portico, in the second-story cap course of sandstone, in raised gothic letters, are the words, "Union Printers Home," while on either side, throughout the front elevation, suitable carving ornaments the exterior. The inside finish is all natural white pine, except the stairway, which is white oak, with carved panels. The building contains seventy-five rooms, the kitchen, pantries, cold storage room, dining room, closets, etc., being on the basement floor.

THE SANATORIUM BUILDING

Consumption being one of the diseases to which printers are especially liable, it is not surprising that the ravages of this disease caused many to seek shelter and care at the Home. This class of inmates began increasing early in 1893, and at the Louisville session of the International Typographical Union in 1894 it was reported by the superintendent that the authorities of the state of Colorado were contemplating the enactment of a law to

compel the segregation of consumptives at such institutions as the Home. The erection of a hospital was suggested, but the convention failed to take any action on the subject. In the report of the executive committee of the Home trustees to the Colorado Springs convention in 1896, the hospital proposition was taken up and the advisability of such a building discussed. As a result of this action by the committee, the following resolution to the convention was unanimously adopted:

> That an assessment of 50 cents on each member in the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union shall be levied to provide funds to build a hospital annex to the Union Printers Home, said assessment to be due and payable on Christmas day, December 25, and forwarded to the secretary-treasurer on or before February 1, 1897.

This resolution was at once submitted to the membership, and resulted in its endorsement. When the result of the vote became known, a great rivalry as to which should be the first to pay the assessment was manifested by local unions, and though none of the money was due until December 25, 1896, a number of local bodies sent in their contributions previous to that date, so as to make their offering in truth a Christmas gift. The assessment was rapidly paid, and the trustees lost no time in arranging for the building of the sanatorium.

The hospital building is located just south of the main structure, covering a space of 50 x 90 feet, and was originally but two stories in height. The demands for admission to this building having outgrown its capacity, the board of trustees, at its annual meeting in September, 1902, decided to increase the number of rooms by adding another story. The architects who designed the original building were instructed to prepare plans for the new addition and to carry out the general scheme of the lower stories. This method was followed and work was commenced on the improvement early in January, 1903, and

completed in April of the same year. The architecture of the hospital is in keeping with that of the main building, the superstructure being of Castle Rock lava stone.

In 1904 ten tents were erected near the hospital building for the use of tuberculous patients. They proved to be such a valuable acquisition to the hospital service in the treatment of lung trouble that ten more were added in 1907. The tents are octagonal in shape, with framework as substantial as that of a house, are securely anchored on four sides, and will withstand the most severe winds. The covering is of the best 15-ounce double-filler army canvas, and is impervious to snow, wind or rain. A circulation of air is secured by an arrangement of ventilators in the floor around four sides of the tent and in the peak. These ventilators can be closed, but are kept open except in extremely cold weather. The tents are steam-heated, lighted by electricity, and have a system of electric call bells, by which the occupants can immediately summon a nurse.

With twenty tents and the hospital given up to tubercular residents, there was need of a central building for their use. To supply this want a new building, called the solarium, was erected in 1907.

The experimental stage in open air treatment for tuberculosis has long since been passed. Fully 50 per cent. of the patients who have the advantage of "tent life" and the regenerating rays of the Colorado sun have recovered health and strength and have been enabled to again assume business duties. There are many tent colonies in Colorado, but few of them compare with the tuberculosis sanatorium at the Home.

THE LAUNDRY AND HEATING PLANT

The laundry and heating plant is located about ninety feet east of the main building and hospital, and covers 6,100 square feet. The dimensions of the laundry are

30 x 59 feet. Its machinery equipment is ample, and of the latest design and best quality. The sterilizing and disinfecting apparatus in use reduces to a minimum the chances of contagion through the medium of clothing, etc., used by the sick.

To the south of the laundry is the engine room. The room is large enough to accommodate two dynamos, should the Home install an electric lighting system. Two 151 horse-power water tube boilers have recently been installed to take the place of the two forty horse-power boilers which were originally purchased when the Home was first established.

The second story contains fifteen large sleeping rooms, with necessary lavatory accommodations. These rooms are used by the male help of the institution.

THE LIBRARY

The original library of the Home contained about 3,000 books, a large number of which were donated by employing printers, the principal promoters of this acceptable feature being H. G. Bishop and W. B. MacKellar. In 1906 Frank Swigart, of St. Louis Union, interested a number of publishers, authors and prominent people in the Home library, and several thousand volumes were donated to the library through his efforts. At the suggestion of James Monroe Kreiter, of Washington, D. C., delegates and visitors to the 1906 Colorado Springs convention of the International Typographical Union were asked to bring a book with them for the Home library. As a result of the efforts of Messrs. Swigart and Kreiter, the library now contains almost 10,000 volumes. The Home also receives 228 papers, including many leading dailies, weeklies and monthlies, together with several religious and German papers. Eight magazines are received through the courtesy of their publishers, and the Home subscribes for two copies of each of the leading

monthlies. The library is supplied with literature that would be a credit to any institution.

GATEWAY AT ENTRANCE TO GROUNDS

The magnificent stone gateway at the entrance to the grounds consists of a central elliptical arch, 12 feet 9 inches wide by 13 feet 4 inches high, for vehicles, with a half-circle arch on each side, 5 feet wide by 8 feet high, for pedestrians. Between the center and side arches are heavy piers, 3 feet 9 inches square and 19 feet 6 inches high. Smaller piers are erected on the sides, with a curved wrought-iron railing. The driveway is furnished with double wrought-iron gates, the side gates being of similar material.

The face of the central arch stones bears the inscription in gilded letters: "Union Printers Home—Erected and Maintained by the International Typographical Union." The date of the erection of the Home—A. D. 1891—is placed over the side arches. Light is provided from ornamental wrought-iron electric lamps, placed on each side of the large piers. An ornamental iron fence extends some 450 feet on either side of the gateway. This improvement, which was completed in 1901, cost about $1,600.

SUPERINTENDENT'S COTTAGE

The superintendent and his family occupy a six-room modern cottage, located a short distance north of the main building. This dwelling is heated by steam and lighted by electricity, and it is connected by telephone with the main building and hospital. The outside walls are of white lava stone, similar to that used in the other buildings. This addition was completed in 1900, its cost, including furnishings, being $3,400.

BARNS AND LIVE STOCK

In 1907 the stock barns erected some years previously were partially destroyed by fire. New barns and sheds,

presenting a handsome architectural appearance, and in keeping with the substantial character of the other Home buildings, were immediately erected at a cost of about $3,300. They are large enough to house twenty-five head of cattle and six horses. The cattle are Holsteins, and the herd is one of the finest in Colorado.

SUPPORTED BY THE MEMBERSHIP

Many people suppose that the expenses of the Home are defrayed by endowments. Such is not the case. Since the original gift of Messrs. Childs and Drexel, the Home has received but one endowment, that being made by Herman S. Hoyt, trustee of the estate of Julia A. Ladd, of Shirley, Mass. This bequest of $1,100, less the inheritance tax of the state of Massachusetts, brought the Home $1,045. Under the terms of the bequest it is known as the Julia A. Ladd Fund, and no portion of the original amount can be used, but such interest as may be received thereon goes toward the expenses of the Home. With this one exception, the Home has no endowments.

Since its completion, all expenses of the Home, including cost of maintenance, have been paid from money contributed by the members of the International Typographical Union, the revenue being provided by setting apart a certain portion of the monthly contributions to the union. At first an assessment of 10 cents per member per month, in addition to the International Typographical Union per capita tax, was levied for the support of the Home, but the Philadelphia session of the International in 1892 combined the Home assessment of 10 cents and the monthly per capita tax of 15 cents, classing the two as per capita tax, and crediting 20 per cent of the amount, or 5 cents per month per member, to the Home's support. This prevailed until March, 1897, when the increasing demands on the Home made an increase in revenue neces-

sary, and a new law, requiring 30 cents per capita tax per month, went into effect, the Home receiving one-third of the amount, or 10 cents per month per member. This revenue proved inadequate for the needs of the Home, and on March 1, 1908, the monthly contribution of each member was increased to 15 cents, at which figure it now stands.

AVERAGE COST PER RESIDENT

During the year ended May 31, 1912, the expenditures from the Home fund were $99,821.01. Included in this amount is all money paid for improvements and repairs on the buildings and grounds, farming expenses, insurance, food supplies, clothing, pensions, medical attendance, transportation of residents who vacate, burials, salaries of employes and officers, printing and the expenses of meetings of the board of trustees. Deducting $22,691.22 expended in building the library addition, sanatorium improvements, a smoke stack and in general repairs and improvements, and the purchase of additional land, the net cost of maintenance is found to be $77,129.79, or $588.13 per year, $49.01 per month for each resident. When it is remembered that this sum covers all expenses in connection with the upkeep of the Home property and the care of its patients in a manner not excelled, if equaled, in any similar institution, the cost will not appear excessive.

RESIDENTS ACCOMMODATED

From the opening of the Home in July, 1892, to May 31, 1912, 1,312 applicants have been admitted to the Home. Any member of the International Typographical Union, who has been such for ten continuous years, may apply for admission to the Home. Members suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis may be admitted to the sanatorium at any time. Application must be made upon

the form provided by the trustees, be endorsed by the local union with which he is affiliated, and set forth his physical condition at date of application. If passed upon favorably by the admission committee, a certificate of admission is issued by the secretary of the board, which must be presented to the superintendent by the applicant upon his arrival at the Home.

MANAGEMENT

The management of the institution, which will accommodate about 170, is in the hands of a superintendent, who acts under the direction of the board of trustees, one of whom is a resident of Colorado Springs. The superintendent's wife is the matron and is appointed by the president, with the concurrence of the trustees. The nurses and other employes, being selected by the superintendent, are directly under his supervision. The physician is appointed by the board of trustees.

Everything possible is done by the board of trustees and the superintendent to make the residents of the Home comfortable and happy. They are furnished with suitable food and clothing, medical attendance is provided. and the necessary care and attention is given to those who are confined to their rooms. Each resident receives a pension of 50 cents per week, and an additional allowance is granted to those who assist in caring for the grounds or buildings.

The annual meetings of the board of trustees are held at the Home.

COST OF BUILDING AND MAINTAINING HOME AND SANATORIUM

RECEIPTS

Contribution of Childs and Drexel	$10,000 00
Contributions and interest from June, 1886, to October 31, 1890.	16,933 63
Contributions, assessments and interest from November 1, 1890, to April 30, 1892	52,889 37
Per capita tax and assessments from May 1, 1892, to June 30, 1898	144,893 87

Union Printers Home

Hospital annex assessment to June 30, 1898	$14,013 95
Julia A. Ladd bequest	1,045 00
Cummings memorial fund	13,203 43
Per capita tax and all receipts of fund from July 1, 1898, to May 31, 1912	897,922 21
Total	$1,150,901 46

EXPENDITURES

Building and furnishing main building	$70,114 44
Building and furnishing hospital annex	22,082 54
Building and furnishing superintendent's cottage and addition thereto	3,824 57
Building laundry, machinery for same, etc.	12,241 55
Heating plant addition	14,376 87
Library, building addition to and furnishings	36,714 27
Additional land purchase	3,500 00
Maintenance, salaries, repairs, improvements, etc., from opening of Home to May 31, 1912	963,428 98
Total	$1,126,283 22
Balance in fund May 31, 1912	24,618 24
Total	$1,150,901 46

TRUSTEES OF THE HOME SINCE ITS INCEPTION

*AIMISON, WILLIAM	Nashville, Tenn.	1890–1902 1898–1903
AMES, W. E.	Milwaukee, Wis.	1913–1916
*BLACK, DANIEL	Detroit, Mich.	1900–1901
BRAMWOOD, J. W.	Denver, Colo.	1896–1909
COLBY, F. A.	Colorado Springs, Colo.	1893–1896
CROWLEY, THOMAS F.	Cincinnati, Ohio	1903–1910
*CUMMINGS, AMOS J.	New York City, N. Y.	1890–1892
*DAILEY, JAMES J.	Philadelphia, Pa.	1890–1900
*DONATH, AUGUST	Washington, D. C.	1890–1892
DONNELLY, SAMUEL B.	New York City, N. Y.	1898–1900
DORSEY, HENRY	Dallas, Texas	1895–1898
DUGUID, ALEX	Cincinnati, Ohio	1894–1897
FENNESSY, THOMAS D.	Los Angeles, Cal.	1905–1910
HALL, COLUMBUS	Washington, D. C.	1890–1894
HAYS, JOHN W.	Minneapolis, Minn.	1909–1914
*LAMBERT WILLIAM	Austin, Texas	1890–1892
LYNCH, JAMES M.	Syracuse, N. Y.	1900–1914
MCCAFFERY, THOMAS	Colorado Springs, Colo.	1896–1914
MCCLEVEY, W. S.	Chicago, Ill.	1890–1893
MCKEE, WALTER H.	New York City, N. Y.	1910–1913
MORGAN, GEORGE W.	Bellingham Bay, Wash.	1890–1892
PARR, W. H.	Toronto, Ontario	1890–1892
*PATTON, E. W.	Washington, D. C.	1900–1903
PELTON, FRANK S.	Chicago, Ill.	1890–1893
*PLANK, EDWARD T.	San Francisco, Cal.	1890–1894
POWELL, MICHAEL	Ottawa, Canada	1910–1915
PRESCOTT, W. B.	Toronto, Ontario	1892–1894
ROGERS, H. H.	Chicago, Ill.	1901–1903
SHEPARD, L. C.	Grand Rapids, Mich.	1893–1912
TATEM, R. L.	Philadelphia, Pa.	1899–1901

*Deceased.

*Vaughan, John D.	Denver, Colo.	1890–1892
White, J. W.	Kansas City, Mo.	1897–1902
White, W. J.	San Francisco, Cal.	1903–1909
Wilson, Anna C.	Washington, D. C.	1909–1915
Wines, A. G.	St. Louis, Mo.	1893–1896
Wood, C. L.	Fort Worth, Texas	1912–1915
Woodward, James G.	Atlanta, Ga.	1890–1893

SUPERINTENDENTS

*John D. Vaughan	Denver, Colo.	1892
W. C. Schuman	Denver, Colo.	1892–1896
*C. E. Clark	Omaha, Neb.	1896–1898
Charles Deacon	Chicago, Ill.	1898–19—

* Deceased.

UNION PRINTERS HOME, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

Index

CONVENTIONS 1850, 1851, 1852

Convention at New York, 1850: PAGE

Address to journeymen printers of United States..... 120
Apprentices 119
Comment on address to printers..... 125
Contract printing..... 119
Formation of local unions..... 117
Government printing office..... 119
National executive committee appointed 1850..... 120
National executive committee created..... 117
Officers, 1850..... 117

Convention at Baltimore, 1851:

Call issued to form national union..... 131
Committee to frame constitution appointed..... 130
Constitution presented for approval..... 131
Constitution to be ratified..... 130
Government printing..... 128
Memorial to congress..... 128
National executive committee, 1851..... 136
National Typographical Union constitution..... 131
National Typographical Union suggested..... 129
Officers, 1851..... 127
Permanent committees..... 127
Subordinate unions..... 130

Convention at Cincinnati, 1852:

Assigning charter numbers..... 138
By-laws 138
First officers National Typographical Union, 1852..... 139
Form of charter..... 138
National executive committee, 1852..... 139
Officers, 1852..... 136
Organization of the National Typographical Union..... 137
Public printing..... 139
Selecting convention city..... 139
Sunday work..... 13[illegible]

NATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

Convention at Pittsburgh, 1853:

Charters and traveling cards..... 149
Death of John W. Peregoy..... 146
Deaths of illustrious statesmen..... 148
First traveling card..... 151
Free use of telegraph lines..... 148
General laws..... 150
Measurement of type..... 151
Membership for trade protection..... 146
New York Co-operative Union..... 144
Officers, 1853..... 150
Official organ..... 145
Opposed to strikes..... 151
Password, grip, secret signs, etc..... 150

Convention at Pittsburgh, 1853—*Continued.* PAGE
Protest from Baltimore..... 145
Scale of prices..... 151
Seal 152
Sunday labor..... 148
Unique treasurer's report..... 146

Convention at Buffalo, 1854:
Charters issued..... 155
Executive committee, 1854..... 155
Female labor in composing rooms..... 153
General laws..... 155
Membership, traveling cards, seal, charter..... 154
New York Co-operative Union..... 152
Officers, 1854..... 156
Offices of secretary and treasurer combined..... 153
Official organ..... 155

Convention at Memphis, 1855:
Duties of executive committee..... 157
Executive committee, 1855..... 160
Officers, 1855..... 160
Permanent convention city..... 158
President's report..... 157
Proprietor members..... 160
Public printing..... 159
Ritual 159

Convention at Philadelphia, 1856:
Charters 164
Government printing office..... 163
National executive committee, 1856..... 164
Officers, 1856..... 164
Pressmen 161
Returns 164

Convention at New Orleans, 1857:
Baltimore union rechartered..... 166
Biennial conventions..... 167
Co-operative Union disbanded..... 168
Joint stock printing plant..... 168
National executive committee, 1857..... 169
Non-member delegates..... 165
Officers, 1857..... 169
Official organ..... 169
Separate branches..... 168
Union Printers Home suggested..... 165
Unique invitation..... 167

Convention at Chicago, 1858:
Copyright law..... 174
Country unions..... 172
National executive committee, 1858..... 175
Officers, 1858..... 175
President's address..... 170
Pressmen organized..... 172
Protecting the industry..... 174

Convention at Chicago, 1858—*Continued.* PAGE

Public printing..... 173
Rats 173
Secretary-treasurer removed..... 171
Slawson's history..... 175
Subordinate unions advised to be cautious..... 172
Toast: The National Typographical Union..... 175
Traveling cards..... 174
Versatility of the printer..... 174

Convention at Boston, 1859:

Baton Rouge charter surrendered..... 179
Contracts favored..... 181
Critical period..... 178
First president to be re-elected..... 178
Head of Franklin on traveling card..... 183
National executive committee, 1859..... 184
Officers, 1859..... 185
Official organ..... 179
Pioneer organization to consider tuberculosis..... 179
Pittsburgh rechartered..... 178
Political conditions..... 181
Proprietor members..... 183
Providence union's charter stolen..... 182
Public printing..... 181
Secretary-treasurer resigns..... 184

Convention at Nashville, 1860-1861:

Authority to organize dual union in Washington..... 189
Baton Rouge charter reissued..... 187
Brooklyn's charter..... 194
Charters 187
Charters revoked..... 194
Columbia Typographical Society refuses charter..... 188
Jurisdiction over Canadian unions proposed..... 190
National executive committee, 1860-1861..... 194
Officers, 1860-1861..... 195
Per capita tax..... 194
President's address..... 185
San Francisco charter preserved..... 193
Union's lack of authority..... 187

Convention at New York, 1862:

Canadian unions..... 199
Charters issued, reissued and surrendered..... 199
Civil war period..... 195
National executive committee, 1862..... 199
No general legislation..... 198
Officers, 1862..... 199
Per capita tax for 1861 remitted..... 198
Postponement criticized..... 198
Postponement of convention of 1861 justified..... 197
Postponing tenth session..... 195

Convention at Cleveland, 1863:

Interesting letter from New Orleans..... [illegible]
Laws ..... [illegible]

Convention at Cleveland, 1863—*Continued.* PAGE
National executive committee, 1863 204
Officers, 1863 205
Organization work 203
Paper trust 202
Proprietor membership in Portland (Ore.) union 203
Resignation of President Farquhar 200
Unique communication 202

Convention at Louisville, 1864:
Associated Press monopoly 208
Chartering stereotypers' unions 209
Charters issued and reissued 205
Conditional membership 209
Delinquent southern unions 209
Interchange of cards with foreign unions 206
National executive committee, 1864 210
Officers, 1864 210
Official organ 205
Printing proceedings of 1862 and 1863 208
Proofreaders 207
Uniform constitution for subordinate unions 208
Unique letter from Portland (Ore.) union 206
Working cards 209

Convention at Philadelphia, 1865:
Boston's per capita tax 214
Canadian unions 212
Charters issued, reissued and surrendered 212
Columbia Typographical Society 213
Death of President Lincoln 213
Distinguished visitors 214
Eight-hour day 213
First fraternal visitor 214
National executive committee, 1865 215
Officers, 1865 211
Unique toasts 214

Convention at Chicago, 1866:
Charters 217
Charters and membership 219
Conditional membership 218
Ex-delegates 217
National executive committee, 1866 220
No important legislation 219
Officers, 1866 215
Official organ 219
Original names on charters 219
President's address 216
President's report 217
Southern unions 217

Convention at Memphis, 1867:
Charters issued and reissued 225
Columbia union receives charter 225
Delegates set type 225

Convention at Memphis, 1867—*Continued.* PAGE

Elective officers..... 224
Female labor..... 226
Form of charter..... 225
Functions of delegates..... 224
Local autonomy..... 222
Minor legislation..... 226
Name changed..... 224
National executive committee..... 226
National fund..... 223
New constitution..... 222
New constitution, etc..... 221
Officers, 1867..... 226
President's report..... 221
Protest against new constitution..... 223
Traveling cards..... 222
Uniform constitution..... 223

Convention at Washington, 1868:

Amnesty..... 233
Artemus Ward memorial..... 233
Change of name..... 230
Charters issued, reissued and surrendered..... 230
Convict labor..... 231
Copyright law..... 231
Eight hours..... 231
General amnesty..... 228
High cost of living..... 231
How can the non-union printers be organized?..... 228
National executive committee..... 233
National Labor Union..... 233
Officers, 1868..... 234
Rejecting new constitution..... 227
Secretary-treasurer's report..... 230
Strikes..... 228
The legislation of the last session..... 229
Visit to United States capitol..... 232

Convention at Albany, 1869:

Birth of International Typographical Union..... 235
Charters surrendered..... 236
General amnesty..... 236
National executive committee, 1869..... 240
National fund..... 237
Negro members..... 239
New constitution..... 234
Officers, 1869..... 241
Passing of the National Typographical Union..... 234
Per capita tax..... 233
President's report..... 236
Proxy delegates..... 235
Representation..... 235
Springfield (Ill.) union disrupted..... 237
Unsatisfactory conditions in Boston..... 238
Women's unions..... 233

INDEX

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

Convention at Cincinnati, 1870:

PAGE

Apprentices 250
Bids for printing 250
Business in the south 247
Charters 246
Cincinnati first meeting place 245
Divided jurisdiction 250
First woman elected to office 246
General prosperity 246
Government printing office 246
Home for disabled printers 248
National executive committee, 1870 251
Negro members 248
Officers, 1870 246
Organizing Canada 248
Postal abuses 249
Pressmen 251
Strikes 248
Susan B. Anthony 250

Convention at Baltimore, 1871:

All unions furnished new I. T. U. charters 258
Appeal cases 258
Arbitration 257
Charters issued and surrendered 252
District unions 258
Fast typesetting 256
Female labor 253
Jurisdiction over pressmen 257
Membership 258
National executive committee, 1871 258
National labor congress 256
Negro question 258
Officers, 1871 252
Per capita tax reduced 258
Report of Miss Lewis 253
Strikes 253
Traveling printers 257

Convention at Richmond, 1872:

Artemus Ward fund 262
Charters 262
Chicago fire 260
English and French unions in Montreal 264
Female labor 262
Government printing office 262
Legislation 262
National executive committee, 1872 266
Officers, 1872 259
Resolutions 264
Unsuccessful strikes 260

Convention at Montreal, 1873:

Artemus Ward fund 269
Charters, etc 269
District unions 269

Convention at Montreal, 1873—*Continued.* PAGE

Female labor 268
German printers 267
Government printing office 268
National executive committee, 1873 271
Officers, 1873 267
Pressmen's unions 268
Resolutions 269
Sub-lists 269

Convention at St. Louis, 1874:

Brooklyn union 273
Centennial exposition 275
Charters 273
District unions 274
Election of officers 272
German union 275
Interchange of membership cards 274
Membership 275
Monthly journal 274
National executive committee, 1874 276
Officers, 1874 272
Per capita tax 273
Resolutions 275
Secretary-Treasurer Collins defaults 275
Uniform constitution 273
Unsuccessful strikes 273
Women's Typographical Union 273

Convention at Boston, 1875:

Defalcation of secretary-treasurer 279
Delinquent unions 281
Executive committee discontinued 279
Greeley monument 279
Inharmonious laws 277
Membership 279
National Labor Congress 278
New constitution 279
Officers, 1875 283
Resolutions 282

Convention at Philadelphia, 1876:

Amendments and resolutions ..... [illegible]
Decisions ..... [illegible]
Defense fund 283
Erasing names from charters 284
General amnesty refused 283
Greeley monument ..... [illegible]
Jurisdiction limited 284
Membership ..... [illegible]
Officers, 1876 ..... [illegible]
Sub-lists ..... [illegible]
Uniform constitution for subordinate unions ..... [illegible]

Convention at Louisville, 1877:

Date of meeting ..... [illegible]
Delegate to Paris ..... [illegible]

Convention at Louisville, 1877—*Continued.* PAGE

Depressed trade conditions..... 289
Digest of laws..... 295
French-Canadians 292
Gift of Italian printers..... 294
Greeley memorial..... 292
Lack of discipline..... 292
Officers, 1877..... 296
Representation 295
Uniform constitution..... 295
Union Printers Home..... 295

Convention at Detroit, 1878:

Female compositors..... 299
Insurance plan..... 306
International strike fund..... 299
Jurisdiction of subordinate unions..... 306
Lowest membership..... 296
Minor legislation..... 306
Officers, 1878..... 306
Organization and discipline..... 296
Permits 298
Vice-President Griffin expelled..... 305

Convention at Washington, 1879:

Arbitration 315
Biennial conventions..... 315
Charters 314
Defense fund..... 308
Delegate to Paris..... 314
Discouraging conditions..... 306
Inception of the A. F. of L..... 315
Insurance 315
Limitation of foreman's authority..... 308
Negro members..... 307
Officers, 1879..... 315
State unions..... 314
St. Louis charter..... 311
Visit tomb of Washington..... 316

Convention at Chicago, 1880:

Continental Federation of Trades..... 323
Insurance plan rejected..... 326
Officers, 1880..... 327
Prize for best reorganization plan..... 326
Separate charter for job printers refused..... 326
Tariff on paper and printed matter..... 325
The Brotherhood 320
Typographia traveling cards..... 327

Convention at Toronto, 1881:

Campaign of education..... 328
Federation of trades..... 328
General prosperity..... 333
Good times..... 327
Officers, 1881..... 335
Official organ..... 334

Convention at Toronto, 1881—*Continued.* PAGE

Opening session with prayer..... 334
Reorganization plans..... 333
The Brotherhood 334

Convention at St. Louis, 1882:

American Federation of Labor..... 336
Conflicting laws..... 336
Declaration of principles..... 342
Expense of representation..... 350
Federation of trades organized..... 336
French-Canadians 353
Officers, 1882..... 356
Pressmen 355
Reorganization plans..... 352
Results of the Pittsburgh congress..... 349
Secret organizations..... 354
State deputies..... 356
Sub-lists 352
The Pittsburgh convention..... 339
Union Printers Home..... 355
Work of the convention..... 352

Convention at Cincinnati, 1883:

Charters 358
Federation of Trades..... 359
French-Canadian union..... 358
Government printing office..... 362
Membership 361
Officers, 1883..... 368
Official organ..... 361
Organization work..... 357
Per capita..... 361
President's address..... 357
Revision of laws..... 368
State deputies..... 368
Strikes 358
Sub-lists 361
Union Printers Home..... 360

Convention at New Orleans, 1884:

Agreement with Typographia..... 373
Arbitration 374
Boycott 375
Charters 371
Chief organizer..... 371
Endowment fund..... 374
Federation of Trades..... 376
Female labor..... 372
Membership 374
Officers, 1884..... 377
Official organ..... 371
Per capita tax..... 374
Relations with Knights of Labor..... 369
State deputies..... 378
Strikes 373

PAGE

Convention at New York, 1885:
- Federation of Trades 381
- Forerunner of priority law 380
- Growth retarded 378
- Insurance plan 381
- Officers, 1885 381
- Pressmen 380
- Strengthening influences 379
- Strike fund 379
- Structural errors 377
- Sub-lists 381

Convention at Pittsburgh, 1886:
- Childs-Drexel gift 389
- Disposition of gift 391
- Federation of trades 387
- Gift accepted 391
- Insurance feature 393
- Knights of Labor and Federation of Trades 383
- Officers, 1886 394
- Official organ 392
- Organizing 382
- Relations with pressmen 388
- Strike fund 382
- Union label 392

Convention at Buffalo, 1887:
- Childs-Drexel fund 406
- Insurance 405
- Nine-hour day 409
- Officers, 1887 410
- Organization 396
- Pascoe defalcation 394
- Printers Home 407
- Relations with Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor 397
- Reorganization 405
- Strike fund law 395
- Unfinished business 409

Convention at Kansas City, 1888:
- American Federation of Labor 420
- Childs-Drexel fund 418
- Committee on laws 412
- Defense fund 413
- Executive council created 412
- Executive council meeting 422
- Headquarters established 411
- Insurance 413
- New constitution 410
- Nine-hour day 413
- Officers, 1888 423
- Official circular 412
- Organizing 413
- Pascoe defalcation 418
- Per capita tax 412

Convention at Kansas City, 1888—*Continued.* PAGE
Printers Home 419
The Brotherhood 422

Convention at Denver, 1889:
Biennial elections and conventions 431
Colorado Springs selected 428
Delegates to American Federation of Labor and Paris Exposition 435
Executive council 432
Insurance plan 433
Minor legislation 433
Pascoe defalcation 437
Relations with American Federation of Labor 429
Reorganization 426
The referendum 432
The Typographical Journal 434
Union Printers Home 426

Convention at Atlanta, 1890:
American Federation of Labor 436
Delegates to Paris congress 444
Home trustees 442
Minor legislation 443
Officers, 1890 445
Organization 439
Pressmen 440
Printers Home 441
Six-day law 443
Stereotypers 441
Strikes 439
The referendum 442

Convention at Boston, 1891:
Amendments to constitution 452
American Federation of Labor 446
Burial benefits 453
Copyright law 449
Important legislation 451
Membership, etc 448
Nine-hour day 451
Officers, 1891 455
Pressmen 448
Priority 453
The referendum 447
Typesetting machines 453
Union Printers Home 455

Convention at Philadelphia, 1892:
American Federation of Labor 462
Apportionment of funds 459
Burial fund 461
Constitutional amendments 463
Finances 461
Membership 461
Minor legislation 460
Nine-hour day 459

Convention at Philadelphia, 1892—*Continued.* PAGE

Officers, 1892 470
Organization work 458
Pittsburgh strike 470
Pressmen 461
Priority 465
Review of officers' reports 456
Secretary McClevey resigns 467
Six-day law 465
State unions 462
Strike fund 466
The injunction 469
Union Printers Home 467

Convention at Chicago, 1893:

Allied trades 474
Black-balling 474
Charters 474
Constitutional amendments 480
Copyright law 476
Death of former President Hammond 489
Death of Harry E. Gamble 490
Five-day law 484
International fund 484
Machinists 477
New organizing districts 491
Nine-hour day 482
Officers, 1893 490
Organization work 473
Reorganization 476
Review of officers' reports 471
Seceding pressmen 478
Secretary-treasurer's report 479
Shorter hours 475
Sick benefits 484
Stereotypers 479
Typesetting machines 482
Typographia amalgamation 485
Union Printers Home 488

Convention at Louisville, 1894:

Allied trades councils 500
American Federation of Labor political platform 494
Constitutional amendments 512
Deaths of Messrs. Childs and Drexel 516
General laws 514
Indianapolis bank failure 495
Machinists 497
Nine-hour fund 516
Officers, 1894-1895 517
Officers' reports 492
Organization work 493
Out-of-work fund 515
Pressmen and bookbinders 503
Secretary-treasurer's report 512

Convention at Louisville, 1894—*Continued.* PAGE

Shorter hours..... 501
Six-day law..... 517
Stereotypers 511
Typesetting machines..... 496
Union Printers Home..... 514

Convention at Colorado Springs, 1896:

Additional constitutional amendments..... 539
Additional vice-presidents..... 537
After the Colorado Springs convention..... 537
American Federation of Labor..... 525
Biennial conventions..... 538
Civil service..... 528
Constitutional amendments..... 528
Deaths 525
Home trustees..... 525
Hospital annex..... 528
Important recommendations..... 522
Increased per capita..... 527
Minor legislation..... 527
Nine-hour-day struggle..... 531
Officers, 1896-1897..... 536
Officers elected by referendum..... 541
Organization work..... 521
Organizers 525
Out-of-work fund..... 526
Percentage dues..... 537
Referendum elections..... 527
Review of officers' reports..... 519
Secretary's report..... 523
Secretary-Treasurer Wines' retirement..... 536
Stereotypers 523
The Brotherhood 518
The label..... 522
Typesetting devices..... 527
Typographia 523
Typographical Journal..... 524
Union Printers Home..... 521
Unique incident..... 526

Convention at Syracuse, 1898:

Allied trades..... 568
American Federation of Labor..... 559
Amnesty 568
Annual conventions..... 562
Charters 568
Childs-Drexel Home..... 560
Constitutional amendments..... 572
Death of Henry George..... 566
Defense fund 559, 574
Discussion of economic subjects at union meetings..... 562
District organizers 568
Functions of local unions..... 559
Funds 558

Convention at Syracuse, 1898—*Continued.* PAGE

General laws..... 574
German-American Typographia..... 552
Government bonds..... 559
Indianapolis bank failure..... 551, 569
Journal free list..... 567
Location of headquarters..... 566
Machine tenders 549, 567
Mailers 553
Manner of administering obligation..... 543
Minor Home affairs..... 567
Minor recommendations..... 551
Mortality statistics..... 558
New obligation..... 562
Newswriters 553
Nine-hour day achieved..... 563
Nine years' finances..... 558
Organization work..... 547
Organizers 559
Organizing system changed..... 561
Photo engravers 553, 568
Postal telegraph..... 568
President's address..... 543
Proofreader members..... 549
Propositions rejected..... 562
Referendum 550
Referendum laws amended..... 561
Resolutions 574
Retiring official honored..... 569
Review of officers' reports..... 543
Seals 551
Shorter workday committee..... 560
Sick benefit fund..... 550
Secretary Bramwood's report..... 553
Stereotypers and electrotypers..... 552
Stereotypers' trade district..... 566
Strikes 552
The Home..... 551
To abolish referendum..... 569
Tripartite conference..... 575
Typographical Journal..... 555
Union label 550, 569
Use of defense fund..... 562

Convention at Detroit, 1899:

American Federation of Labor..... 592
Annual reports 576
Constitutional amendments..... 594
Controversy with Chicago publishers..... 599
Controversy with the machinists..... 602
Copyright law..... 585
District organizers..... 599
Funds 584
General laws, resolutions, committee reports, etc..... 596

Convention at Detroit, 1899—*Continued.* PAGE

German-American Typographia 586
Government ownership 583
Government ownership and the copyright law 600
Home trustees 593
Labels 600
Machine tenders 584, 598
Mailers 586
Miscellaneous propositions 600
Newswriters 587
New York Sun strike 599
Officers, 1900-1901 613
Organization work 578
Organizers' reports 592
Photo engravers 588
Pittsburgh lockout 610
Postal savings bank 598
Proprietor members 584
Relations with allied crafts 580
Secretary-treasurer's report 588
Shorter workday 579
Shorter workday committee 593
Socialism 600
Stereotypers and electrotypers 585
Strikes 578
Subordinate union affairs 601
Typographical Journal 591
Union Printers Home 601

Convention at Milwaukee, 1900:

American Federation of Labor delegates 636
Annual conventions 618
Burial fund 634
Chicago stereotypers 626
Conciliation and arbitration 641
Conditions in Pittsburgh 640
Constitutional amendments 636
Defense fund 616
Disreputable campaign literature 619
District organizers 640
General fund 634
General laws 638
Home trustees 636
Injunctions 628
Jurisdiction 616
Kansas City trouble 621
Machine tenders 627
Mailers 629
Minor recommendations 628
Newswriters 630
New York Sun strike 620
Nine-hour day 623
Official business 633
Organization work 619

Convention at Milwaukee, 1900—*Continued.* PAGE

Organizers' reports 635
Photo engravers 631
Pittsburgh strike 622
President Donnelly's retirement 656
President's address 615
Relations with allied trades 626
Request for tripartite conference 641
Resolutions 639
Secretary-treasurer 632
Stereotypers 629
Stereotypers ask to withdraw 640
Tripartite agreement 651
Typographia 629
Typographical Journal 634
Union Printers Home 634

Convention at Birmingham, 1901:

After the convention 688
American Federation of Labor 677
Arbitration agreement 663
Arbitration agreement renewed 689
Benefits 668
Chinese exclusion 687
Constitutional amendments 679
Economic policy 667
Executive council 665
General laws 683
Home trustees 677
Label 667
Liberty of the press 669
Limited membership 686
Mailers 671
Miscellaneous subjects 669
Newswriters 671
Officers, 1902-1903 688
Organization work 676
Organizers 666
Organizing districts abolished 683
Photo engravers 672
Propositions defeated 684
Relations with publishers 688
Resolutions 683
Review of officers' reports 661
Secession of photo engravers 662
Secretary-treasurer's report 673
Stereotypers' affairs 669
Stereotypers' separation movement 663
Strikes 668
Tripartite agreement 664
Tripartite agreement abrogated 688
Typefounders 673
Typographia 670
Typographical Journal 676
Withdrawal of stereotypers 680
Women's auxiliaries 686

Convention at Cincinnati, 1902:

PAGE

American Federation of Labor..... 706
Apprentices 698
Burial benefits..... 703
Constitutional amendments..... 709
Eight-hour day 719
Eight-hour day must come..... 698
Finance 697
General laws, resolutions..... 710
Local contracts..... 697
Los Angeles Times..... 712
Mailers 699
New organizing system..... 696
Newswriters 700
Organizers' reports..... 705
Photo engravers 700, 718
Relations with allied trades..... 695
Relations with the printing pressmen..... 713
Relations with publishers and typothetæ..... 693
Review of officers' reports..... 691
Secretary-treasurer's report..... 701
Strikes 703
Typefounders 701
Typographia 698
Typographical Journal..... 704
Union Printers Home..... 707

Convention at Washington, 1903:

Agreement with allied trades..... 746
Allied trades agreement ratified..... 747
American Federation of Labor..... 732
Arbitration agreement..... 743
Arbitration developments..... 730
Atlanta strike..... 745
Code of procedure..... 744
Committee on benefit features..... 732
Constitutional amendments..... 733
Eight-hour day 749
General laws, etc..... 735
Hats off to the printers..... 730
Home trustees..... 732
Kansas City..... 746
Los Angeles Times..... 748
Mailers 748
Meeting with A. N. P. A. representatives..... 741
Miscellaneous 742
Officers 1904-1905..... 751
Organizers' reports..... 731
Organizing work..... 743
Per capita tax..... 742
Photo engravers..... 748
Relations with newspaper publishers..... 735
Review of officers' reports..... 741
Secretary's report..... 748
Strikes 751

Convention at Washington, 1903—*Continued.* PAGE

The developments in Spokane..... 740
Trade union incorporation..... 726
Typefounders 729
Typographia 727
Typographical Journal.....731

Convention at St. Louis, 1904:

Arbitration 756
Arbitration agreement..... 771
Beneficial features..... 759
Boston and Louisville strikes..... 755
Changes in the laws..... 765
Eight-hour day 754, 775
Label 759
Los Angeles Times..... 785
Mailers 761
Newswriters 761
Organization 757
Photo engravers..... 783
Review of officers' reports..... 753
Secretary's report..... 761
Strikes 753
Typefounders 761
Typographia 760

Convention at Toronto, 1905:

Address of Samuel Gompers..... 837
Address of Max Hayes..... 838
Affiliated unions and the joint agreement..... 800
Arbitration 801
Brief review of officers' reports..... 795
Constitutional amendments..... 799
Eight-hour day..... 810
Los Angeles Times..... 808
Mailers 796
Newswriters 797
Officers, 1906-1907 844
Philadelphia case 787
President Ellis' address..... 819
Report of the committee on eight-hour day..... 824
Secretary's report..... 797
St. Louis charter revoked..... 801
Typefounders 797
Typographia 796
Union Printers Home..... 798

Convention at Colorado Springs, 1906:

Assistance from American Federation of Labor..... 857
British strikebreakers..... 851
Constitutional amendments..... 858
Eight-hour assessments..... 854
Eight-hour day..... 863
General conditions..... 851
Home affairs..... 853
Home library..... 847

Convention at Colorado Springs, 1906—*Continued.* PAGE

Injunctions 850
Membership 857
Mailers 854
Officers' reports 848
Old age pensions 879
President's address 848
Relations with publishers 851
Report of convention's eight-hour committee 878
Report of International eight-hour committee 863
San Francisco disaster 859
Secretary-Treasurer's report 854
Typographia 854

Convention at Hot Springs, 1907:

After the convention 910
Burial fund 887
Constitutional amendments 889
Eight-hour campaign 892
Home fund 887
Label 884
Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer 886, 902
Membership 888
Officers, 1908-1909 910
Officers' reports 881
Old age pensions 881, 905
One-man shop 884
Publicity campaign 883
Report of convention's eight-hour committee 900
Sanitary composing rooms 885
Secretary Bramwood's report 887
Trade and technical schools 908
Typographia 887
Union Printers Home 886

Convention at Boston, 1908:

After the convention 930
American Federation of Labor 927
Burial fund 920
By-laws, general laws, etc 925
Constitutional amendments 921
Cost of eight-hour struggle 921
Distinguished visitors 929
Home fund 920
Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer 928
Membership 920
New agreement with stereotypers 926
Officers' reports 913
Old age pensions 917
President's address 913
Presentation to International eight-hour committee 912
Priority law 923
Resignation of Secretary-Treasurer Bramwood 912
Secretary-Treasurer's report 910
Typographia 919
Address of Commissioner Kellogg 923

Convention at St. Joseph, 1909: PAGE

After the convention 953
Brief review of officers' reports 934
Burial fund 943
By-laws, etc. 946
Constitutional amendments 946
Finances 940
Home fund 943
Increased mortuary benefits 947
Label campaign 938
Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer 951
Mailers 942
Membership 944
Mortuary benefits 936
Officers, 1910-1911 953
Old age pensions 937
Organizing work 939
Pension roll 944
President's report 934
Report of executive council 945
Secretary-Treasurer's report 943
Supplemental trade education 941
Typographia 942

Convention at Minneapolis, 1910:

Address by Charles Francis 983
After the convention 987
Bonding local officers 968
Executive council 971
First convention on Pacific coast 986
Health campaign 965
Increased mortuary benefits 957
Increased mortuary benefits again defeated 973
Joint ownership allied label 976
Los Angeles Times and Philadelphia Inquirer 985
Mailers 966
Membership 968
Mortuary benefits 967
Officers' reports 955
Old age pension fund 969
Old age pension law amended 976
Organizing work 956
Other legislation 974
Receipts and benefits 969
Relations with allied trades 958
Secretary-Treasurer's report 966
Typographia 965

Convention at San Francisco, 1911:

Betterments 992
Commissioner Kellogg's address 1014
Constitutional amendments 1000
Executive council 999
General conditions 992
Illegal strike at Chicago 1015
Increased mortuary benefits 1004
Loan to United Hatters 1026

Convention at San Francisco, 1911—*Continued.* PAGE

Mailers 995
Membership 997
New arbitration agreement 1009
Officers, 1912-1913 1029
Pension fund 998
Pension law amended 1002
Presentation to Hugo Miller 1027
Salaries increased 1001
Secretary-Treasurer's report 995
Summary of officers' reports 989
Summary of office work 991
The Brotherhood 1027
Typographia 994
Tuberculosis campaign 997
Union Printers Home 993

Convention at Cleveland, 1912:

Addresses by distinguished visitors 1051
Arbitration 1038
Benefit features 1036
Burial benefits 1044
Chicago pressmen's strike 1049
Facts and figures 1032
Executive council 1046
Mailers 1043
Membership 1044
Officers' reports 1031
Pensioners 1045
Referendum propositions 1048
Secretary-Treasurer's report 1043
Strikes 1046
Strike of Chicago web pressmen 1033
Typographia 1042
Tuberculosis campaign 1043
Union Printers Home 1040
Volume of business 1044

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